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Institutes of ecclesiastica
history

INSTITUTES

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN,

BY

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CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN.

A NEW AND LITERAL TRANSLATION

FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN, WITH COPIOUS ADDITIONAL NOTES,
ORIGINAL AND SELECTED,

BY JAMES MURDOCK, D.D.

EDITED WITH ADDITIONS, BY

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RECTOR OF STAPLEFORD TAWNEY, WITH THOYDON MOUNT, ESSEX.

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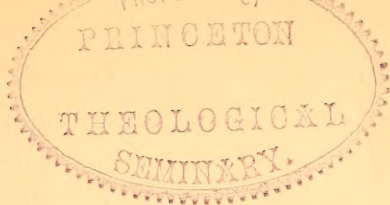
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

TO THE

FOURTH VOLUME.

THE modern period of ecclesiastical history may be conveniently dated from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Protestant principles were then found firmly rooted in those communities which profess them still. It is true, undoubtedly, that they were then extensively prevalent in the Austrian states, from which they were subsequently, in a very great measure, expelled. But the imperial court had never forsaken Rome, and it was supported in this adherence by a majority of the people, together with a great preponderance of the aristocracy. Austria, therefore, must be considered as entering upon the seventeenth century in that theological position which she has occupied ever since. The same may be said of France. Her powerful and intelligent population was, indeed, extensively pervaded by protestantism when the sixteenth century closed, and it so continued long afterwards. But in this case, too, the government, backed by a formidable array of aristocratic and popular support, was Romish. Hence patronage and fashion enabled papal divinity to encroach incessantly on the rival creed, until the revocation of the edict of Nantes would no longer suffer a Huguenot's voice to be openly heard in France. In most other parts of Europe the religion both of prince and people remains much as the sixteenth century left it. The electoral house of Saxony, lately become royal, is, however, an exception. The prospect of a crown in Poland offered a strong

temptation, at the close of the seventeenth century, to the religious constancy of its head, and he forsook the reformed faith, which, in former days, his family had taken the lead in protecting and nurturing. But a defection, so little to be expected from such a quarter, and rendered so suspicious by the secular ends that it secured, merely excited general regrets. It was almost powerless upon the religious aspect of Saxony, which, in spite of the Romish example still set at court, continues in the principles that Luther's own teaching rooted.

When the seventeenth century opened, Romish influence had revived, in some degree, almost every where; hence its friends fully reckoned upon the recovery of their lost ground. At the same time, they saw this occupied by their adversaries so firmly as to leave no hope of regaining it, without overstrained and unscrupulous exertions. From such arose the thirty years' war that desolated Germany, and the religious troubles which long filled France with dissension and misery. In countries where the government was protestant, Romish efforts for a re-conquest were only felt from domestic intrigues and interference with foreign politics. These things were, however, quite enough to sharpen religious animosity. Men were exasperated by the probable suspicion and occasional discovery of treacherous movements among themselves to re-establish a creed which they detested as a national crime and pollution. England especially drew from Romish continental struggles the most unhesitating conviction that a sanguinary intolerance was the inherent vice of papal principles. Hence Protestant vied with Romanist in devising cruel schemes of mutual extermination. The only advantage that the former's intolerance could claim over the latter's, was its operation within a narrower and less disputable field. Protestant persecution was limited by Scripture and primitive antiquity. Romish, on the contrary, raged most frequently and fiercely in defence of principles that can bring no proof either from the written word, or from the most venerable among uninspired records. Its ordinary object was, in fact, a denial of transubstantiation, one of the papal peculi-

arities which labours most under the disadvantage of late authentication. But with such a mitigation of her guilt and folly in entering upon the race of intolerance, protestantism must rest contented. History here can do no more for her than detail the alarms felt, difficulties undergone, provocations received, and poisonous lessons learnt, from her elder and rival sister.

When the peace of Westphalia, in 1648, secured the rights of German protestantism, the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685 crushed those of French, and the expulsion of James II. in 1688 made British allegiance conditional on the sovereign's alienation from Rome, a foundation was laid for those principles which gradually sprang up in Europe during the following century. Men could not, indeed, at first, lay aside inveterate habits, or forget recent dangers. Hence they entered upon a new age with all the prejudices, animosities, apprehensions, and oppressive maxims, that had prevailed in the last. But a few able writers taught a different lesson, and every day made additions to the number of its learners. It owed not, however, its popularity only to the intellectual progress of the times. The dangers and consequent apprehensions of former days were gone. Both Romish and Protestant communities were organized upon a footing of apparent permanence that offered hardly a hope of encroachment upon each other. Hence there was very rarely any hostile movement on either side. Men looked upon themselves no longer as a body that had recently been *one*, and might soon be *one* again, if proper energy were used; they rather thought of themselves as parted by a broad line of demarcation, strongly drawn by those who went before them, and utterly beyond any power of their own to obliterate. Hence much of the intolerant legislation of their fathers rapidly fell into desuetude. The minority liable to its lash gave no provocation; therefore it was deemed uncalled-for by the times, and its harshest provisions slumbered in the statute book. Men who thought it unsafe to surrender any of its provisions, would loudly join a public outcry whenever they saw

one of much severity likely to be carried into practice. It was impossible that such a state of public feeling should long continue without leading to that general admission of an inherent right to liberty of conscience, which ultimately distinguished the eighteenth century from any that preceded it.

Unhappily, this disposition to a liberal judgment of other men degenerated in many minds into latitudinarian indifference, and in not a few into open infidelity. These perversions, accordingly, are among the distinguishing features of modern ecclesiastical history. The student sees with pain, that as intolerance declined, a reckless appetite for speculation advanced. It must be owned, that England rushed first upon this licentious course. The re-action under Charles II., which thrust aside puritanical austerity, was aided by subtle and scoffing wits, anxious to supersede religion by a philosophy of their own, or to laugh religious restraints altogether out of countenance. But the English character is naturally serious, and the national religion is established upon foundations of more than usual solidity. Hence it was quickly seen that nothing was more unlikely than any great success from infidel assaults, whether grave or gay. The enemies of revelation did little more in England than earn contempt for themselves, and give occasion for a succession of masterly refutations of their principles. Among the people generally the belief of scriptural truth was never perceptibly shaken. It has ever stood as firmly in public opinion, amidst all the experiments of argument or ridicule, as the island itself amidst the rolling waves. This is an instructive fact. It may surely be taken as a proof, that sound principles, protected, as in England, by the jealous care of a well-ordered establishment, are the only real securities against pernicious errors perseveringly disseminated under favourable circumstances. To such evils, accordingly, France fell a prey. Her mercurial people do not reason with the cautious discrimination of their insular neighbours, and were, therefore, easily led by wit and sophistry to confound the excrescences of their national religion with Christianity itself. These needless or hurtful additions, it

must be owned, were enormous, and the whole system was supported by an undue share of the country's wealth. Inquiring spirits, hostile to the religious establishment, easily saw a close connexion, in its more popular features, with the principles, impostures, and outward appliances of exploded paganism. Hence there was no difficulty in leading public opinion, swayed as it was by levity, conceit, envy, democratic cravings, and insufficient information, into rash prejudice against Christianity altogether. It was branded as nothing else than an offshoot of ancient heathenism, and this was not viewed in its true light as a perversion of patriarchal religion. It passed for the mere creature of priestcraft in dark ages, and final ruin was confidently predicted for every system that had such an origin, whenever men should become sufficiently enlightened. Nobody took the trouble to inquire whether priestcraft and superstition had any solid foundation in the Bible. The established religion bore obvious indications of them, and this was enough to condemn all religions. The release which this condemnation gave from those restraints which fears for the future lay upon mankind, made way for the horrors and impieties of the French revolution. Had, however, the system overthrown been better able to bear strict examination, experience of the past will justify a belief, that although the national voice might have called for improvement in religious institutions, it would not madly and impiously have insisted upon their extirpation.

But whatever may be thought of this hypothesis, one point seems to have been established by the French revolution, which is, that social advantages cannot be secured without religion. No sooner had something like a stable government been again established in France, than it saw the necessity of a provision for the spiritual wants of the people. Even leading men, too vain and hardened for the abandonment of their own unbelief, became fully aware that it could not be rendered universal, and that its extensive prevalence was injurious to the public tranquillity. Hence they were quite willing to forget the impious triumphs of which pretended reason had lately boasted, and to

try again the operation of Christianity upon a demoralized and unmanageable people. The scale, however, upon which their spiritual arrangements was made, should be a warning to posterity. It might have been impossible, as it probably was, to obtain, at such a time, more liberal terms for religion. The funds which former ages had gradually accumulated for its diffusion over the country, and for its command of respectful notice from every class, were absorbed among the multiform mass of private property. To reclaim them in any considerable degree was impracticable. Nothing better, therefore, could be done, than to render the private properties, which had so extensively been augmented by their means, liable to an impost for supplying their place, and an impost of any perceptible weight for such a purpose was unlikely to be borne by a people which had scornfully shaken off religion altogether. Still, in spite of this last peculiarity, it may well be doubted from the case of France, whether under any circumstances a nation called upon for a new religious establishment would answer the call in a spirit of becoming and adequate liberality. The truth is, that men, unless under the strong influence of religious convictions, (which is the case with few during most of their lives, and with some never at all,) are seldom disposed for dealing liberally with religion. They would commonly sink its ministers to an inferior station, and provide very insufficiently for its extension over a whole people. Hence it is of the utmost importance to preserve those endowments uncurtailed which have descended from the religious cares of a long succession of men in their best moments. This principle may not be applicable with equal strictness to monastic possessions. Most monasteries comparatively recent have been founded for purposes in which religion degenerates into superstition; and such degeneracy has, undoubtedly, during many centuries, been largely owing to conventual establishments. Hence any services that monastic bodies may have rendered to the religion of a people have long been made very questionable by the base alloy with which monks and friars adulterate religious truth. The day for monastic

services of much importance, is undoubtedly gone by in countries highly civilized and altogether Christian. As headquarters for missionary enterprise, and retreats for studious divines, monasteries have been invaluable. When they became of little or no use for such purposes, most of the ends really answered by them were positively injurious to the public. Their suppression, therefore, stands upon very different grounds from that of parochial and capitular foundations. But it is hardly justifiable to suppress convents as a relief for the financial difficulties of a nation, much less so for satisfying the selfish cravings of individuals. Property, severed from private inheritances for monastic purposes, ought, in justice to the donor and to the public, to be kept sacred for religious, learned, and eleemosynary uses. In England this obvious truth was pretty fully acknowledged, and even to some small extent respected, because monasteries were suppressed by a strong, long-established government. In France their suppression took place amidst anarchy, when every voice is overpowered but that of selfish and ambitious indigence. Nothing, therefore, was to be expected but the complete abstraction of their funds from public purposes. This was undoubtedly neither just nor politic; but it was far more excusable than the confiscation of those endowments which had provided France with a sufficient body of secular clergy. The influence of such an establishment might render many services to the country of which it urgently stands in need, in addition to those of a character exclusively spiritual. But when the clerical profession is both depressed in circumstances and insufficient in numbers, it has little prospect of commanding general notice from a proud, busy, crowded, and irreligious world.

The United States of America may seem to offer an example unfavourable to this conclusion. In them not only does religion generally prevail, but also episcopal protestantism has recently advanced in a remarkable degree. This last, however, has chiefly gained ground among the wealthier and more intelligent classes of a people habitually religious. The great mass yet lies

under its old liability to the fluctuating influences of various discordant sects, all contending eagerly for popularity; and many parts of the country appear to be very insufficiently supplied with religious instruction and consolations of any kind. More experience and information are, therefore, needed, before conclusions can be safely drawn from the American case. But matters have gone far enough to show the value of a system that will bear sufficient examination. The church's increasing popularity among a people extensively nurtured in prejudice against it, is a testimony to the soundness of their national religion, upon which Englishmen may think with honest pride, and which may eventually receive due attention from inquirers after truth in other nations.

To religious inquiries the public mind has been, for several years, everywhere attentively directed. Lewis Philip's last years upon the throne of France were disturbed by contests to keep the clergy from an efficient controul over the universities. At the same time acrimonious debates arose upon the Jesuits, and that order was ultimately obliged to break up its establishments in the French territory. A like fate overtook it in all other parts of the Continent, and its dispersion has now been regularly decreed by the pope. Under these calamities, Loyola's followers have extensively taken refuge in England; where the provisions against them particularly, and monastic bodies generally, made in the Roman Catholic Relief Act, have been allowed to sink into a dead letter. Little as the operations of their order, well-directed and subtle as they are, need be dreaded in a country full of Bibles, evangelised by an enlightened clergy, occupied by a thoughtful well-informed population, and open to free discussion, yet it is obvious that a large importation of Jesuits can scarcely fail of having some effect, even upon England. A field for the operations of such a body may, indeed, be almost always found among the wildernesses of human nature. It is little more than five years ago, since Rhenish Germany saw set in motion the very feelings that made Crusaders in a former age. A million of persons, at least, could then be found capable of pouring into

Treves to see and venerate the seamless coat of Christ. From this amazing revival of a spirit, which Europe flattered herself had long been all but extinct, has arisen a new call for reformation in the papal church. England would want a century of superstitious ignorance, before she could produce another Treves. But religious questions have not wholly escaped, within her bosom, the influences that lately fired a million brains with visions of *the holy coat*. Among her junior clergy, many have imbibed a leaning towards the church of Rome. Their intention was to go no further than Laud and the non-jurors went. Even this length held out obvious warnings. Laud's divinity not only failed of rooting itself in England, but also prepared a scaffold both for himself and his royal master. Some of its modern disciples have not, however, stopped within the bounds that contented Laud. They have actually apostatised from a scriptural faith. Their real, though not nominal leader, did so, in October, 1845. Nor has this tendency of giving man's traditions any opening for casting a shadow over God's undoubted word, been only shown by one of the most conspicuous examples that could be given of it. Others have followed their leader from the rock of truth to the quicksands of tradition.

When we consider, besides these matters of domestic interest, the recent suppression of monasteries in the great western peninsula of Europe, the flight of the pope from Rome, and a general state of continental politics unfavourable to Romish principles, it is obvious that a competent knowledge of ecclesiastical history becomes indispensable for individuals in the more intellectual classes. Divinity, like politics, can never be understood without history. Human authority requires light and correction from a consideration of the party's own circumstances, and of contemporary transactions. For supplying these helps, in a sufficient and trustworthy manner, probably, no work, of the same size, equals Mosheim's *Institutes*; and, it is hoped, that a careful reader of them will augur from the past favourably for the future. He certainly may trace a progress, slow, perhaps, but constant, towards religious improvement. Even retrograde

movements have been often ultimately seen to have this tendency. They have given that temporary prominence to some lurking evil that was required for its eventual extirpation. If any thing, therefore, seem unfavourable to the cause of truth, it may reasonably be viewed as one of those providential dispensations which are necessary for perfecting the religious knowledge of mankind.

STAPLEFORD TAWNEY,
February 9. 1850.

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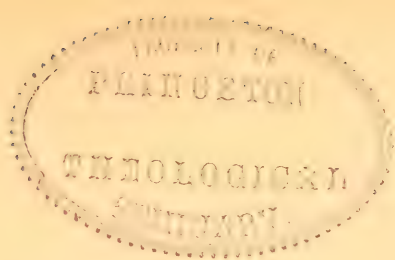
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INSTITUTES
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
UNDER THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

BOOK IV.

EMBRACING EVENTS FROM THE COMMENCEMENT
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THE REFORMATION BY LUTHER
TO
THE YEAR A. D. 1700.



CENTURY SEVENTEENTH.

SECTION I.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

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§ 1. THE arduous efforts commenced by the Roman pontiffs in the preceding century for extending the Christian church, and thus exalting and enlarging the glory and majesty of the Romish see, were in this century placed upon a permanent and solid basis: whereas, before, they had been tottering and ill-supported. In the first place *Gregory XV.*, at the instigation of

his chaplain, *Narni*, established at Rome, in 1622, the famous *Congregation for propagating the faith*¹, and furnished it with very extensive revenues. This body, which consists of thirteen cardinals, two priests, and one monk, together with a scribe², has for its object the support and the propagation of the Romish religion in all parts of the world. *Urban VIII.*, and after him, numerous wealthy individuals, enriched it with so great revenues, that it is equal to the bearing of almost unlimited expenses. Hence, it sends out numerous missionaries to the most remote nations; publishes books of various kinds, necessary for learning foreign and some of them barbarous languages; causes instructions in Christianity, and other works designed to enkindle piety or confute error, to be drawn up in the languages and appropriate characters of the several nations; maintains and educates a vast number of selected youth, designed for missionaries: liberally educates and supports young men, who are annually sent to Rome from foreign countries, in order to become instructors of their countrymen on their return home; receives and maintains persons whose constancy in professing and defending the Romish religion has drawn on them banishment or other calamities; and plans and accomplishes various objects, almost beyond belief to those not acquainted with such affairs. For the carrying of these objects into effect, a very splendid and spacious palace has been set apart, which is situated so delightfully, that it captivates by that circumstance alone.³

§ 2. To this institution *Urban VIII.*, in the year 1627, added another, not indeed equally magnificent, yet renowned, and very useful; namely, the *College or Seminary for propagating the faith*; in which, from almost all nations, future heralds of Christian truth to foreign countries are educated, and imbued most care-

¹ Congregatio de propaganda Fide.

² Such is the number of members in this body, as stated by Gregory XV. in his bull for its establishment: *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. iii. p. 472, ed. Luxemb. Nor is a larger number mentioned by Urban Cerri; *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 259. But Ja. Aymon, in his *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, pt. iii. cap. iii. p. 279, makes it to consist of eighteen cardinals, one papal secretary, one apostolical prothonotary, one referent, or referendary, and one of the assessors and scribes of [the *Inquisition*, or] what is called the *Sacred Office*.

³ The authors who treat of this congregation, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii toti orbi ex-orientis*, cap. xxxiii. p. 566. To whom may be added, Dorotheus Ascianus, *De Montibus Pietatis Ecclesiæ Romanæ*, p. 522, &c. where there is a list of the books published by the congregation, up to the year 1667. [The annual revenue of this congregation, near the close of this century, was about 24,000 Romish dollars. Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 715. Tr.]

fully with such learning and instruction as form a necessary preparation for an office so important. This great institution originated in the zeal of *John Baptist Viles*, a Spaniard residing at the Roman court, who set it on foot by presenting to the pontiff all his possessions and property, including an elegant house that he owned. Many others afterwards imitated his liberality, and to this day imitate it. *Urban* at first placed this College under the care and authority of three *Canons* of the three *patriarchal* churches at Rome: but since the year 1641, it has been under the control of the *Congregation*, already mentioned as established by *Gregory XV.*⁴

§ 3. In 1663 the *Congregation of priests for foreign missions* was instituted by the royal authority in France; and likewise the *Parisian Seminary for missions to foreign nations* was founded by certain French bishops and theologians, in which men might be educated and instructed, in order to become preachers of Christianity among the nations estranged from Christ. From this *Seminary* go forth, even to the present day, the *apostolic vicars* of Siam, Tonquin, Cochin China, the bishops of Babylon, and the apostolic vicars of Persia, and other missionaries to the Asiatic nations; and they derive their support from the ample revenues of the *Congregation* and the *Seminary.*⁵ But the *Priests for foreign missions*⁶, and their pupils, generally have much contention and controversy with the Jesuits and their missionaries. For they are displeased with the method pursued by the Jesuits for the conversion of the Chinese and

⁴ Hippol. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques Religieux et Militaires*, tom. viii. cap. xii. p. 78, &c. Urban Cerri, *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 293, &c. where however the first founder is erroneously called Vives. [It is not certain, that Viles, rather than Vives, was the true name of the founder. — He established *ten* scholarships, for youth from foreign lands. Cardinal Barberini, the pope's brother, in 1537 and 1538, added *thirty-one* more scholarships; for Georgians, Persians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Melchites, Copts, Abyssinians, and Indians; and in defect of these, for Armenians, from Poland, Russia, and Constantinople. The scholars on Barberini's foundation were to obligate themselves to become missionaries among their own countrymen, or to

go wherever the *Congregation de Propaganda* should order them. — Urban Cerri was secretary to the *Congregation de Propaganda*, and drew up an account of the Present State of the Romish church in all parts of the world, for the use of Innocent XI.; which fell into the hands of the Protestants, and was translated and published, English and French, in the year 1716. Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iii. p. 715, &c. *Tr.*]

⁵ See, particularly, the *Gallia Christiana Benedictinor.* tom. vii. p. 1024, &c. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. viii. cap. xii. p. 84, &c.

⁶ They are generally called, by the French, *Messieurs des Missions étrangères.*

others; and moreover, the Jesuits will not submit to the commands of the *apostolic vicars* and *bishops*, appointed by the *Congregation*, agreeably to the pontifical ordinance; nor to the Romish *College for propagating the faith*. Likewise the French *Congregation of the holy sacrament*, instituted by *Authier*, bishop of Bethlehem⁷, was required by *Urban VIII.*, in the year 1644, to always have fit men in readiness to be sent to the nations ignorant of Christianity, whenever the pontiff, or the *Congregation for propagating the faith*, should demand their services.⁸ Other bodies of less note, which have been established in various countries, for the purpose of enlarging the church, and the pains taken by the Jesuits and the other orders to provide a supply of missionaries, I shall leave to others to enumerate and describe.

§ 4. From these colleges and societies issued those swarms of missionaries who travelled over the whole world, so far as it is yet discovered, and from among the most ferocious nations gathered congregations that were, if not in reality, yet in name and in some of their usages, Christian. Among these missionaries, the *Jesuits*, the *Dominicans*, the *Franciscans*, and the *Capuchins*, obtained the greatest glory. Yet they mutually assail and accuse each other publicly of disregarding and dishonouring the cause of Christ, and even of corrupting his holy doctrines. The *Jesuits*, in particular, are the most spoken against, both by the others who labour with them in the glorious cause of enlarging the Saviour's empire, and by the great body of their own church. For it is said, that they instil into most of their proselytes, not the pure religion which Christ taught, but a lax and corrupt system of faith and practice; that they not only tolerate, and wink at, practices and opinions that are superstitious and profane, but even encourage them among their followers; that they amass vast riches by traffic, and by other unbecoming arts and occupations; that they are eager after worldly honours, and court the favour of the great by adulation and presents; that they involve themselves needlessly in civil affairs and in the intrigues of courts; that they frequently excite seditions and civil wars in nations; and finally, that they will not obey the Roman pontiff, and the vicars and bishops whom he sends

⁷ [This was a titular dignity, or a see in *partibus*, that is, *infidelium*, as Romanists say. *Ed.*]

⁸ Helyot. *loc. cit.* cap. xiii. p. 87. 100

out. If any one call for witnesses to support these heavy charges, he finds himself almost overwhelmed with their multitude and their splendour. For there are produced illustrious and very grave men from every Romish country; and among them are many, on whom can fall no suspicion of envy, credulity, or ignorance; such as cardinals, members of the Congregation for propagating the faith, and, what cannot be surpassed, some of the pontiffs themselves. Nor do these witnesses come forward unarmed for the contest, but assail the doubting with the very facts perpetrated by the Jesuits, particularly in China, Abyssinia, and Japan, to the great injury of the Romish cause.⁹

§ 5. The Jesuits, although they exerted all their sagacity and cunning, (for which they are said to be pre-eminent,) in order to silence these accusations, yet could not prevent them from reaching Roman ears. Among many circumstances which go to prove this, may be mentioned especially the following, that the association at Rome, which controls absolutely all sacred missions, has now, for many years, employed the Jesuits more sparingly and more cautiously than formerly; and that on great and trying occasions, it sets a higher value on the sobriety, poverty, and patience of even the *Capuchins* and *Carmelites*, than on the abundant resources, the ingenuity, and the courage of the Jesuits. Yet neither this body, nor even the pontiffs, are able to correct all that they either tacitly or openly censure in the Jesuits; but are obliged, however much against their wishes, to tolerate a great number of things. For the disciples of *St. Ignatius* have acquired, in various ways, so great influence, and so much wealth, throughout the Romish world, that they dare menace even the monarch of the church; nor can they be compelled, without hazard, to obey his injunctions, whenever they refuse to do it. This most powerful society either dictates itself the decrees of the Romish court; or if dictated by others, it either refuses with impunity to obey them, or by its ingenuity gives them such an interpretation as the interests of the Ignatian fraternity demand.

§ 6. The cause of this great dissension between the Jesuits and the other Christian missionaries is, that the Jesuits pursue a very different method in converting nations to Christianity

⁹ A great amount of testimony is *de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Utrecht, 1741, collected by the author of the *Histoire* 8vo, throughout the Preface.

from that of their colleagues and associates. The Jesuits are of opinion, that people deeply sunk in superstition should be approached with art and policy ; and that they are to be led, by a cautious and careful hand, to embrace the Gospel. Hence they explain and interpret the received doctrines and opinions of the pagans—as, for instance, the precepts of *Confucius* in China—in such a manner, that they may seem to differ as little as possible from the doctrines of Christianity ; and if they find any thing in their religion or their history analagous at all to the faith and the history of Christians, they carefully apply it to demonstrate the harmony between the old religion and the new. The rights and usages, also, which the nations received from their progenitors, unless they are totally opposite to the Christian rites, they tolerate, and either changing their form a little, or referring them to a better end than before, accommodate them to Christianity. The natural biasses and propensities of the people they comply with, so far as it is possible, and carefully avoid whatever is opposed to them. The priests and men of learning, by whom the populace are generally led, they labour in all possible ways, and even by pious frauds, to secure and bring over to their party. They court the favour and the friendship of those in power, by presents, by the cultivation of various arts, mathematics, medicine, painting, and the like, as well as by affording them counsel and aid in their difficulties. I might specify many other particulars. Now all these their colleagues and associates look upon as artifices and tricks unworthy of ambassadors of Christ, who, they think, should plead the cause of God openly and ingenuously, without deception and cunning. Hence they attack superstition, and every thing that grows out of or tends towards it, openly and avowedly ; do not spare the ancestors or the ancient ceremonies of the pagans ; pay no attention to their chiefs, their courts, their priests ; state the mysteries of Christianity nakedly, and do not hesitate to oppose the hereditary religions of the nations.

§ 7. The name and the religion of Christians were sounded over nearly all Asia, in this century, by these ministers of the Romish see. We begin with *India* ; nearly all the parts of which, and especially those formerly subject to the Portuguese till they were driven out by the Dutch, received some sparks of the heavenly light, though involved in much obscurity by the labours of the Jesuits, and also of some Theatins and

Augustinians. But of all the missions ever undertaken to these nations, none has been more noticed and talked of than that to *Madura*: and none is said to have produced more abundant fruits, quite to the present times. *Robert de Nobili*, or as some write it, *de Nobilibus*, an Italian Jesuit, who commenced this mission, reflecting that the Indians abhor all Europeans, and on the other hand venerate exclusively the race of Brahmans, as if descended from the gods, and that they will listen to no other teachers, feigned himself a Brahman, come from a distant country; and by staining his face, and adopting that very austere and painful mode of life which the *Sanianes* or penitents lead, he persuaded the credulous people to believe him. By this artifice he first brought over twelve Brahmans to adopt his discipline: and their example induced a great multitude to follow him as their master. After the death of *Robert*, this singular establishment lay for some time neglected.¹ But afterwards, by the counsels and exertions of the Portuguese Jesuits, it was revived; and it is continued at the present time by such Jesuits, both French and Portuguese, as think themselves able to submit to its very severe rules. These fictitious Brahmans, who deny themselves to be Europeans or *Franks*, (*Pranghis*, as the Indians pronounce it,) and pretend to have been born in the northern regions, are said to be at the head of a community almost numberless, and one which is annually increasing by large accessions; nor is this very incredible.² But what is reported of the immense hardships and sufferings

¹ Urban Cerri, *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 173.

² The Jesuits can scarcely find words adequate, when they would either extol the glory and the effects of this mission, or describe the sufferings and labours voluntarily endured by the missionaries. See the *Lettres curieuses et édifiantes écrites des missions étrangères*, tom. i. pp. 9. 32. 46. 50. 55. Father Martin, there, (p. 9,) pronounces it *the most beautiful and most perfect mission that ever was*; “la plus belle qui soit au monde.” Each of the missionaries is said to have baptized at least a thousand persons annually (p. 11): “Le moins que chaque Missionnaire en baptise par an, est mille.” Yet, if credit is to be given to him, (p. 12,) access to the sacred font was not unadvisedly allowed of. Persons were long

under trial, and were instructed for four months, in order to their being received; and those received, so live that they appear more like heavenly angels, than like men; “ils vivent comme des anges.” And very rarely do there occur among them any instances of such sins as merit eternal death. If the causes of this extraordinary sanctity are demanded, the Jesuits mention two. The first is, the lives of the missionaries, than which nothing could be more austere and more revolting to human nature (p. 15); “la vie des Missionnaires ne scauroit être plus austère ni plus affreuse selon la nature.” See also tom. xii. p. 206, tom. xv. p. 211, &c. They neither allow themselves the use of bread, nor wine, nor flesh, nor fish, but live upon water and pulse, of the most insipid kinds, and without con-

which they endure, for the sake of Christ, is thought by no small number to admit of some doubt. For they are said by many to simulate in public perfect models of rigid abstinence, and sufferers under various self-inflicted injuries, but in private to regale themselves with wine, flesh, and other such indulgences.

§ 8. The Jesuits were the first who brought a knowledge of the truth revealed by Christ to the inhabitants of *Siam*, *Tonquin*,

diments. Their dress and other things correspond with their diet. The other reason assigned is, that these new Christians live entirely separated from Europeans; who are said, (p. 16, 17,) by their licentiousness and corrupt morals, to contaminate all Christian converts from among the Indians. See also what is said in various places in these Letters, concerning the mission to Madura; e. g. tom. ii. p. 1, &c. tom. iii. p. 217, tom. v. p. 2, tom. vi. p. 119, &c. tom. ix. p. 126, and elsewhere. — *Madura* is a kingdom situated in the heart of the peninsula of India, this side the Ganges. An accurate geographical map of all the countries embraced in the mission to Madura, was published by the Jesuits, in the *Lettres curieuses et édifiantes des Missions*, tom. xv. p. 60, &c. The French Jesuits established a mission, after the model of this, in the Indian kingdom of the *Carnatic*, and its vicinity. See *Lettres édifiantes*, tom. v. p. 3. 240. Near the end of the century, other Jesuits projected a similar mission in the territories of the king of *Moravia* [or *Maravaas*]. See *Lettres édifiantes*, tom. ii. p. 1, tom. x. p. 79. But the Jesuits themselves admit, (*Lettres édif.* tom. vi. pp. 3. 15. 66. 107, &c.) that their mission was more successful in the kingdom of *Moravia*, than in that of the *Carnatic*. Perhaps the French Jesuits, who founded the *Carnatic* mission, were unable so perfectly and patiently to follow that severe and painful mode of living, which this plan required, as the Portuguese and Spanish Jesuits were. Recently, Benedict XIV., who does not approve of this crafty method of the Jesuits in converting nations, by a mandate issued A. D. 1744, has proscribed all these once most celebrated missions. This pontiff would have no wiles and tricks employed in the important work of extending the limits of the church. See Norbet's *Mémoires Historiques pour les Missions Orientales*, tom. i. and iv. The entire history of these missions, together with a copy of Bene-

dict's decree, is in Thom. Mar. Mam-machus, *Origines et Antiquit. Christianæ*, tom. ii. p. 245, &c. — [Robert de Nobili was born of high parentage at Rome, in 1577; became a Jesuit at the age of twenty; studied philosophy at Naples, and theology at Rome. In the year 1606, he obtained leave to go as a missionary to the Indies, and was made an assistant to the Jesuit, Gonsalvo Fernandes, who by ten years' labour among the Indians, had only been able to baptize a few natives who were at the point of death. Robert, early perceiving that the Indian ideas of *caste* formed a great obstacle to their conversion, and prevented all success among the higher castes, determined to convert this insurmountable obstacle into a successful engine. Having obtained the approbation of his plan by the archbishop of Cranganore, he assumed the habits and the garb of a Brahmin, shut himself up in a cell, avoided society, learned well the Tamul and the Sanscrit languages, and studied the sacred books of the Hindoos; and then came forth, avowing himself a foreign Brahmin, and a reformer of the corruptions of the Brahminic religion. All admired his eloquence and his learning. He first gained one Brahmin to his Christian Brahminism; and then others, till the number amounted to seventy. These suffered some opposition from the other Brahmins: but Robert's chief difficulty was from the opposition of the catholics to his whole plan. The case was carried to Rome, and there warmly debated, and it was not without difficulty, that Robert was permitted to go on in his begun course. Yet he continued his labours nearly half a century, and then died at Meliapore, in 1656. After his death, his semi-Christian community declined for a time; but it was revived again by other Jesuits, and so enlarged, that in 1710 it was said to embrace more than 150,000 members. After the whole plan was condemned, however, by Benedict XIV., in 1744, the

and *Cochin China*; *Alexander of Rhodes*, a native of Avignon, being the leader of the enterprise³: and vast numbers in those nations are said to have eagerly embraced it. Influenced by this good news, *Alexander VII.*, in the year 1658, thought it advisable to place some bishops over this new church; and therefore ordered certain French priests, of the *Congregation of priests for foreign missions*, to repair thither clothed with authority from him. But the Jesuits, who can bear no superiors, and scarcely any equals, treated those pious and good men with very great contumely and injustice, and would not suffer them to enter into their harvest.⁴ Hence arose in the court of Rome, a protracted contest; the issue of which plainly showed, that the Jesuits would easily resort to the authority of the pontiffs to extend and confirm their power, but treated it with contempt, when it opposed their interests and emoluments. Subsequently, the French king, *Lewis XIV.*, sent a splendid embassy, in the year 1684, to the king of Siam, whose prime minister at that

community rapidly declined, and soon became extinct. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 707, &c., and vol. vii. p. 36, &c. Tr.]

³ See the various writings and especially the Journal of Alexander de Rhodes, a man not lacking in genius and discernment, published at Paris, 1666, and 1682, 4to. [See *Relazione de' felici successi della S. Fede predicata da' PP. della Compagnia di Giesu nel Regno del Turchino*, Rome, 1640, 4to. *Relazione di Alessandro Latino-Turchinensis* is one of the most rare books; as also his *Grammat. Lingue Annamitice*, the vernacular language of Tonquin. Alexander went to that country in 1627, and in the space of three years converted more than 5000 persons; among whom he numbered some to be so good converts, that in the year 1634 it was estimated there were more than 30,000 Christians in Tonquin. From Macao he entered upon a mission in Cochin-China; but after he had converted numbers, he was imprisoned, and banished the country. The mission, however, was afterwards prosecuted by other fathers. See *Relation de tout ce qui se passa à la Cochinchine*, Paris, 1652, 8vo. Christof. Borro, *Relazione della nuova Missione de PP. della Compagnia di Giesu nel Regno de Cocincina*, Rome, 1631, 8vo, and *delle Missioni de' Padri*

della Compagnia di Giesu nel Regno del Turchino, Rome, 1663, 4to. Schl.]

⁴ There were various pamphlets published at Paris, in 1666, 1674, and 1681, in 4to, in which these French missionaries, whom the Jesuits refused to admit as fellow-labourers in enlightening idolaters, eloquently described their sufferings and their wrongs. The most accurate and full is the account given by Francis Pallu, whom the pope had made bishop of Mazarin; printed in Frey's *Paris*, 1688, 8vo. The subject is also expressly taken up in the *Gallia Christiana* of the Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 1027. A concise history of the affair is given by Urban Cerri, *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 199, &c. who, though he was secretary of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, inveighs with great severity against the frauds, the cruelty, and the lust of domination of the Jesuits; and laments, that his *Congregation* had not the power requisite to restrain that arrogant sect. At the close of his narrative he remarks, that he was not at liberty to state all the crimes committed by the Jesuits in this controversy, because the pontiff ordered them to be kept out of sight. "Votre Sainteté a ordonné, qu'elles demeurassent sous le secret." See also Hipp. Helyot's *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. viii. cap. xii. p. 84, &c.

time was a Greek Christian named *Constantius*, a crafty and ambitious man, soliciting that monarch to pay homage to our Saviour. The embassy was accompanied by many priests and Jesuits, among whom were several well skilled in the arts and sciences, for which the king had some taste. These induced a portion of the people to abandon the superstition of their fathers; but all their efforts to convert the king and the chiefs were in vain, and all hopes of adding the Siamese to the Christian church soon became extinct, together with the king, and his favourite, *Constantius*, who had invited the French into the country, and wished by their means to establish his own power. For, in a sedition raised in 1688, some of the princes put them both to death⁵, whereupon the French were obliged to return home.

⁵ An account of this mission and its proceedings has been given by Tachard, Chaumont, La Loubere, and others. Among these, the preference is due to Loubere, who was a man of learning and genius. [His work is entitled, *Du Royaume de Siam, par Mr. de la Loubere, Envoyé extraordinaire du Roy auprès du Roy de Siam, en 1687 et 1688*, 2 vols. 8vo, Amsterd. 1691. It is chiefly occupied with the geography of the country, and the transactions of the embassy. Father Tachard's book is entitled, *Voyages de Siam des Pères Jesuites envoyés par le Roy, avec leurs observations*, Paris, 1686, 4to, and Amsterd. 1699, 12mo. *Second Voyage au Royaume de Siam*, Paris, 1689, 4to, and Amsterd. 1699, 12mo. How far such Jesuitical accounts deserve credit, the world already knows. Here belongs also, *Relation de l'Ambassade de Mr. de Chaumont à la Cour du Roy de Siam, avec ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable durant son Voyage*, Paris, 1686, 12mo, which was followed by, *Journal, ou Suite du Voyage de Siam, par Mr. l'Abbe de Choisy* (who accompanied Mr. Chaumont), Amsterd. 1687, 12mo. The unhappy change which afterwards took place in Siam, to the disadvantage of the French, is described by Farges, a French officer, who was an eye-witness, in his *Relation des Révolutions arrivées à Siam dans l'année 1688*, Amsterd. 1691, 12mo; and by Father d'Orleans, in his *Histoire de Mr. Constance, premier Ministre du Roy de Siam, et de la dernière Révolution*, Paris, 1692, 12mo.—*Schl.* The politic *Constan-*

tius, who had himself been in France, hoped to derive some advantages from a French alliance; and the Jesuit missionaries united with him in representing the king as much inclined to embrace Christianity. But when Chaumont, the French ambassador, arrived, (if we may believe the Jesuit Tachard,) the king of Siam told the ambassador, "that it was no light matter to change a nation's religion, after it had prevailed for more than 2200 years: and that he wondered the king of France should interest himself so much, in a matter that did not concern *him*, but God only; and one too, which God himself seemed to leave very much to the free choice of men. Could not God, (said he,) who gave to all men similar bodies and similar souls, have given them also similar views of religion, if he had seen fit? And as he has not done so, it is presumable, that he takes pleasure in being worshipped in so many different ways." He, however, allowed Christianity to be preached in his realm. The French court, not less solicitous, probably, to secure the trade of the country than to change its religion, sent a second embassy in 1688, under De la Loubere; which was accompanied by a large military force. The French were now in possession of the port of Mequi and the castle of Bancop, which were keys to the country; and Constantius himself began to be alarmed. But the same year, the nobles conspired against this minister, and slew him; and in the tumult, the king himself lost his life. This revolution changed

§ 9. China, the largest and most opulent of all the Asiatic kingdoms, was visited by great numbers of Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Capuchins, and others, at the commencement of this century, for the purpose of spreading the knowledge of Christianity. All these, though disagreeing in other things, unite in proclaiming the astonishing success of their labours. But the Jesuits justly claim the chief honour of surmounting the obstacles which opposed the progress of Christianity among that discerning and proud people, so tenacious of the customs of their ancestors. For discovering that the nation, which is naturally quick-witted, and eager to know the truth, was very fond of the arts and sciences, especially of the mathematics, the Jesuits sent over men who were not only well acquainted with human nature and discreet in managing affairs, but likewise profoundly versed in learning and the abstruse sciences. Some of these, by their address, the elegance of their manners, and their skill in business, soon acquired such influence, that high honours and offices were conferred on them by the emperor; and they were employed in affairs of the greatest consequence in the court itself. And supported by such patrons, other teachers of humbler rank and talents were able, without much difficulty, to collect disciples of every rank, sex, and age, in all the provinces of this vast empire.

§ 10. This prosperity was checked in some measure, when *Xun-Chi*, the first emperor of the Mogul race, died, and left his son a minor; for the chief nobles, to whose care and instruction the heir of the empire was committed, having viewed Christianity with strong aversion, abused their power to overthrow both it and its friends; and especially whom they stripped of all their advantages, their privileges, and persecuted with violence. One man among the Jesuits, *Johann*, was distinguished for the high office he sustained.

the whole face of things; and the French were obliged to quit the country. Yet probably some priests remained behind; for the very next year, it is said, some thousands of Siamese were baptized. At least, it is certain, Christianity was not exterminated; for near the close of the century, Urban Cerri states, that an apostolical vicar was residing in the

year
&c.,
mention.

age and his extensive learning, was cast into prison, and condemned to be put to death, while the others were banished the country. This was in the year 1664. But in the year 1669, when *Cham-Hi* took the sceptre into his own hands, the prostrate cause of Christianity was not only restored, but moreover in process of time so advanced and exalted, that the Jesuits commonly reckon this the commencement of the golden age of the Christians in China. For the emperor, who possessed very great talents and genius, and was most eager in the search and investigation of truth⁶, first recalled the Jesuits to court, and restored them to their former rank; and then sent for others of the same family from Europe, especially such as were skilful in the different arts and sciences. Some of these he placed in the highest offices of the state, and employed in civil transactions of the greatest importance. And some of them, particularly Frenchmen, he received to personal intimacy, and made them his own teachers in various things, especially in philosophy and the mathematics. It was not difficult for the Jesuits when thus exalted, to obtain many friends and supporters of Christianity, and to provide protection for its preachers. And hence, from nearly all the countries of Europe and Asia, many labourers entered into this harvest; and an immense number of people, with but little difficulty, were brought to profess Christianity. The religion of Christ seemed triumphant in China, when the emperor, who was so extremely partial to the Jesuits, in the year 1692 published that famous law, in which he denied that the Christian religion was injurious to the state, as its enemies contended, and gave all his subjects liberty to embrace it; nay more, erected a splendid temple in 1700, within the limits of his own palace.⁷

⁶ *regia* to be procured is, Joseph Sauer, *De Libertate Religionem Christianam apud Sinas propagandi Narratio*; published by Leibniz, 1698, in the first part of his *Novissima Sinica*. Most of the others are translated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Lux evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, cap. xxxix. 1663, &c. See also my Ecclesiastical History of China, written in German, and published both in a separate work, and as a Preface to the German translation of Du Halde's work. [⁷ This history was translated into English, and published in the year 1750, with the title of *Authentic Memoirs of the Christian Church in China.* Maccl.]

^{iii.} .. iii.
^{caney,} .. iii.
^{count is in} .. iii.
^{the most easy} .. iii.

§ 11. That the Jesuits actually did and accomplished all that is above stated, is not denied even by their worst enemies : but whether their mode of proceeding was regular and right, or such as the nature and dignity of the Christian religion demanded, was long contested, and still is so, with great acrimony. The enemies of the Jesuits (and they are both numerous and very bitter, especially among the Dominicans and the Jansenists,) strenuously maintain, that they purchased this success at the expense of committing offences and crimes of a detestable character. In the first place, they are charged with putting a very faulty construction upon the old religion of the Chinese, and persuading the emperor and his nobles, that there was very little, if any, difference between the ancient and original religion of China, or the precepts of *Confucius*, the great philosopher and lawgiver of that nation, and the religion of *Christ* : and to this execrable misrepresentation, it is said, they added others of less moment ; in particular, they led the Chinese (who overrate every thing ancient, and undervalue what is new,) to believe that many ages ago, the Chinese had been made acquainted with *Christ*, and had paid Him worship : and that to these false representations must be attributed the favourable disposition of the emperor towards Christianity, and the passing over of some leading men to the side of the Jesuits. In the next place, they are charged with being utterly regardless of the duties and the virtues which become the ministers of Christ. For they not only accepted, but eagerly sought after, honours and civil offices : and elated by the munificence of the emperor, their whole life was contaminated by the magnificence of their dress, the luxury of their tables, the multitude of their servants, and the splendour of their palaces ; and that they devoted themselves not so much to spreading the knowledge of Christianity, as to teaching human science, especially the mathematics : and that they even took charge of military affairs, and commanded in the field of battle. And lastly, Jesuits of inferior rank are represented as engaging with eagerness in usurious speculations, in merchandise, and in other arts, by which wealth and worldly distinction are acquired, to the immense disgrace of their profession. Some of these charges the Jesuits admit indeed, but at the same time labour to extenuate ; but the first and the last, they contend, are calumnious fabrications. And undoubtedly, those who have

opportunity to examine the matter thoroughly, will be willing to admit, that envy and ill-will have had some share in this controversy.

§ 12. The principal charge against the Jesuits in China, is that they confound light and darkness; or that, the more easily to overcome the scruples of the Chinese, they mix the superstitions of China with Christianity, and allow their disciples to follow the profane customs and impious rites of their ancestors. The Jesuit *Matthew Ricci*, the father of the Chinese church, thought that the greatest part of the rites which are enjoined by the Chinese laws, might suitably be observed by the converts to Christianity; for they originated, he said, not from religious considerations, but from state policy; or were civil, and not religious ceremonies; nor were they viewed in any other light, except perhaps by some of the lower class of people.⁸ A contrary opinion was embraced, not only by the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were associated with the Jesuits in the mission, but also by very learned men among the Jesuits themselves, both in China and Japan, one of whom, *Nicholas Lombard*, stated the grounds of his dissent in writing.⁹ This controversy, having been long agitated in private, was brought to Rome by the Dominicans, in the year 1645; and since then, it has greatly disturbed the whole Romish church. *Innocent X.* in the year just named, decided in favour of the Dominicans, and condemned the indulgence allowed by the Jesuits to the Chinese. But *Alexander VII.*, in the year 1656, at the instigation of the Jesuits, nullified this decision, in effect, though not in express terms; and declared that certain rites to which the Chinese were attached, might be observed by Christians. The Dominicans renewed their complaints, in the years 1661 and 1674, under the pontificate of *Clement X.*; but they seem to have been foiled by the power of the Jesuits. In the year 1684, this fatal controversy was renewed in China, where it had been at rest for several years, and was prosecuted with greater warmth than before. Victory seemed inclining to the side of the Dominicans, when *Charles Maigrot*, a doctor, of

⁸ See Mammachius, *Origines et Antiquit. Christianae*, tom. ii. p. 373, &c.

⁹ See Christ. Kortholt's Preface to the second volume of Leibnitz's *Epistles*, § vi. p. 18, &c. who has subjoined to this volume the tracts of Nich. Lombard and

Antony de St. Maria, against the Jesuits, with the remarks of Leibnitz. There is also in this work, (p. 413,) a long dissertation of Leibnitz, addressed to Remond, on the philosophy of the Chinese; in which he pleads the cause of the Jesuits.

the Sorbonne, whom the pontiff had constituted his vicar in the province of Fohi, and who was afterward bishop of Conon, by a public decree, in the year 1693, decided, that the opinions and regulations of the Jesuits were contrary to the purity of the Christian religion. But the pontiff, to whose authority [and sanction] *Maigrot* had subjected his decree, would not decide either way, on any part of it, until the whole cause should have had a legal investigation. Accordingly, in the year 1699, he appointed a board of special judges, or a *Congregation*, as the Romish court terms it, to give this angry contest a thorough examination. As soon as this resolution of the pontiff was made known, all the enemies of the Jesuits in the Romish church, and particularly in France, took the field; and in various pamphlets assailed the character and the proceedings of the Jesuits, in the most vehement manner. Nor were the Jesuits wanting in efforts on their own part.¹ The termination of this conflict belongs to the history of the next century.

§ 13. This controversy, which has called forth the talents of so many men of the finest genius, if we separate from it some minor questions, and such as relate rather to the Jesuits themselves than to the subject in debate, may be all embraced under two heads. (L.) The Chinese call the supreme god whom they worship, TIEN, and SHANG-TI; that is, in their language, *Heaven*. And the Jesuits transferred this name to the God of the Christians: whence it seemed to follow, that they thought there was no difference between the chief God of the Chinese and the infinitely perfect God of the Christians; or, that the Chinese had the same ideas of their TIEN or *heaven*, as the Christians have of God. But this the adversaries of the Jesuits deny. The first question therefore is, whether the Chinese understand, by the words specified, the visible material heavens, or the Lord of heaven, the eternal and all-perfect *Being*, whose throne is in the heavens, and who from that throne, in infinite wisdom, rules all human affairs; that is, such a God as Chris-

¹ Du Halde, *Description de la Chine* tom. iii. p. 142, &c. The other writers who are quite numerous, are mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorientis*, cap. xxxix, p. 665, &c. Add Voltaire, *Siccle de Louis XIV.*, tom. ii. p. 318, &c. But especially worth read-

ing is the ingenious patron of the Jesuits, and himself a Jesuit, Gabriel Daniel, *Histoire Apologétique de la Conduite des Jésuites de la Chine*; printed in a third volume of his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, p. 1, &c.

tianity presents to us for our worship. The Jesuits maintain the latter; for they contend, that these names were used by the ancient Chinese philosophers, (who, they think, had just ideas of natural religion,) to denote very clearly such a God as the Christians worship: and therefore, they would not prohibit their converts from continuing to use those terms, in their prayers and discourses, to designate the supreme Being; nay, they used them constantly themselves, to denote the true God. But their adversaries maintain the contrary opinion; and contend, that the ancient philosophy of the Chinese was full of impiety, and made no distinction between God, the divine Spirit, and nature or the material world. They assert, moreover, that *Confucius* himself, whom the Chinese hold in the highest veneration, was a stranger to religion and piety, and one who supposed, that all existing things arose necessarily into being in the course of nature. This disagreement gave rise to very learned discussions, concerning the customs, laws, and opinions of the ancient Chinese; which have, indeed, made us acquainted with many things that were previously not well understood, but they have not decided the point for which they were undertaken. It seems, that entire assent is not to be given either to the positions of the Jesuits, or to those of their adversaries; and that the TIEN of the ancient Chinese was indeed far inferior in his attributes to the God of Christians, but notwithstanding differed from heaven or the firmament.

§ 14. The ancient laws of China require the people, annually, at stated seasons, to honour their deceased ancestors, with certain ceremonies which seem to be of a religious nature; and, moreover, all the learned men of the nation at certain times, must pay a kind of worship, which also seems to have a religious aspect, to the philosopher *Confucius*, (who is accounted the father of all wisdom,) in buildings consecrated to him. Hence, a second question is, whether those honours, which the Chinese are required to pay to the souls of their deceased ancestors, and all the learned to *Confucius*, are civil honours, or religious; whether they are *sacrifices*, or only regulations established for state purposes. The Jesuits say, that the ancient Chinese lawgivers instituted these rites, to keep the people in order, and to preserve the tranquillity of the state; that the Chinese do not offer religious worship to the souls of their ancestors, or to *Confucius*, but only testify by certain ceremonies

their grateful sense of the merits and benefits as well of their ancestors as of *Confucius*, and engage to tread in their steps. And hence they conclude, that it is allowable for Christians to observe these sacred rites of their country, provided they understand the true nature and grounds of them, and always keep in sight the object of their institution. And whoever wishes to see the cause of Christianity flourish and advance in China, can scarcely think differently from the Jesuits, whether their statements are erroneous or correct. For it has been established, by public law, for many ages, that no one shall be accounted a good citizen in that country, or be admitted to any office in the state, who does not perform the ceremonies in question.² But the Dominicans and the other enemies of the Jesuits, contend, that these rites are no small part of the Chinese religion; that *Confucius*, and the souls of their ancestors, are objects of religious worship to the Chinese; and of course, that such as observe these rites, offer an affront to the divine majesty, and cannot be accounted Christians. The more candid among the Jesuits themselves do not deny that this is a very difficult question to decide; and hence some of them, at last, resorted to the plea of necessity; and urged, that minor evils, if productive of the greatest advantages, are scarcely to be accounted evils.³

§ 15. Japan, at the commencement of this century, was filled with an astonishing multitude of people, whom the Jesuits especially had convinced of the excellence of the Christian religion.

² [Had the early Christians reasoned thus, they might have escaped persecution from the Pagan Roman emperors, who only required of them to obey the public laws of the land, and thus to show themselves good citizens. No doubt, on the supposition that those Chinese rites were merely civil, and not religious, that it could be consistent for Christians to comply with them. *Tr.*]

³ ["The public honour paid to *Confucius* twice a year, used to be performed before his statue, erected in the great hall or temple, that is dedicated to his memory. At present they are performed before a kind of *Tablet*, placed in the most conspicuous part of the edifice, with the following inscription: *The throne of the soul of the most holy and the most excellent chief teacher Confucius.* The literati, or learned, celebrate this famous festival

in the following manner: The chief mandarin of the place exercises the office of priest, and the others discharge the functions of deacons, sub-deacons, and so on. A certain sacrifice, called *tsu*, which consists of wine, blood, fruits, &c. is offered, after the worshippers have purified themselves for this ceremony by fasting and other acts of abstinence and mortification. They kneel before the inscription, prostrate the body nine times before it, until the head touches the ground, repeat a great variety of prayers; after which, the priest, taking in one hand a cup full of wine, and, in the other, a like cup filled with blood, makes a solemn libation to the deceased, and dismisses the assembly with a blessing. The rites performed by families, in honour of their deceased parents, are pretty much of the same nature."

But this very brilliant success was disturbed somewhat, partly by the hatred of Christianity, entertained by the national priests and some nobles in the court, which gave rise to severe persecutions, in one place and another, both of the newly-converted Christians and their teachers; and partly by the internal broils and contentions, among those who had the charge of this rising church. For here, as in other countries, the Augustinian, Dominican, and Franciscan missionaries, waged a most pernicious war against the Jesuits. They taxed them, both at the court of Rome and elsewhere, with insatiable avarice, with excessive indulgence both to the vices and the superstitions of the Japanese, with a crafty management unbecoming the ministers of Christ, with an eagerness to reign and give law, and with other crimes of no less magnitude. The Jesuits on the other hand complained, that their accusers, by their imprudence, their ignorance of human nature, their pertinacity, the asperity of their manners, their rustic mode of life, and other faults, injured, rather than promoted, the growth of Christian principles among a high-minded and discerning people. Yet all these causes were by no means adequate to arrest the progress of Christianity, or to bring any great evil upon the immense multitude which had made profession of this religion. And, perhaps, means might have been devised at Rome, if not for entirely removing, yet for quieting and tempering these contentions.⁴

"Now in order to know, with certainty, whether this festival and these rites be of a *civil* or a *religious* nature, we have only to inquire, whether they be the same with those ceremonies that are performed by the Chinese, in the worship they pay to certain celestial and terrestrial *spirits* or *genii*, which worship is undoubtedly of a religious kind. The learned Leibnitz (*Præf. Novissim. Sinarum*,) undertook to affirm, that the services now mentioned were not of the same kind, and consequently, that the Jesuits were accused unjustly. But that great man does not appear to have examined this matter with his usual sagacity and attention. For it is evident from a multitude of relations every way worthy of credit, and particularly from the observations made on the Chinese missions, by that learned and candid Franciscan Antonio de S. Maria, (*Epp. Leibnitz*, vol. ii.) not only that Confucius was worshipped among the

idols, and the *celestial and terrestrial spirits* of the Chinese, but that the oblations and ceremonies observed in honour of him were perfectly the same with those that were performed as acts of worship to these *idols* and *spirits*. Those that desire a more ample account of this matter may consult the following authors: Budæi *Annal. Histor. Philos.* p. 287, where he treats *De supersticioso Demortuorum apud Sinenses Cultu*.—Wolfii *Not. ad Casaubon*, p. 342.—Nic. Char-mes. *Annot. ad Magrotti Historiam Cultus Sinensis*. But more especially Ar-naud, *Morale Pratique des Jésuites*, tom. ii. vi. vii. and a collection of historical relations published at Cologne, in 8vo., in the year 1700, under the following title: *Historia Cultus Sinensium, seu varia scripta de Cultibus Sinarum inter Vicarios Apostolicos, et PP. S. I. controversis*. [Muel.]

⁴ Besides the writers mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii toto*

§ 16. But in the year 1615, the emperor of Japan himself commenced a most direful persecution against the Christians, the like to which is not to be found in the whole history of the Christian church; and this persecution continued many years, and did not cease, until it had exterminated Christianity from that empire. For the Christian religion was judged to be pestilent and intolerable: because injurious to the safety of the nation, and to the majesty of their supreme pontiff, whom the populace of Japan believed to be the offspring of the gods themselves, and also to the most sacred institutions and religion of their ancestors. The foreign Christians, therefore, the Portuguese especially, and the Spaniards, were required to depart the kingdom; and the Japanese, who had renounced their idols, were required to abandon Christ, or undergo the most cruel death. This dreadful persecution destroyed an innumerable multitude of people, of every class, age, sex, and rank, who chose to die amidst the most exquisite tortures, rather than break the faith once pledged with Christ. And if either the Jesuits, or their adversaries, were guilty of faults while pleading the cause of Christ; they now, as it were, atoned for them, by their own blood. For most of them surrendered themselves to death for Christ, with the greatest firmness, and some of them with joy and triumph.—The causes of this horrid persecution are differently stated by different parties. The Jesuits throw some of the blame on the imprudent conduct of the Dominicans and Franciscans: and these, in return, ascribe it to the avaricious, factious, arrogant temper of the Jesuits.⁵

orbi exoriens, cap. xl. p. 678, &c. see Domin. Charlevoix, *Histoire de Japon*, tom. ii. lib. xi. &c. p. 57, &c.

⁵ Engelbert Kaempfer has given a neat account of this protracted business, in the sixth of those Dissertations, which he has annexed to his history of Japan; § 4, &c. p. 64—75, of the English edition. But it will also be reasonable to hear the fuller statement of Domin. Charlevoix, who has omitted nothing that would go to excuse the Jesuits; in his *Histoire générale de Japon*, tom. ii. livr. xii. p. 136, &c. The other writers are mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, cap. xl. p. 678. Add the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. mensis Februarii, p. 723, &c. where may be seen the History of the church founded in

Japan, and the life and death of those who were first put to death by the Japanese, on account of Christianity. Mammachius, *Origines et Antiquit. Christianæ*, tom. ii. p. 376, &c.—[Francis Xavier first preached the gospel in Japan, in 1549. After he left that country in 1552, great numbers were converted; and some Japanese became Jesuits. Schools and churches were erected even in the capital of Meaco. In 1585, a Japanese embassy was sent to Rome. Christianity now seemed about to become the prevailing religion; there were at least 200,000 Christians; and among them, princes, courtiers, chief nobles, and generals; the Bonzes and their religion were openly ridiculed; and the emperor had excluded paganism altogether from a new city which he

And both accuse the Dutch and the English of studiously inflaming the emperor of Japan, with hatred against the Portuguese and Spaniards, and also against the Roman pontiff, so that they alone might have sway among the Japanese, and secure their commerce to themselves. The Dutch and English reply, that neither the Spaniards nor any other adherents to

founded; and he was on terms of intimacy with the Jesuits. But the base conduct of the Europeans led the emperor to suspect Christianity to be all a farce; and he became jealous of the designs of these strangers. He was also offended at the refusal of some converted females to surrender to him their chastity; and at the instigation of his favourite, in 1587, he commenced a persecution. All Jesuits were ordered to quit the country. Some obeyed, but others remained under the protection of the nobles. Out of about 250 churches, 70 were pulled down. In 1590, more than 20,000 Christians lost their lives. But the next year added 12,000 new converts. In 1596, a Spanish sea-captain, driven upon the coast, showed a chart of extensive countries subject to his master; and being asked how his master could conquer so many nations, he said their missionaries went forward, and prepared the minds of the people to favour him, and then fleets and armies made an easy conquest. This statement was transmitted to court, and produced great jealousy of the missionaries. The emperor swore the Spaniards should never thus conquer Japan; and immediately set himself to exterminate Christianity, which he called a devilish law. The missionaries were imprisoned; and not a few of them as well as their converts were put to death. The persecution continued several years. Yet in 1603, there were 120 Jesuits, most of them priests, in Japan. After this, an English officer of a Dutch ship cautioned the Japanese to beware of the military enterprises of the Spaniards; and represented the priests as designing men, who had been excluded from most European countries, and who did not teach genuine Christianity. This produced a fresh persecution: and in the province of Nangasaki, where there had been more than 40,000 Christians, not one could be found in 1622; all had either renounced their religion or been put to death. Hitherto, however, the

number of Christians in Japan had not diminished greatly; and some estimates make them to have been about 400,000, and others near 600,000. But now things began to take a different turn. In 1616, Ijejas, guardian to the young prince Fidejori, (who was favourable to Christianity, as were many of the nobles,) slew his ward, and proclaimed himself emperor. The Jesuits were objects of his jealousy; and various causes induced him to forbid the further spread of Christianity, and the ingress of monks and priests into the country. He likewise determined to bring back the Japanese Christians to the old religion. Edicts were issued for these purposes; but they were not at once rigorously executed. At length some Franciscan monks, sent as envoys from the Spanish governor of Manilla, imprudently ventured to preach openly in the streets of Meaco, and to erect a church there. This exasperated the government, and brought on a persecution, which is without a parallel in the annals of the church. Among the causes of it were the intercepted letters mentioned in the text, giving account of a projected insurrection of the Christians, as soon as a Spanish force should appear on the coast. As soon as these letters reached the court, in 1637, decrees were passed requiring all foreigners to quit the country at once on pain of death; and subjecting every foreigner to the same penalty, who should ever after set his foot in the country. The return of the Japanese Christians to paganism was now peremptorily required, on pain of death. These decrees were rigorously executed: and two years after, the Portuguese were all driven from the country; and only the Hollanders were allowed to introduce a small quantity of European goods, and to live as it were imprisoned in a corner of the empire. Thus fell the Japanese church, after it had stood very nearly a century. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iii. p. 668, &c. *Tr.*]

the Roman pontiff were by them accused, but only that the perfidy of the Spaniards was laid open. And indeed, nearly all are agreed in this, that the emperor was persuaded by certain letters intercepted by the Dutch and by other evidence bearing a strong probability, that the Jesuits and the other teachers of the new religion designed to raise a sedition, by means of their disciples, and to bring Japan under the power of the Spanish king; and hence the tyrant, equally cruel and jealous, thought he could not be safe and quiet, unless he destroyed every vestige of Christianity. From this time, Japan has been closed against all foreigners; and even every shadow of the Christian name is exterminated with fire and sword. A few of the Hollanders, who are allowed annually to import a small quantity of European merchandise, live in an extreme corner of the kingdom, shut up as it were in a prison.

§ 17. Many respectable and pious men have endeavoured to enkindle a desire among the Lutherans of imitating the papists in efforts for imparting Christian truth to the nations buried in the darkness of degrading superstitions. No one entered more zealously into this business than an Austrian nobleman, *Justinian Ernest*, baron of Wels⁶; who proposed the formation of a society for this purpose, which should bear the name of *Jesus*.⁷ But there were various causes, and especially the situation of the Lutheran princes, few of whom possessed any territories or fortified posts out of Europe, which prevented this matter from ever proceeding beyond good wishes and consultations. But the

⁶ Liber Baro de Wels. [*Freyherr von Wels. Von Ein.*]

⁷ Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer historie*, pt. ii. book xvii. ch. xv. § 23, &c. p. 1066, and pt. iii. ch. xv. § 18, p. 150. Jo. Möller, *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. iii. p. 75. [In 1664, this Hungarian baron published two letters, addressed to the Lutheran community, on a reformation of manners, and efforts for the conversion of the heathen. In the first, he proposed these three questions:—Is it right, that we evangelical Christians should keep the Gospel to ourselves, and not seek to spread it abroad?—Is it right, that we every where encourage so many to study theology, yet give them no opportunity to go abroad; but rather keep them, three, six, or more years, waiting for

parishes to become vacant, or for the posts of schoolmasters?—Is it right, that we should expend so much in dress, high-living, useless amusements, and expensive fashions; yet hitherto have never thought of any means for spreading the Gospel?—His proposal to form a missionary association, was approved by some, but objected to by others, especially among the higher clergy. He himself advanced 12,000 dollars for the object; went to Holland on the subject; and at length took ship for the Dutch West Indies, to embark himself in missionary labour; but he was no more heard of. Some feeble attempts were made to get up a missionary association afterwards; but to no purpose, during this century. See the authors above cited. *Tr.*]

Reformed, and especially the English and the Dutch, whose mercantile adventures carried them to the remotest parts of the world, and who planted extensive colonies during this century in Asia, Africa, and America, enjoyed the best advantages for extending the limits of the Christian church. Nor did these nations wholly neglect this duty; although they are taxed with grasping at the wealth of the Indians, but neglecting their souls, and perhaps they did not perform so much as they might have done. Among the English, in the year 1647, by an act of parliament, the business of propagating Christianity was committed to the care of a society composed of men of the highest respectability and integrity. This society was revived in the reign of *Charles II.* A. D. 1661; and again confirmed, and invested with extraordinary privileges and rights, by *William III.* in the year 1701; and being enriched with the splendid donations of kings, nobles, and private individuals, has continued down to our own times.⁸ From this noble institution, great advantages have been derived, and are still daily derived, by many nations ignorant of Christ, and especially those in America. By the labours of the Dutch, an immense number of people in the island of Ceylon, on the coast of Malabar, in the island of Formosa, and in other countries of Asia, (which the Dutch either conquered from the Portuguese, or otherwise brought under their power,) are said to have renounced the impious rites of their fathers.⁹

⁸ Kennet, *Relation de la Société établie pour la Propagation de l'Evangile par le Roy Guillaume III.* Rotterdam. 1708, 12mo. — [In 1649, an ordinance was passed by the English parliament, for the erection of a corporation, by the name of the *President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England*; and a general collection for its endowment was ordered to be made in all the countries, cities, towns, and parishes, of England and Wales. Notwithstanding very considerable opposition to the measure, funds were raised in this manner, which enabled the society to purchase lands, worth from five to six hundred pounds a year. On the restoration of Charles II., the corporation became dead in law; and colonel Bedingfield, a Roman Catholic, who had sold to it an estate of 322*l.* per annum, seized upon that estate, and refused to refund the money he had received for it. But in 1661, a new char-

ter was granted by the king; and the honourable Robert Boyle brought a suit in chancery against Bedingfield, and recovered the land. Boyle was appointed the first governor of the company, and held the office about 30 years. (See Wm. Brown's *History of the Propagation of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 62, &c. ed. New York, 1821, and Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, ed. of Toulmin, Boston, 1817, vol. iv. p. 433, &c. but especially the *Connecticut Evang. Magazine*, vol. iv. p. 1, &c.) It was this Society which supported the various missionary operations in New-England, during the seventeenth century. Their expenditure in the year 1661, amounted to 738*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.*, or 3282 dollars. *Tr.*]

⁹ See the letters addressed to John Leusden, *de Successu Evangelii apud Indes Orientales*; published at Utrecht, 1699, 8vo.

If perhaps some extravagance may be found in these narrations, yet it is most certain, that this nation, after it had obtained a firm establishment in the East Indies, adopted, at great expense, various measures well calculated to imbue the natives with a knowledge of Christian principles.¹

§ 18. As the interior parts of Africa proper have not yet been accessible to the Europeans, they still remain wholly destitute of the light of Christian truth. But in the maritime parts, especially those where the Portuguese have obtained settlements, the power of the barbarous superstitions has been undermined here and there, and Romish rites have succeeded in their place. Yet the ingenuous even of the Romish communion

¹ See Jo. Brauns, *La véritable Religion des Hollandois*, p. 71, 267, &c. Amsterd. 1675, 12mo. This work is an answer to the malignant tract of Stoup, entitled *La Religion des Hollandois*; in which he would insinuate, that the Dutch have no regard for religion whatever. — [The Dutch conquered Ceylon from the Portuguese, about the middle of this century; and immediately established there the protestant religion, excluding all others from every office. The Portuguese inhabitants, and the natives both Catholics and pagans, in large numbers, embraced the established faith, at least in pretence. The country was divided into 240 parishes: a church was erected, and a school established in each. Every ten schools had a catechist, who was their superintendent. About 15 clergymen were assigned to the island. In 1672, Baldaeus, one of the Dutch ministers, gives account of 30 native churches in the province of Jaffnapatnam; in which were about 30,000 attendants on worship upon Sundays, and about 16,000 pupils in the schools during the week. Near the close of the century, Dr. Leusden wrote to Dr. Increase Mather, of Boston, "that in and near the island of Ceylon, the Dutch pastors had baptized about 300,000" of the natives. (Mather's *Magnalia*, b. iii. vol. i. p. 510. ed. Harft. 1820.) The Dutch had also translated and published in the Cingalese language, considerable portions of the Bible; besides catechisms, prayers, and other Christian books. — The Dutch having possessed themselves of a large part of the island of Java, opened a church in Batavia, the capital, in the year 1621. Pursuing much the same plans here as at Ceylon, in the year 1721, they could

reckon 100,000 Christians in Java; and two Dutch, two Portuguese, and one or two Malay churches at Batavia. The New Testament in Malay, was printed at Amsterdam, 1668, at the expense of the Dutch East India Company. — Soon after establishing the Gospel in Java, the Dutch sent ministers from Batavia to the island of Amboyna; and in 1686, it is said, they had converted 30,000 of the natives. Here, too, schools were established, and a number of ministers stationed, at the expense of the Dutch East India Company. — In 1634, the Dutch formed a settlement on the western part of the island Formosa. Robert Junius, of Delft was sent out by the Dutch government to establish Christianity there. He is said to have baptized 6000 persons; and to have set up schools, in which about 600 young men were taught to read. He composed some prayers, and translated certain Psalms into the Formosan language; and though his labours were chiefly in the northern parts of the island, yet he had planted churches in twenty-three towns in the south, and had set pastors over them, when he returned to Holland. In 1661, the Gospels of Matthew and John were translated into the Formosan language, by Daniel Gravius and printed at Amsterdam, together with a catechism. But, probably, before these books reached the island, it was captured by a Chinese pirate; and it has since belonged to the Chinese. — Besides the converts in these places, the Dutch made many others in Sumatra, Timor, Celebes, Banda, Ternate, and the neighbouring Molucca Islands. See Brown's *Hist. of the Propagation of Christianity*, vol. i. ch. iii. p. 15 — 28. *Tr.*]

do not deny, that the number of those in this part of the world who deserve the appellation of genuine Christians, is but small ; that the greater part so worship Christ as at the same time to follow the abominable superstition of their fathers ; and that even the best of them have many defects. What little advances Christianity has made in that country, are to be ascribed altogether to the efforts of the Capuchins, who encountered incredible toils and hardships in bringing some of the ferocious nations of Africa to a knowledge of Christ. They persuaded, among others, the kings of Owerra and Benin of the truth of Christianity ; and induced the very cruel and heroic queen of Matamba, *Anna Zingha*, in 1652, to allow herself and her people to be baptized.² For the Roman pontiffs, or rather the society at Rome which superintends the propagation of Christianity, have judged that African missions, for various reasons, were attended with peculiar dangers and difficulties, and could not well be performed by any but those early accustomed to austere modes of living and to the endurance of hardships. Nor do the other Romish orders appear to envy the Capuchins very much this glory which they have earned so hardly.

§ 19. The India of the West, or what is commonly called America, is inhabited by innumerable colonists, professing the Romish religion, Spanish, Portuguese, and French.³ But these, especially the Spanish and Portuguese, as appears from the testimony of the most respectable men, themselves belonging to the papal church, are, even the priests not excepted, the lowest and most abandoned of all that bear the Christian name, and

² For illustration of these facts, besides Urban Cerri, *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 222, &c. see Jo. Anton. Cavazzi, *Relation Historique de l'Afrique* [d'Ethiopie] *Occidentale*; which Jo. Bapt. Labat published in French, tom. iii. p. 432, &c. tom. iv. p. 28, 354, &c. and nearly the whole work, which is chiefly occupied with the history of the missions performed by the Capuchins in Africa during the last century. [Dr. Maclaine finds all these references totally wrong. Schlegel says; Dr. Mosheim meant Father Fortunatus Alamandini's *Italian historical Descriptions of the kingdoms of Congo, Matamba, and Angola*. Bologna, 1687, fol. whose station was the Italian Capuchin and missionary. Jo. Anton. Cavazzi de Montecavallo, has

copied. And these last, Labat actually translated, in a free manner, into French, and published in five volumes, 12mo, Paris, 1732, under the title: *Relation Historique de l'Ethiopie Occidentale*. And this last is the work which Mosheim had in his eye: and not that of the same Labat, which was also published in five volumes, 12mo, in 1528, entitled, *Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale*. Tr.]

³ See the authors mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorientis*, cap. xlviii. xlix. p. 769, &c. The state of the Romish religion in that part of America occupied by Christians, is best exhibited by Urban Cerri, *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 245.

surpass the pagans in ridiculous rites and flagitious conduct.⁴ Those of the aboriginal Americans who have been reduced to servitude by the Europeans, or who reside in the vicinity of Europeans, have received some slight knowledge of the Romish religion from the Jesuits, Franciscans, and others; but the little knowledge they have received is wholly obscured by the barbarism of their customs and manners. Those priests of the Roman religion, be their kind and order what it may, who have visited in modern times the wandering tribes of the forests remote from the settlements of Europeans, have learned by experience, that the Indians, unless they cease to roam about, and adopt humanised manners instead, are absolutely incapable of receiving and retaining on their minds the principles of Christianity.⁵ And hence, in some provinces both of South and North America, Indian commonwealths have been founded by the Jesuits with great efforts, and guarded with laws similar to those of the Europeans; of whom, however, scarcely any are allowed admittance, lest they should corrupt the new citizens by their vices. In these communities, the Jesuits sustain the rank both of teachers and magistrates. But while, according to their own accounts, this reflects wonderful credit upon the merits and zeal of their order, others deny their claims; and maintain that they are more eager after public honours, wealth, and power, than for the advancement of Christianity; and charge them with collecting immense quantities of gold, which they have transmitted to their society in Europe⁶, from Paraguay, or Paraquaria, which is subject to their sole authority, and from other countries.

⁴ See in particular, Frezier, *Voyage de la Mer du Sud*, p. 167. 218. 328. 353. 402. 417. 432. 533.

⁵ An immense number of facts on this subject, are found in the Letters, which the French Jesuits wrote to their European friends, respecting the success of their missions, and caused to be published at Paris.

⁶ Jo. Bapt. Labat, when asked by Tamburini, the general of the order of the Jesuits, what progress Christianity was making among the Americans, boldly and frankly said: "Either none or very little; that he had not met with one adult, among those tribes, who was truly a Christian; that the preachers among them were useful, only by baptizing occasionally infants that were at the point

of death." *Voyage du P. Labat en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. viii. p. 7. "Je lui répondis qu'on n'y avoit fait jusqu'à présent d'autres progrès que de baptizer quelques enfans moribonds, sans avoir pu convertir véritablement aucun adulte." He added, that to make the Americans Christians, they must first be made men: "Qu'il en falloit faire des hommes, avant que d'en faire des chrétiens." This resolute Dominican, who had been a missionary in the American islands, wished to give the father of the Jesuits some salutary counsels respecting the immense possessions and wealth of his sons in the American islands: but the cautious old man dexterously avoided the subject: "Je voulus le mettre sur les biens que la Compagnie

§ 20. In the American provinces occupied by the British in this century, the cause of Christianity was more wisely and therefore more successfully urged in opposition to the stupidity and amazing listlessness of the Indians. The glory of commencing this most important work is justly claimed by those *Independents*, as they are called, who were driven to forsake their country because they dissented from the religion established by law. Some families of this sect, that they might transmit uncontaminated to their children the religious principles which they had embraced, removed in the year 1620 from Holland to New England, and there laid the foundation of a new commonwealth.⁷ As these first adventurers were not unsuccessful, they were followed, in 1629, by very many of those called *Puritans* in England; who were impatient of the evils with which they were harassed by the bishops, and by the court's favour to the bishops.⁸ But these emigrants, at first,

possède aux Isles : il éluda délicatement cet Article." With no less spirit, the same Labat checked the supreme pontiff himself, Clement XI, who commended the activity of the Spaniards and Portuguese in furthering the salvation of the Americans, but taxed the French with negligence in this very important matter : the Spaniards and the Portuguese, said Labat, have no cause to boast of the success of their labours : they only induce the Indians to *feign* themselves Christians, through fear of tortures and death. "Les Missionnaires Espagnols et Portugais n'avoient pas sujet de se vanter des prétendues conversions des Indiens, puisqu'il étoit constant qu'ils n'avoient fait que des *hypocrites*, que la crainte de la mort ou des tourmens avoit forcez à recevoir de baptême, et qui étoient demeurez, après l'avoir reçu, aussi *idolâtres* qu'auparavant." *loc. cit.* p. 12. To this testimony, so very recent and of so high authority, so many more ancient might be added, that it would be difficult to recount them. See also, respecting the American Jesuits, the *Mémoire touchant l'Etablissement considérable des Pères Jésuites dans les Indes d'Espagne*; which is added to Frezier's *Relation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud*, p. 577, &c. Franc. Coreal, *Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, tom. ii. p. 67. 43, &c. See also, Mammachius, *Origines et Antiquit. Christianæ*, tom. ii. p. 377, &c. Respecting the Jesuits occupying the

province of Paraquaria or Paraguay, see Ulloa, *Voyage d'Amérique*, tom. i. p. 540, &c. and Ludov. Anton. Muratori's tract, published in 1743, in which he pleads their cause against their accusers. [A full history of the Jesuits' republic of Paraguay, in which their proceedings are described in the most favourable manner, is Fr. Xav. Charlevoix, *Histoire de Paraguay*, 6 tomes, 12mo, Paris, 1757; and in English, 2 vols, 8vo. Lond. 1769. This republic maintained a war against the united forces of Spain and Portugal in 1752; which proved ruinous to the Jesuits, by inflaming sovereign princes against them, and causing their character and proceedings to be more closely scrutinized. See *La République des Jésuites au Paraguay renversée*, Amsterd. 1758, printed in accordance with the views of the Portuguese court; and various works, both for and against the Jesuits, published about that time. *Tr.*]

⁷ Dan. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 128. Ant. Wilh. Böhm's *Englische Reformations-historie*, b.^{vi} ch. v. p. 807, &c. [Cotton Mather's *Eccles. Hist. of New England*, b. i. ch. ii. &c. Prince's *New England Chronology*; Holmes' *American Annals*, vol. i. and the other histories of the first planting of colonies in New England. *Tr.*]

⁸ Increase Mather's *History of New England*, p. 126, &c. Dan. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 208, &c.

had to encounter so many hardships and difficulties in the dreary and uncultivated wilderness, that they could pay but little attention to the instruction of the Indians. More courage and more leisure for such enterprises were enjoyed by the new Puritan exiles from England, who went to America in 1623⁹ and subsequently, *Thomas Mayhew*, *Thomas Shepherd*, *John Eliot*, and many others. All these merited high praise by their efforts for the salvation of the Americans; but none more than *Eliot*, who by translating the holy Scriptures and other religious books into the Indian language, and by collecting and instructing properly no small number of Christian converts among the barbarians, obtained after his death the honourable title of the *Apostle of the Indians*.¹ These happy beginnings induced the

[Cotton Mather's *Eccles. History of New England*, b. i. ch. iv, &c. and the other writers mentioned in the preceding note. *Tr.*]

⁹[1633. *Tr.*]

¹Jo. Hornbeck, *de Conversione Indor. et Gentil.* lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 260. Increase Mather's *Epistola de Successu Evangelii apud Indos Occidentales ad Joh. Leusdenium*, Utrecht, 1699, 8vo. [published also in English, in Cotton Mather's *Eccl. Hist. of New Eng.* b. iii. p. 508, &c. ed. Hartf. 1820; and in the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, vol. iv. for 1803, p. 164, &c.—The Rev. John Eliot was born in England A. D. 1604. After leaving the university, he taught school a few years, and then removed to New England in 1631, in order to preach the Gospel without molestation. The church in Boston would have settled him as a colleague with Mr. Wilson; but he had promised several friends in England, that, if they removed to America, he would become their pastor. Accordingly, on their arrival and settlement in Dorchester, he was ordained over them, in November, 1632; and served them 58 years, or till his death in 1690. He early turned his attention to the Indians around him; learned their language in 1644; and two years after commenced a regular weekly lecture to them at Natic. It was in this year that the general court of Massachusetts passed an act, or order, to encourage the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians. Eliot was countenanced and aided by the ministers around him; who frequently supplied his pulpit in his absence, and were

always ready to afford him counsel, and also to aid him occasionally, so far as their ignorance of the Indian tongue would permit, in imparting religious instruction to the Indians. He not only preached regular weekly lectures at Natic, but likewise occasionally to the Indian congregations at Concord, Dorchester-mills, Watertown, and some other places. In the year 1670, he visited *twelve* towns or villages, of Christian Indians under his care in Massachusetts and along the Merimack; in all of which there were Indian preachers regularly stationed, to serve them on Sundays, and be their constant spiritual guides. At Natic, there were *two* such teachers, and between *forty* and *fifty* communicants. For these natives he translated into the Indian language, primers, catechisms, the Practice of Piety, Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, several of Mr. Shepherd's Works, and at length the whole Bible, which was first published at Cambridge in 1664, and again just after his death. He set up schools in his Indian villages, introduced a regular form of civil government, and many of the useful arts and industry; and was the fountain from which the Indian preachers under him drew all their knowledge. See Cotton Mather's *Life of Eliot*, in his *Hist. of New Eng.* b. iii. vol. i. p. 474—532. *Connecticut Evang. Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 361. 441. vol. iv. p. 1. 81. 161. Brown's *Hist. of the Propag. of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 29, &c.—The Rev. Thomas Shepherd is erroneously placed among those in New England who diffused Christianity among the Indians. He was a silenced

parliament and people of England, after a few years, to resolve on extending the enterprise by public measures and public con-

English Puritan, born in 1606, educated at Cambridge, came to New England in 1635, and was settled at Cambridge, near Boston, where he preached till his death in 1649. He was a distinguished preacher and writer on practical religion. See Mather's *Eccl. Hist. of New Eng.* vol. i. p. 343, &c. and Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 103, &c. —In the year 1641, Thomas Mayhew, senior, obtained a grant of Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and the Elizabeth islands, which belonged to none of the existing colonies; and the year following commenced a settlement at Edgarton on Martha's Vineyard. His son, Thomas Mayhew, junior, was constituted pastor of the English settlement at Edgarton; while the father was chief magistrate, or governor, as he was styled, of all these islands, until his death in 1681. The son, having learned the Indian language, commenced preaching to the Indians in his vicinity, in 1646, on week-days; and Hiacoomes, a converted Indian, under Mr. Mayhew's guidance, instructed his countrymen on the Lord's day. In 1652, an Indian school was opened; and by the end of the year there were 282 converts to Christianity, who met at two places, the one three miles, and the other eight, from Mr. Mayhew's house. They were now formed into a regular church, and the work of conversion went on rapidly. In 1658 or 1659, Mr. Mayhew found the harvest so great and the labourers so few, that he determined to go to England and solicit aid. The vessel in which he sailed was never heard of after she left the port. Thomas Mayhew, senior, after the death of his son, took on himself the labours of an evangelist, in addition to those of chief magistrate. In 1670, two Indian preachers, Hiacoomes and John Tackanash, were ordained to the office of regular pastors and teachers of the Indian church, while governor Mayhew continued the evangelist or overseer of all the Indians. In 1674, of the 360 Indian families on Martha's Vineyard two-thirds, or about 1500 persons, were professed believers in Christianity; and 50 persons were in full communion. There were then *ten* Indian preachers, and *six* different meetings on Sundays. At Nantucket, where

the families were about 300, there were about *thirty* Indian communicants, and 300 professed believers in Christianity, *three* places of worship, and *four* Indian teachers. On the death of Thomas Mayhew, senior, in 1681, his grandson, John Mayhew, son of Thomas Mayhew, junior, having been some time minister to the English at Tisbury, in the middle of the island, took charge of the Indian congregation till his death in 1689. His son, Experience Mayhew, when arrived at the age of 21, succeeded him in the year 1694; and laboured among the Indians successfully for sixty years, or till about 1754. He was master of the Indian language, and translated into it various works for the use of his charge. He also composed a volume containing the lives of a large number of pious Indians, preachers, and others. See the *Connecticut Evang. Mag.* vol. ii. p. 281. 361. 441. vol. iii. p. 5. 161. 249. and Brown's *Hist. of the Propag. of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 47, &c.—In the colony of Plymouth, Mr. Richard Bourne preached to the Indians in and about Sandwich in their own language. About the year 1660, he procured for them a permanent grant of the lands at Mashpee; formed an Indian settlement there, and a church, over which he was ordained by J. Eliot and others, in 1666. In 1674, his Indian charge embraced about 500 souls, of whom 90 were baptized, and *twenty-seven* communicants. He laboured among them about 40 years. Brown, *loc. cit.* p. 59. Mr. John Cotton, minister of Plymouth, understanding the Indian language, preached to the natives, south of Plymouth, in *five* different places, on week-days; and aided their Indian teachers to preach to them regularly. In the year 1693 he had about 500 Indians under his care.—About the same time Mr. Samuel Treat of Eastham preached in *four* Indian villages near Cape Cod, to about 500 Indians; who had their native teachers for their regular preachers on the Lord's day.—At Sandwich also, Mr. Thomas Tapper preached regularly to about 180 Indians. —In Connecticut, something was done in this century for the religious instruction of the Indians. The Rev. Mr. Fitch of Norwich was particularly desired to teach Uncas, a sachem, and his family,

tributions. Hence originated that noble society, which derives its name from its object, *the propagation of the Gospel*; and which, in its progress, having increased in numbers, dignity, privileges, and advantages of every kind, has gradually enlarged and extended its efforts for the salvation of the nations estranged from Christ, and especially in America. Immensely more, as all must admit, still remains to be done: yet any one must be uncandid, or ignorant of such things, who can deny that much has been done, and with greater success, than was to be anticipated. We shall hereafter have occasion to speak of *Pennsylvania*, in which people of all sects and religions now live and worship God in the manner they see fit. The Hollanders began to diffuse the knowledge of Christianity with great success in those provinces of Portuguese America, which they had conquered under the conduct of *Maurice*, prince of Orange²: but all these prospects were intercepted when the Portuguese recovered the possessions that they had lost subsequently to the year 1644. Nor did the Dutch, so far as I know, expend much labour and effort in improving the minds of the Indians that inhabited Surinam and the adjacent regions.

§ 21. The enemies of all religion, and especially of Christianity, in this century, are represented by some as more numerous, and by others as less so, according to the party and the views which they have embraced. The English complain, that from the times of *Charles II.* their nation was contaminated with the grossest of vices and profligacy; that this state of things gave rise to unbridled licentiousness of speculation, and disputation on religious subjects; and that both united, produced a multitude of persons who prostituted their talents and

Christianity. Mr. Stone and Mr. Newton were employed, at the desire of the colony, to teach the Indians in Hartford, Windsor, Farmington and that vicinity. Rev. Mr. Pearson of Killingworth, who had learned their language, seems to have preached to some of them. And the ministers of the several towns, where Indians lived, instructed them as they had opportunity. But no Indian church was ever formed in this colony. Trumbull's *Hist. of Connect.* vol. i. ch. xix. p. 494, &c.—The state of Christianity among the Indians of New England in 1687, was thus described by Increase Mather, in his letter to Leusden:

“There are *six* churches of baptized Indians in New England, and *eighteen* assemblies of catechumens professing the name of Christ. Of the Indians, there are four-and-twenty, who are preachers of the Word of God: and besides these, there are four English ministers, who preach the Gospel in the Indian tongue.”—*Tr.*]

² Jo. Henr. Hottinger's *Topographia Ecclesiastica*, p. 47. Fran. Mich. Janisson's *Etat présent des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 396, &c. He also treats of Surinam, and the state of religion there, in cap. xiv. p. 407.

ingenuity to extinguish all sense of religion and piety. And that these complaints were not groundless, appears both from the numerous examples of Englishmen of this period, who either declared war against all religion, or who maintained that the religion of nature and reason was alone to be followed; and also from the many excellent treatises by which the most solid writers of the nation defended the divinity and excellence of Christianity against the injuries of these men. The strongest evidence, however, is the noble institution of a very learned gentleman, *Robert Boyle*³; who bequeathed, by his will, in 1691, a splendid portion of his estate to religion; the income of which was to be annually paid over to acute and eloquent men, who should oppose the progress of impiety, and demonstrate and confirm the truth of natural and revealed religion, in eight public discourses each year.⁴ Down to our times, men of the greatest talents and genius have undertaken this service; and their discussions or discourses have been laid before the public, to the great advantage of all Europe.⁵

§ 22. By the English generally, *Thomas Hobbes* of Malmesbury is represented as the leader and standard-bearer of the impious company who, from the accession of *Charles II.*, set themselves in opposition to God and to things sacred. He was a man daring, crafty, acute, and discerning, but richer in genius

³ [This excellent man, who has been emphatically called *the great Christian philosopher*, was the seventh son of Richard Boyle, commonly known as *the great earl of Cork*, and was consequently entitled, by the courtesy of England, to the designation of *the Honourable*: which is generally connected with his name. He was born at his father's seat, Lismore castle, in the south of Ireland, Jan. 25, 1627, and he died in London, Dec. 30, 1691. He was buried in the Church of St. Martin-in-the-fields. As a natural philosopher, he was quite in advance of his age, and as a religious man, he has rarely been surpassed. *Ed.*]

⁴ See Ricotier's Preface to his French translation of Sam. Clark's *Discourses on the Being and Attributes of God*. Of Boyle himself, and his merits, Edw. Budgell has treated very fully, in his *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the illustrious Family of the Boyles*, Lond. 1737, 8vo. See the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tom.

xii. pt. i. p. 144, &c. ["But above all, the late learned Dr. Birch's *Life of Boyle*, published in 8vo, in the year 1744; and that very valuable collection of Lives, the *Biographia Britannica*, Article *Boyle*, Robert, note (2). See also Article *Hobbes*, in the same collection." *Macl.*]

⁵ A catalogue of these discourses is given in the *Bibliothèque Angloise*, tom. xv. pt. ii. p. 416, &c. A learned and neatly digested summary of all the discourses of this nature, thus far delivered, was published not long since, in English, by Gilbert Burnet, which the French and the Germans have begun to translate into their languages. ["This abridgment comprehends the discourses of Bentley, Kidder, Williams, Gastrell, Harris, Bradford, Blackhall, Stanhope, Clarke, Hancock, Whiston, Turner, Butler, Woodward, Derham, Ibbot, Leng, J. Clarke, Gurdon, Burnet, Berriman." *Macl.*]

than in erudition, or in knowledge of things either divine or human.⁶ He has, however, found some advocates out of England; who maintain that he erred indeed, yet not so disgracefully as to leave no room for a belief in God, and for the worship of Him.⁷ Those who shall read attentively the books that he has left, must admit that, if he was not destitute of all regard for God and religion, he clearly held principles which naturally lead to an utter disregard for every thing sacred: and his writings betray, not obscurely, a mind most unfriendly to Christ and to the Christian religion. It is said, however, that, in his old age, he returned to a better mind, and publicly condemned the sentiments that he had formerly published⁸: but whether he was

⁶ See Peter Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tom. ii. p. 478. Anth. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 461, of the late edition. [Add Brucker's *Historia Crit. Philos.* Appendix, Lips. 1767, 4to, p. 880, &c. where his life and character are described with impartiality and accuracy. He was, in Cromwell's time, a zealous adherent to the royalist party, and a defender of their rights, with a servile submission. Yet he lost the favour of the court, and died in 1679, in his 91st year, a private country gentleman. Two of his works, namely *de Cive*, Paris, 1642, 4to, and his *Leviathan*, 1651, fol. are most worthy of notice. In them he recommends monarchic despotism, represents the human soul as material and mortal, discards all natural distinction between moral actions, and makes morality depend wholly on the enactments of monarchs. *Schl.*—The whole of the moral and political works of Thos. Hobbes, with a life of the author prefixed, were elegantly printed, probably under the eye of Warburton, Lond. 1750, fol. See Henke, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. iv. p. 399, note. *Tr.*]

⁷ In defence of Hobbes, appeared, besides others, Nic. Hieron. Gundling, *Observ. Selectæ*, tom. i. n. ii. p. 30, and in the *Gundlingiana*, pt. xiv. p. 304. Add Godfr. Arnold, *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, pt. ii. book xvii. ch. xvi. § 25, p. 1082, &c. Against these, appeared Jo. Fran. Buddeus, *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. i. p. 187, &c.

⁸ This rests on the authority of Anthony Wood; who states, in his *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 646, that Hobbes wrote an apology for himself and his writings;

in which he professes never to have embraced the opinions that he proposed in his *Leviathan*, but to have brought them forward merely to try his ingenuity; that, after writing the book, he never defended those opinions, either publicly or privately, but submitted them to the judgment of the church; that those positions of his book, in particular, which seemed to militate against the received notions of God and religion, were published, not as true and incontrovertible, but only as plausible, and for the purpose of drawing forth the judgment of theologians concerning them. Wood does not tell us, in what year this apology appeared; which is evidence that he had not been able to examine the book. Neither does he state, whether Hobbes was alive or dead, when it was published. But its being placed in the list of Hobbes' writings posterior to 1682, leads to the conjecture, that it was published after his death: for he died in 1679. It does not, therefore, yet appear, what we are to think of this change of opinion in Hobbes. I can believe, that such an apology for Hobbes exists: but perhaps it was drawn up by one of his friends, to shield his reputation after he was dead. Yet, if it was written and published by himself, it can afford but little support to those who would defend his character. For the method which Hobbes takes to excuse himself is, that in which all try to clear themselves, when they have incurred odium and indignation, by advancing corrupt and pernicious opinions, yet wish to live quietly, though continuing to be just what they were before.

sincere in this, is uncertain. With more truth it may be said of *John Wilmot*, earl of Rochester, who attacked God and religion with even more fury than *Hobbes*, that he became a penitent. This was a man of great discernment and brilliancy of genius, but of astonishing levity, and while his bodily powers were subservient to his will, libidinous and debauched.⁹ Yet it was his happy lot, in the last years of his short life, through the admonition especially of *Gilbert Burnet*, to betake himself to the mercy of God and Jesus Christ: and he died religiously, A. D. 1680, seriously lamenting and detesting his former wickedness.¹ In this list may be placed *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, earl of Shaftsbury, who died of a consumption at Naples, A. D. 1703: not that he was an open enemy of Christianity, but his pungent wit, the elegance of his style, and the charms of his genius, rendered him the more dangerous foe to religion in proportion to the concealment that he practised. Various works of his are extant, and have been often published; all exquisitely fine from the native charms of his diction and thoughts, yet exceedingly dangerous to young and inexperienced minds.² Rustic and dull, compared with these, was *John Toland*, an Irishman, who was not ashamed, at the close of this century, to disgrace himself and his country by several tracts reproachful to Christianity. But as those who furnish food for vicious propensities are seldom without admirers, so this man, who was not destitute

⁹ See an account of his life and writings in Anthony Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 654. On his poetic talents Voltaire treats, *Mélange de Littérature et de Philosophie*, cap. xxxiv. in his works, tom. iv. p. 303.

¹ This scene is described by Gilbert Burnet, in a special tract, entitled, *Some passages of the Life and Death of John, earl of Rochester, written at his desire, on his death-bed*, by Gilbert Burnet, D.D. It is extant also in German, French, and Latin.

² His works were first published collectively, Lond. 1711, in three volumes, 8vo, and are called *Characteristics*, [of Men, Manners, and Opinions,] from the title of the greater part of them. See Jo. La Clerc, *Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. xxiii. Some notes of Geo. Wilh. Leibnitz upon them, were published by Peter des Maizeaux, *Recueil des diverses Pièces sur la Philosophie*, tom. ii. p. 245. There are some who maintain, that this otherwise great and illustrious man has been

rashly accused, by clergymen, of contemning religion. I wish they could so lidly evince that it is so. But, if I do not wholly mistake, whoever shall read but a moderate portion of his writings, or only his noted Letter on Enthusiasm, which in French bears the title, *Essai sur la Raillerie*, will readily fall in with the judgment which Dr. Berkley passes upon him, in his *Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher*, vol. i. dial. iii. p. 200, &c. This very ingenious man employs ridicule, when seeming to speak the most gravely on sacred subjects; and divests the arguments derived from the sacred Scriptures, in support of a devout and virtuous life, of all their power and influence: nay, by recommending an indescribable, sublime kind of virtue, far above the conceptions of common people, and which rests satisfied with itself, he appears to extinguish all zeal for the pursuit of virtue in the minds of common people.

of learning, though vain-glorious, and of abandoned morals, was thought something of by the undiscerning.³ The other Englishmen, of less notoriety, belonging to this class, need not be enumerated; yet if any one is disposed, he may add to the list *Edward Henry* [*Herbert*, baron] of Cherbury, a nobleman and philosopher, who, if he did not deny the divinity of the Christian religion, yet maintained that the knowledge of it was not necessary to salvation⁴; and *Charles Blount*, the author of *The Oracles of Reason*, who committed suicide in 1693.⁵

§ 23. In France, which faces England, *Julius Cæsar Vanini*, an Italian, author of the *Amphitheatre of Providence*, and of *Dialogues concerning Nature*, was publicly burnt at Toulouse, in 1629⁶, as a perverse enemy of God and of all religion. But

³ In my younger years I treated largely of this man, in a *Commentatio de Vita et Scriptis ejus*, prefixed to a Confutation of his insidious book entitled *Nazarenus*. The deficiencies, if any, in that *Commentatio*, may be supplied from the Life of Toland, prefixed to his *Posthumous Works*, published at London, 1726, 2 vols. 8vo. The author of that life is Peter des Maizeaux, well known for various literary labours.

⁴ Lord Herbert is sufficiently known to the learned, by his book *de Causis Errorum*, and other writings; but especially by his work *de Religione Gentilium*. And not less known, are the confutations of the sentiments he advances in these books; by John Museus, Christ. Kortholt, and other celebrated divines. He is commonly considered the Father of the family of *Naturalists* [or *Deists*]. See Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, pt. ii. book xviii. ch. xvi. p. 1083, &c. [Cherbury is properly the founder of the modern religious *indifferentism*. If we may believe him, the divine origin of Christianity cannot be proved, but only be rendered very probable. The whole of religion, according to him, consists in five articles: I. There is a God. II. He is to be worshipped. III. And this, by the practice of virtue. IV. Repentance and reformation will procure us pardon from God. V. After this life, the virtuous will be rewarded, and the vicious punished. *Schl.*]

⁵ See *Chaufepied's Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Crit.* tom. i. pt. ii. p. 328. He, however, omits his tragical

death, from a regard, undoubtedly, to the feelings of the illustrious family of Blounts, still living in England. [Concerning all the English deists mentioned in this section, their works, their opinions, and the confutation of them, see John Leland's *View of the principal Deistical Writers that have appeared in England, in the last and present Century, with Observations*, first published in 1754, and since, often, in 2 vols. 8vo. *Tr.*—Blount's work appears to have been connected with the misguided author's unhappy end. It was published in the early part of 1693, and contains observations upon the propriety of marrying the sister of a deceased wife. Blount was then anxious for such a marriage. He had married at eighteen, and having lost his wife, he made overtures to her sister, who favourably received them. But being informed, and by persons of weight, that such a connexion was illegal and improper, she altogether declined it. On this, in August 1693, Blount shot himself through the head. Thus his *Oracles of Reason* really seem to have been published chiefly with the view of preparing the public mind for such a marriage as he had then determined upon attempting himself. He was born in 1654, and being the favourite son of a wealthy and clever, but wrong-headed father, he entered upon active life with all the seeds about him that eventually produced such bitter fruits. *Ed.*]

⁶ [1619. *Tr.*]

some respectable and learned writers think that he fell a victim to personal resentment; and that he neither wrote nor lived and acted, so stupidly and impiously, as to be justly chargeable with contemning God.⁷ But the character of *Cosmo Ruggieri*, a Florentine and a profligate, who died at Paris, in 1615, no honest man will readily undertake to defend. For when about to die, he boldly declared that he regarded all which we are taught respecting a supreme Deity and evil spirits as idle tales.⁸ Whether justice or injustice was done to *Casimir Leszynsky*, a Polish gentleman, who was punished capitally at Warsaw, in 1689, for denying a God and a divine providence, cannot easily be determined, without inspection of the record of his trial.⁹ In Germany, a senseless and frantic man, *Matthew Knutzen* of Holstein, wished to establish a new sect of the *Conscientiaries*, that is, of persons who, neglecting God, followed only the dictates of conscience, or right reason: but he was easily checked and compelled to abandon his mad project.¹

§ 24. *Benedict de Spinoza*, a Portuguese Jew, who died at the Hague in 1677, is accounted the first and the most acute of all those in this century, who transformed the Author of all things himself into a being bound down by the eternal laws of necessity and fate. He led, indeed, personally, a life more discreet and commendable than an immense number of Christians

See the compilations of Jo. Fran. Buddeus, concerning him, in his *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. i. p. 120, &c. The author of the Apology for Vanini, which was published in Holland, 1712, 8vo, was Peter Fred. Arp, a lawyer of extensive learning, who promised a new and much enlarged edition of this little book, in his *Feriæ Estivales seu Scriptorum suorum Historia*, pt. i. § xl. p. 28, &c. His coadjutor, in vindicating the character of Vanini, was Elias Fred. Heister, *Apologia pro Medicis*, sect. xviii. p. 93, &c. [Vanini was a physician, and a wild, enthusiastic naturalist. He travelled in England, the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Switzerland; professed himself a Roman catholic; but he advanced, particularly in his last book, his *Dialogues*, such mystical and deistic opinions concerning God, whom he seemed to confound with nature, that he was burnt as a heretic, at Toulouse, A. D. 1619. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat.* vol. v. p.

646, &c. Brucker, *Crit. Hist. Philos.* tom. v. p. 670, tom. vi. p. 922. Chauffepied, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Vanini*; and Stäudlin's *Beyträge zur Philos. u. Gesch.* vol. i. p. 147. *Tr.*]

⁸ Peter Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tom. iii. p. 2526. [He was a great astrologer and soothsayer, and openly vicious; according to Bayle. *Tr.*]

⁹ See Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, pt. ii. book xvii. ch. xvi. § iv. p. 1074. The records of the trial of Leszynsky were formerly kept in the very rich library of Zach. Contr. Uffenbach: but where they are since removed to, I do not know. [Yet, from what Arnold has brought forward, it is more probable that he was innocent, than that he was guilty. *Schl.*]

¹ See Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. i. p. 304, &c. and his *Isagoge ad Historiam Chersones. Cimbr.* pt. ii. cap. vi. § viii. p. 164, &c. Matur. Veiss. la Croze, *Entretiens sur divers Sujets d'Histoire*, p. 400, &c.

and others do, who have never suffered a doubt to enter their minds respecting God and the duties that men owe to Him; neither did he seek to seduce others into a contempt for the supreme Being, or into corrupt morals.² But in his books, especially those published after his death, it is manifestly his aim to prove that the whole universe, and God himself, are precisely one and the same thing; and that whatever takes place, arises out of the eternal and immutable laws of *nature*, which necessarily existed and in a state of activity from all eternity. And if these things were so, it would follow that every individual is himself God, and cannot possibly commit sin.³ It was the Cartesian philosophy, to which he entirely resigned himself, that, beyond all controversy, led *Spinoza* into these opinions. For, having adopted the common maxim of all philosophers, *that all things which truly exist, commonly called realities, exist super-*

² His life, accurately written, by Jo. Colerus, was published at the Hague, in the year 1706, 8vo. Yet a more full and circumstantial life of him was composed by Lenglet du Fresnoy, and prefixed to Boulainvilliers' *Exposition of the doctrines of Spinoza*, published at Brussels, or rather at Amsterdam, 1731, 12mo. Add Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. iii. p. 2631. [He was born at Amsterdam in 1632, where his father, a Portuguese Jew, then resided as a trader. Educated among Jews, he early manifested talent, and also a propensity towards infidelity. He became a great admirer of Cartesian principles; and associated with men of education and philosophers. He was by trade a glass grinder, and much famed for all kinds of optical glasses. His most noted works were, his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, Hamburg (Amsterdam), 1670, 4to, and *Ethica Ordine Geometrico Demonstrata*, published soon after his death, 1677, 4to. His style is dry, argumentative, and rather obscure. Towards the close of the 18th century, some of the German theologians began to admire his writings; and at this time (1831), it is said, that a large number of the most pious divines of Germany are Spinozists in philosophy. Tr.]

³ A pretty long list of those who have confuted Spinoza is given by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, lib. v. pt. iii. p. 119, &c. and by Godfr. Jenichen, *Historia Spinozismi Lehnofiani*, p. 58—72. His real opinions concerning God

must be learned from his *Ethics*, which was published after his death; and not from his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, which he published in his lifetime. For in the latter he argues just as if he believed in an eternal Deity, distinct from nature and matter, who had caused a system of religion to be promulgated, for imbuing men's minds with benevolence and equity, and had confirmed it by events, marvellous indeed, but not supernatural. But in his *Ethics*, he more clearly explains his views; and labours to prove, that nature itself is God, by its inherent powers necessarily producing movements. And this aids the confutation of those, who contend that Spinoza was not so bad a man as he is generally represented, and who adduce their proofs from his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. Whether he gradually proceeded from bad to worse, or whether he cautiously concealed his real sentiments, from prudential reasons, while he lived, it is difficult to say. This, however, is attested by the most credible witnesses, that so long as he was alive, he did not publicly influence any one to think lightly of God and his worship; and he always expressed himself seriously and piously, when the conversation turned upon such subjects. See Peter des Maizeaux, *Vie de M. S. Evremond*, p. 117, &c. tom. i. of the works of the latter. This may also be easily gathered from his Letters, which are extant among his posthumous works.

lately in God; and then assuming as indubitable, that opinion of *des Cartes*, that there are only two realities, thought and extension, the one peculiar to mind, and the other to matter; it was natural and even necessary, that he should ascribe to God both these realities, *extension* and *thought*, without limitation or modification. And this done, it was unavoidable for him to make *God* and the *universe* identical in nature; and to maintain that there is only one real *substance* from which all others originate, and to which all return. Moreover *Spinoza's* system of doctrine, as even his friends will admit, was by no means such as to captivate by its lucidness and the clearness of its evidence. For they tell us it is to be comprehended by a kind of *feeling* rather than by the understanding; and that even the greatest geniuses are in danger of misunderstanding it.⁴ Among the disciples of *Spinoza*, (who chose to be called *Pantheists*⁵, from

⁴ Peter Bayle, whom no one will say was naturally obtuse and dull of apprehension, is charged, by the followers of *Spinoza*, with not having well understood the sentiments of their master, and therefore with not having solidly refuted them. See his *Dictionnaire*, tom. iii. p. 1641, note. Lewis Meier bitterly complains, in his Preface to the Posthumous Works of *Spinoza*, p. 21, &c. that there was a general misapprehension of the views of this extraordinary man, whose opinions all harmonized with the Christian religion. Boulainvilliers also, the expositor of *Spinoza*, declares, in the Preface to a book soon to be mentioned, p. 153, that all his opponents had either maliciously perverted his meaning, or misunderstood it. "Les réfutations de *Spinoza* m'ont induit à juger, ou que leurs auteurs n'avoient pas voulu mettre la doctrine, qu'ils combattent, dans une évidence suffisante, ou qu'ils l'avoient mal entendue." If this system of doctrine is so difficult, so far above common comprehension, that even men of the greatest and most acute minds may easily mistake in stating it, what conclusion shall we make, but that the greatest part of the *Spinozists*, (who are said to be very numerous all over Europe,) have adopted it, not so much from any natural superiority of their genius, as from the hope of indulging their lusts with impunity? For no rational and well-informed man will believe, that in so great a multitude of persons, many

of whom never once thought of improving their intellectual powers, all can see through that, which puzzles the most perspicacious.

⁵ To relieve his poverty and satisfy his hunger, John Toland composed and published, at *Cosmopolis* (*London*), in 1720, 8vo, an infamous and corrupting book, entitled *Pantheisticon*; in which he exhibits the *Formula celebrandæ Societatis Socratiae seu Pantheisticæ*; that is, the mode of conducting meetings among the *Pantheists*, whom he represents as scattered every where: and the morals of this faction are here graphically depicted. In this book,—than which none can be more pernicious to honest but unguarded minds,—the president and the members of the society of *Pantheists* confer with each other. He earnestly recommends to his associates and fellows attention to truth, liberty, and health, and dissuades them from superstition, that is, religion; and sometimes he reads to the brethren select passages from Cicero and Seneca, in which there is something favourable to irreligion. They solemnly promise that they will obey his injunctions. Sometimes the whole company become so animated, that they simultaneously raise their voices, and sing merrily some verses from the ancient Latin poets, suited to their morals and principles. See Maizeaux, *Life of John Toland*, p. 77. *Bibliothèque Angloise*, tom. viii. pt. ii. p. 285. If the *Pantheists* are

the principal doctrine of their master which they embrace,) the first rank was held by *Lewis Meier*, a physician and a familiar friend of *Spinoza*⁶, one *Lucas*⁷, the count *Boulainvilliers*⁸, and some others.

§ 25. How greatly all branches of literature, the arts and

such as they are here represented, it is not for wise men to dispute with them, but for good magistrates to see to it, that such impudent geniuses do not creep into society, and seduce the minds of citizens from their duty.

⁶ Spinoza employed this Meier as an interpreter, to translate into Latin what he wrote in Dutch. He also attended his dying master, and in vain attempted to heal his disease. And he moreover published the Posthumous Works of Spinoza, with a Preface, in which he endeavours without success to demonstrate, that Spinoza's doctrine contains nothing at variance with Christianity. He was also the author of the well known book, entitled *Philosophia Scripturae Interpres*, Eleutheropoli, 1666, 4to, in which the dignity and authority of the sacred books are subjected entirely to the decisions of philosophy.

⁷ Lucas was a physician at the Hague, noted for his panaceas, and for the obliquity of his morals. This flagitious man left a *Life of Spinoza*, from which Lenglet du Fresnoy drew the additions, that he made in the *Life of Spinoza* composed by John Colerus. There is also in circulation, and sold at a high price to those who can relish such writings, his Marrow of Spinoza's doctrine: *L'Esprit de Spinoza*. Compared with this, what Spinoza himself wrote, will appear quite tolerable and religious; so greatly has this wretched writer overleaped the bounds of all modesty, discretion, and good sense.

⁸ This man, of a prolific but singular and unchastened genius, well known by his various works relating to the political history of France, by his *Life*, or rather fable, of Mohammed, by his misfortunes, and by other things; was so inconsistent with himself, as to allow to both superstition and atheism nearly an equal place in his ill-arranged mind. For, while he believed, that there was no God but nature, or the universe, he still had no hesitation to record Mohammed as one whom God raised up to instruct mankind; and he believed that the future fortunes of individuals and of

nations, might be learned from the stars. This man, from his great solicitude for the public good, was much troubled, that the excellent doctrines of Spinoza were misunderstood, by almost every body; and therefore he voluntarily assumed the task of expounding and stating them, in a plain and lucid manner, suited to the comprehension of ordinary minds. His attempt succeeded; but it produced only this effect, that all now perceived, more clearly than before, that Bayle and the others, who regarded the opinions of Spinoza as irrational in themselves, and subversive of all religion and virtue, did not misjudge. His work merited eternal oblivion. But Lenglet du Fresnoy brought it before the public; and that it might be bought and read with less suspicion, he gave it the false title of a *Confutation* of Spinoza's doctrine; and added some tracts, really deserving that character, together with a life of Spinoza. The whole title of this dangerous book is this: *Réfutation des Erreurs de Bénéd. de Spinoza, par M. de Fénélon, Archevêque de Cambrai, par le P. Lami, Bénédictin, et par M. le Comte de Boulainvilliers avec la Vie de Spinoza, écrite par Mr. Jean Colerus, augmentée de beaucoup de particularitez tirées d'une vie manuscrite de ce philosophe, faite par un de ses amis*. (This was Lucas, of whom we spoke before.) *A Bruxelles, chez François Foppens, 1731, 12mo*. Thus the wolf was penned among the sheep. Boulainvilliers' exposition and defence of Spinoza's doctrine, which, to deceive people, is called a *Refutation*, constitutes the greatest part of the book: nor is it placed last, as in the title-page, but occupies the fore ground. The book also contains more than the title specifies. For the motley collection is closed by a work of Isaac Orobio, a Jewish philosopher and physician, (who held not the lowest place among the friends and disciples of Spinoza,) entitled *Certamen Philosophicum propugnatae Veritatis divinae ac naturalis adversus Jo. Bredenburgii principia*. This work was printed at Amsterdam, 1703, 8vo.

sciences, as well those which belong to the province of reason and the intellect, as those which belong to the empire of invention, memory, and the imagination, were cultivated and advanced with success in this century throughout Christendom, appears from innumerable proofs, which need not here be detailed. The minds of men, already awake, were further excited to go forward, and sagaciously shown the path they should pursue, near the beginning of this century, by that very great man, *Francis Bacon*, of Verulam⁹, the Apollo of the English; and particularly in his books *on the Dignity and the Advances of the Sciences*, and his *New Organ of the Sciences* (*de Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*, and *Novum Organum Scientiarum*¹). It would be vain, indeed, to expect that mankind, who are hindered by a thousand obstacles from seeing things nakedly and as they really are, should do all that he requires of the cultivators of science and literature: for this extraordinary man was sometimes borne away by his vast and intuitive genius, and required of men, not what they are able to do, but what he could wish might be done. Yet it would be injustice to deny that a great part of the advances which Europeans made in every species of knowledge in this country is ascribable to his counsels and admonitions; and especially, that those who had treated of physical and philosophical subjects, almost like blind men, by his assistance began gradually to open their eyes, and to philosophize in a wiser manner. And through his influence it was, I have no doubt, that, while most people in the preceding age thought all human knowledge to be comprised in the study of the Greek and Latin classics, and in an acquaintance with the liberal and elegant arts, many gradually ceased to think so, and saw that more wholesome aliments might be found for feeding the mind of a wise man.

§ 26. That the mathematical, physical, and astronomical sciences in particular, were carried to so great perfection among most of the nations of Europe, as to make those who lived before this period comparatively but children in these matters, is quite unquestionable. *Galileo Galilei*, in Italy, supported by

⁹ [He was baron Verulam, and viscount St. Alban's. *Ed.*]

¹ See his *Life*, prefixed to the late edition of his entire Works, Lond. 1740, folio, and the extracts from it, in the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tom. xv. pt. i. p. 128, &c. Mallet's *Vie de François*

Bacon, Amsterd. 1742, 8vo, where, see especially his efforts to introduce a better mode of philosophizing, p. 6. 12. 50. 102, &c. Add *Voltaire's Mélanges de Littérature et de Philosophie*, cap. xiv. p. 125, &c.

the grand dukes of Tuscany, led the way²: and there followed among the French, *René des Cartes*, *Peter Gassendi*, and innumerable others; among the Danes, *Tycho Brahe*; among the English, besides others of less fame, *Robert Boyle*, and *Isaac Newton*; among the Germans, *John Kepler*, *John Hevelius*, *Godfr. Wm. Leibnitz*; among the Swiss, the *Bernoullis*. To these men of the first order, so many others eagerly joined themselves, that there was no nation of Europe, except such as hitherto had not laid all their barbarism aside, that could not boast of its excellent and renowned geometrician, natural philosopher, and astronomer. Spurs, as they say, were provided for the race, not only by the grand dukes of Tuscany, those hereditary patrons of all learning, and especially of those branches, but also by the very powerful monarchs of France and Great Britain *Charles II.* and *Lewis XIV.* The former established in London, as the latter did in Paris, an Academy or Society of learned and inquisitive men, guarded against the contempt of the vulgar and the insidious influences of sloth by very ample honours and rewards; and whose business it was to examine nature most critically, and to cultivate all those arts by which the human mind is rendered acute in discerning the truth and in promoting the convenience and comfort of mankind.³ These institutions and pursuits have been exceedingly useful, not only to civil society, but also to the Christian church. For by them the dominion of superstition, than which nothing can be more injurious to true religion, or more dangerous to the safety of the state, has been greatly narrowed down; the strongest protections have been set up against fictitious prodigies, by which people were formerly greatly affrighted; and the boundless perfections of the supreme Being, especially his wisdom and his power, have been most solidly demonstrated, as well from the character and structure of the universe at large, as of its component parts.

² See Christ. August. Heumann's *Acta Philosophorum*, written in German, pt. xiv. p. 261. pt. xv. p. 467. pt. xvii. p. 803.

³ A history of the Royal Society of London, was published by Thomas Spratt, London, 1722, 4to. See *Bibliothèque Angloise*, tom. xi. pt. i. p. 1, &c. ["A much more interesting and ample history of this respectable Society

has lately been composed and published by Dr. Birch, its learned secretary." *Macl.*] A history of the Parisian Academy of Sciences, has been published by Fontenelle. A comparison between the two academies, is made by Voltaire, *Mélange de Littérature et de Philosophie*, cap. xxvi. in *Opp.* tom. iv. p. 317.

§ 27. A great deal of darkness was also removed from the religious world, by a knowledge of all history, but especially of the early Christian, which was everywhere acquired and imparted with far more accuracy than heretofore, by men of the most laborious habits. For the origin and causes of a great number of opinions, which antiquity and custom had rendered sacred, being laid open; numerous errors, which had before occupied and enslaved men's minds, now lost their authority; and in this way, light and peace arose upon the minds of many, and their lives were rendered more blameless and more happy. This knowledge restored reputation to several persons, whom the malice or ignorance of former ages had branded with the name of *heretics*; a circumstance which served as a protection to many pious and good men against the malevolent and the ignorant. It showed, that various religious disputes, which formerly embroiled nations and involved states in bloodshed, rebellion, and crimes, arose from very trivial causes; from the ambiguity of terms, from ignorance, superstition, envy, and emulation, or from the love of pre-eminence. It traced back many rites and ceremonies, which were once regarded as of divine origin to polluted sources; to the customs of barbarous nations, to a disposition to practise imposition, to the irrational fancies of half-educated men, and to a foolish desire of imitating others. It taught that the rulers of the church had, by dishonest artifices, gained for themselves no small share of the civil power; and by binding kings with religious terrors, divested them of their wealth. It showed that councils, the decrees of which were once regarded as divine oracles, were often conventions of ignorant, nay, sometimes of worthless men. Several other things of the like nature might be mentioned. How salutary, all this was to the cause of Christianity, how much gentleness towards those of different sentiments, how much caution and prudence in deciding upon the opinions of others, how much relief to the innocent and the good against the ill-disposed grow out of it, and how many pernicious artifices, frauds, and errors it has banished from human society, we may learn from daily experience of our own happy condition.

§ 28. Those Christians, who gave attention to Hebrew and Greek literature, and to the languages and antiquities of the eastern nations, (and very many prosecuted these studies with great success,) threw much light on numerous passages of the

holy Scriptures, which were before either obscure, or misunderstood, and erroneously adduced in support of opinions rashly taken up, nay, made to teach error and false doctrine. And the consequence was, that the patrons of many vulgar errors and groundless opinions were deprived of the best part of their armour. Nor will the wise and the good maintain, that there was no advantage to religion from the labours of such as either kept Latin eloquence from becoming extinct, or, in imitation of the French, laboured to polish and improve the vernacular languages of their respective nations. For it is of great importance to the welfare and progress of the Christian community, that it should not want men capable of writing and speaking properly, fluently, and elegantly, on all religious subjects; by which means they may bring the ignorant, and such as are averse from religion, to hear with pleasure what they ought to learn, and readily to comprehend what they ought to know.

§ 29. The moral doctrines inculcated by Christ and his apostles, received a better form, and more support against various abuses and perversions, after the law of nature, or of right reason, had been more carefully investigated and more clearly explained. The incomparable *Hugo Grotius* stood forth as a guide to others in this department, by his work *on the rights of War and Peace*⁴: and the excellence and importance of the subject, induced a number of the best geniuses to follow him with alacrity.⁵ How much aid the labours of these men afforded to all those who afterwards treated of the life and duties of a Christian, will be manifest to any one that shall take the trouble to compare the treatises on this subject composed after their times, with those which were previously in estimation. It is certain, that the boundaries of Christian and natural morality were more accurately determined; some Christian duties, the nature of which was not well understood by the ancients, were more clearly defined; the great superiority of the divine laws, to the dictates of mere reason, was more lucidly shown; those general principles and solid grounds, by which all the Christian's doubts, and conflicts respecting right and wrong in action, may be easily settled, were established; and finally was repressed, with unwonted vigour, the folly of those who audaciously main-

⁴ *De Jure Belli et Pacis*.

⁵ See Adam Fred. Glasfey's *History of the Law of Nature*, written in German,

and subjoined to a *Bibliotheca* of the law of nature and nations; Lips. 1739, 4to.

tained, that the precepts of Christianity were at variance with the dictates of sound reason, that they subverted nature, were calculated to undermine the prosperity of nations, rendered men effeminate, diverted them from the proper business of life, and the like.

§ 30. But it is proper to make some particular remarks on the state of philosophy among Christians. At the commencement of this century, nearly all the philosophers were distributed into two sects: namely, that of the *Peripatetics*, and that of the *Fire-Philosophers*, or the *Chemists*. And these two sects, during many years, contended warmly for pre-eminence, in a great number of publications. The *Peripatetics* held nearly all the professorial chairs, both in the universities and the inferior schools; and they were furious against every one who thought that *Aristotle* should either be corrected or abandoned; as if all such had been traitors to their country, and public enemies of mankind. Most of this class, however, if we except the professors at Tübingen, Helmstadt, Altorf, and Leipsic, did not follow *Aristotle* himself, but rather his modern expositors. The Chemical or Fire-Philosophers roamed over nearly every country of Europe; assumed the obscure and deceptive title of *Rosicrucian Brethren*⁶, which had some apparent respectability, as it seemed

⁶ [*Rosæcruciani Fratres.*] It is abundantly attested, that the title of *Rosicrucians* was given to the Chemists, who united the study of religion with the search after chemical secrets. The term itself is chemical; nor can its import be understood, without a knowledge of the style used by the chemists. It is composed not, as many think, of *rosa* and *crux* (a *rose* and the *cross*), but of *ros* (*dew*) and *crux*. *Dew* is the most powerful of all natural substances to dissolve gold. And a *cross*, in the language of the fire-philosophers, is the same as *Lux* (*light*); because the figure of a cross + exhibits all the three letters of the word *Lux* at one view. Moreover, this sect applied the term *Lux* to the *seed* or *menstruum* of the *Red Dragon*, or to that crude and corporeal light, which, being properly concocted and digested, produces gold. A *Rosicrucian*, therefore, is a philosopher, who, by means of *dew*, seeks for *light*, that is, for the substance of the philosopher's stone. The other interpretations of this name, are false and deceptive; and were invented and

given out by the chemists themselves, who were exceedingly fond of concealment, for the sake of imposing on others that were hostile to their religious views. The true import of this title was perceived by the sagacity of Peter Gassendi, *Examen Philosophiæ Fluddanæ*, § 15, in his *Opp.* tom. iii. p. 261. But it was more lucidly explained, by the celebrated French physician, Eusebius Renaudot, *Conférences Publiques*, tom. iv. p. 87. Very much, though ill arranged, respecting these Rosicrucian brethren, who made so much noise in this century, their society, institutes, and writings, may be found in Godf. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, pt. ii. book xvii. ch. xviii. p. 1114, &c. [According to most of the writers on the subject, the name *Rosicrucians* was not assumed by all the Fire-Philosophers; nor was it first applied to men of that description; but it was the appropriate name of an imaginary association, first announced about the year 1610, into which a multitude of Fire-Philosophers, or alchemists, eagerly sought admission. The

to be derived from the arms of *Luther*, which were a cross upon a rose; and in numberless publications, some of them more and some of them less able and severe, charged the Peripatetics with corrupting and perverting both reason and religion. The leaders of the band were *Robert Fludd*⁷, an Englishman, of a singular genius; *Jacob Bæhm* [or *Behmen*], a shoemaker of Gorlitz; and *Michael Mayer*.⁸ These were afterwards succeeded by *Jo. Bapt. Helmont*, and his son, *Francis Mercurius*⁹; *Christian Knorr*, of Rosenroth¹; *Quirin Kuhlman*²; *Henry Noll*³; *Julius Sperber*⁴;

earliest writing professedly from them was either published or republished at Frankfort, A. D. 1615, in German; and afterwards in Danish, Dutch, and Latin; and bore the title of "*Fama Fraternitatis*," or Discovery of the Brotherhood of the praiseworthy order of the Rosy-cross; together with the Confession of the same Fraternity; addressed to all the learned heads in Europe: also some answers, by Mr. Haselmeyer and other learned persons, to the *Fama*; together with a Discourse concerning a general reformation of the whole world." The next year, 1616, David Mederus wrote, "that the *Fama Fraternitatis* and the Confession had then been, for six years printed and dispersed in five languages."

In the *Fama*, p. 15, &c. the founder and head of the fraternity is said to have been one Christopher Rosen-Creutz, a German, born in the year 1388; who became a pilgrim, visited the holy sepulchre, and Damascus, where he was instructed by the wise men, and afterwards learned magic and the Cabala, at Fez, and in Egypt: on his return to Germany, he undertook to improve human knowledge, and received several into his fraternity, in order to commence the business; and lived to the age of 100 years, a sage far in advance of the men of his age. This fraternity, it was said, continued down to the time of these publications. A vast excitement was produced by this publication in 1615. Some declared in favour of the fabled Rosierucian society, as a body of orthodox and learned reformers of the world; and others charged them with errors and mischievous designs. But in the year 1619, Dr. Jo. Valentine Andreæ, a famous Lutheran divine, published his "*Tower of Babel, or chaos of opinions respecting the Fraternity of the Rosy-cross*;" in which he represents

the whole history as a farce; and gave intimations that he was himself concerned in getting it up. But many enthusiastic persons, especially among the Fire-Philosophers, continued to believe the fable; and professed to know many of the secrets of the society. Much continued to be written about them, for a long time; and indeed the whole subject is involved in great obscurity. See Godf. Arnold, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 244—258. ed. Schaffhausen, 1741. H. P. K. Henke's *Gesch. der christl. Kirche*, vol. iii. p. 509—511; and the authors there cited. For the origin and character of the *Theosophists* or *Fire-Philosophers*, see above, on the preceding century, vol. iii. p. 318, &c. *Tr.*]

⁷ For an account of this singular man, to whom our Boehmen owed all his wisdom, see Anth. Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniens.* vol. i. p. 610, and *Historia et Antiq. Acad. Oxoniensis*, lib. ii. p. 390, &c. Concerning Helmont the father, see Henn. Witte. *Memorie Philosophorum*; and others. Respecting Helmont the son, see Joach. Fred. Feller, *Miscellanea Leibnitiana*, p. 226, and Leibnitz's *Epistles*, vol. iii. p. 353. 355. Concerning Boehmen, see Godf. Arnold, and various others. Respecting the rest, various writers must be consulted.

⁸ See Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 376, &c. [He was a learned physician and chemist, wrote much, and ranked high as a physician and a good man. He died at Magdeburg, A. D. 1622, aged 54. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Concerning him, see Brucker's *Hist. Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. pt. i. p. 709, &c. *Schl.*]

¹ [As Brucker, who gives account of the preceding Fire-Philosophers, is in every body's hands; while the history of Knorr of Rosenroth must be derived

and numerous others, but of unequal rank and fame. Harmony of opinion, among this sort of people, no one would expect. For, as a great part of their system of doctrine depends on a kind of internal sense, on the imagination, and on the testimony of the eyes and the ears, than which nothing can be more fluctuating and fallacious, this sect, of course, had almost as many disagreeing teachers, as it had writers of much note. There were, however, certain general principles, in which they all agreed. They universally maintain that no one can arrive at true wisdom, and know the first principles of all things, without analysing bodies by the agency of fire. They all imagine a sort of coincidence and agreement of religion with nature; and hold that God operates by the same laws, in the *kingdom of grace*, as in the *kingdom of nature*: hence they express the doctrines of religion in chemical terms, that are appropriate to their philosophy. They all contend that there is a sort of *divine energy* or *soul* diffused through the frame of the universe; which some call *Archæus*, others the *universal spirit*, and others something else. All of them have many superstitious things to say, about what they call the *signatures of things*, about the power and dominion of the stars over every corporeal object, men themselves not excepted, as also about magic and demons of various kinds. Finally, they all express their obscure and inexplicable ideas, in very unusual and most obscure phrasology.

§ 31. This contest between the chemical and the Peripatetic philosophers subsided, when a new method of philosophising

from the more rare *Nova Litteraria* of Krause, Lips. 1718, p. 191, we shall here offer the reader a brief notice of him. Christian Knorr of Rosenroth was a Silesian nobleman; who, together with no ordinary knowledge of medicine, philology, and theology, possessed a particular acquaintance with chemistry and the Kabbala; and was privy counsellor and chancellor to Christian Augustus, the palsegrave of Sulzbach. He was born in 1636, and died in 1689. His most important work was his *Kabbala denudata*, in 2 vols. 4to. printed, vol. i. Sulzb. 1678, and vol. ii. Francf. on Mayn, 1684. He also aided the publication of many Rabbinical works: and particularly of the book *Sohar*, at the Hebrew press in Sulzbach, 1684, fol. *Schl.*

.² [See, concerning him, Brucker, *loc.*

cit. p. 706. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-hist.* pt. iii. ch. 19. p. 197, &c. and Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, art. Kuhlmann. *Schl.*

³ [He belonged to the gymnasium of Steinfort in Westphalia, was afterwards professor of philosophy at Giessen, and at last, preacher at Darmstadt. He applied himself also to chemistry and medicine, and was a follower of Paracelsus. He wrote, among other things, *Systema Hermeticæ Medicinæ*, and *Physica Hermetica*; in which there are very many paradoxical propositions. *Schl.*]

⁴ This man also belonged to the Rosicrucians. He was a counsellor at Anhalt-Dessau; and composed many Theosophic tracts, which were published at Amsterdam, in 1660 and 1662, 8vo. He died A.D. 1616. *Schl.*]

was brought forward by two great men of France; namely, *Peter Gassendi*, professor of mathematics at Paris, and provost of the church of Digne, both a learned man and one, thoroughly acquainted with elegant literature, eloquent also, and deeply versed in all branches of mathematics, astronomy, and other sciences; and *René des Cartes* ⁵, a French gentleman and soldier; a man of an acute and subtle genius, but much inferior to *Gassendi* in literary and scientific acquirements. *Gassendi*, in the year 1624, forcibly and ingeniously attacked *Aristotle* and the *Aristotelians*, by publishing some *Exercitations against Aristotle*: but the work excited so much resentment, and was procuring him so many enemies, that he, from his love of peace and tranquillity, desisted from continuing the publication. Hence, only two books of the work which he projected against *Aristotle* were published; the other five, (for he intended to embrace the whole subject in seven books,) were suppressed in their birth.⁶ He likewise, in an appropriate work, attacked *Fludd*, and, through him, the *Rosicrucian Brethren* ⁷: which was not unacceptable to the *Aristotelians*. At length, he pointed out to others, though cautiously and discreetly, and he entered himself upon that mode of philosophising, which ascends by slow and timid steps, from what strikes the senses to what lies beyond their reach, and prosecutes the knowledge of truth, by observation, attention, experiment, reflection on the movements and the laws of nature; that is, from the contemplation of particular events and changes in nature, endeavours gradually to elicit some general ideas. In these inquiries he called in the aid, especially, of the mathematics, as being the most certain of all sciences; and neglected metaphysics, the precepts of which he regarded as so dubious, that a man eager after truth cannot confide without fear in but very few of them.⁸

⁵ Renatus Cartesius.

⁶ See Bougerell, *Vie de Gassendi*, p. 17. 23.

⁷ [The title of his book was: *Examen Philosophiæ Fluddianæ, sive Exercitatio epistolica, in qua principia philosophiæ Roberti Fluddi retentuntur, et ad recentes illius libros adversus Marinum Mersennum* (a friend of Gassendi) *scriptos respondeatur, cum aliquot observationibus caelestibus*. Paris, 1613, 8vo. *Schl.*

⁸ Those who wish further informa-

tion on this subject, may consult his *Institutiones Philosophiæ*: a diffuse performance, which fills the two first volumes of his works [published by Sorbier, in 6 vols. fol. A. D. 1658.] Throughout these Institutes it seems to be his main object to show, that the opinions of the philosophers, both ancient and modern, on most subjects, derived by them from the precepts of metaphysics, have little of certainty and solidity.

§ 32. *Des Cartes* philosophized in a very different manner. For he abandoned the mathematics, which he at first had made his chief dependence, and betook himself to general ideas, or to metaphysics, in order to come at that truth which was the object of his pursuit. Calling in the aid, therefore, of a few very simple positions, which the very nature of man seems almost to dictate to him spontaneously, he first endeavoured to form in his own mind distinct ideas of souls, bodies, God, matter, the universe, space, and of the principal objects of which the universe is composed. Combining these ideas altogether, and reducing them to a scientific form or system, he applied them to the correction, improvement, and solid establishment of the other parts of philosophy; always taking care, that what followed or was brought out last, should coincide with what went before, and seem spontaneously to arise from it. Scarcely had he brought his reflections before the public, when a considerable number of discerning men, in most countries of Europe, who had been long dissatisfied with the dust and darkness of the schools, approved and embraced them, and wished to have *des Cartes* recommended to the studious youth, and the Peripatetics set aside. On the other hand, the whole tribe of Peripatetics, aided by the theologians, who feared lest religion should suffer from some insidious blow, raised a terrible commotion, to prevent the new philosophy from supplanting the old; and to carry on the war with better success, they bitterly taxed the author of it, not only with the grossest errors, but also with downright atheism. This will appear the less surprising, if we consider, that the Aristotelians fought, not so much for their system of philosophy as for their own advantages, their honours and emoluments. The Theosophists, Rosicrucians, and Chemists seemed to enter the contest with more calmness: and yet there was not one of them who did not regard the doctrines of the Peripatetics, vain and injurious to piety as they were, as far more tolerable than the Cartesian discoveries.⁹ The result of this long contest was, that the wiser part of Europe would not indeed give themselves up entirely to the philosophy of *des Cartes* alone, yet, in conformity with his example, they resolved

⁹ Here should be read, besides the others who have written the history of *des Cartes* and his philosophy, Hadrian Baillet's *Life of des Cartes*, in French,

printed at Paris, 1691, 2 vols. 4to. And the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. et Crit.* tom. iii. p. 39.

to philosophize more freely than before, and to renounce the slavery of *Aristotle*.

§ 33. The great men contemporary with *des Cartes* very generally applauded his plan and purpose of philosophizing without subjecting himself to a guide or master, of proceeding circumspectly and slowly from the first dictates of nature and reason to things more complex and difficult, and of admitting nothing till it was well examined and understood. Nor was there an individual who did not acknowledge that he was the author of many brilliant and very useful discoveries and demonstrations. But some of them looked upon his positions respecting the causes and principles of natural things, as resting, for the most part, on mere conjecture; and considered the ground-work of his whole system, namely, his definitions or ideas of God, or the first cause, of matter and spirit, of the essential nature of things, of motion and its laws, and of other similar subjects, as either uncertain, or leading to dangerous errors, or contrary to experience. At the head of these was his countryman, *Peter Gassendi*; who had attempted to lower the credit of the Aristotelians and the Chemists before *des Cartes*; and who was his equal in genius, much his superior in learning, and most expert in all branches of mathematics. He endeavoured to overthrow those metaphysical principles which *des Cartes* had made the foundation of his whole system; and in opposition to his natural philosophy set up another, which was not unlike the old Epicurean, but far more perfect, better, and more solid, and founded on experience and the testimony of the senses.¹ The followers of this new and very sagacious teacher were not numerous, and were far outnumbered by the Cartesian host; yet it was a select band, and pre-eminent for attainments and ardour in mathematical and physical knowledge. Among his countrymen *Gassendi* had few admirers: but among their neighbours, the English,

¹ See, in particular, his *Disquisitio Metaphysica, seu Dubitationes et Instantiæ adversus Cartesii Metaphysicum et Responsa*; which was first published in 1641, and is inserted in the third volume of his works, p. 283, &c. A neat compendium of his whole system of philosophy, was drawn up by Francis Bernier, a celebrated French physician: *Abrégé de la Philosophie de Gassendi*, Lyons, 1684, 8 vols. 12mo. From this com-

pendium, the views of this great man may be more easily learned than from his own writings, which are not unfrequently designedly ambiguous and equivocal, and likewise overloaded with various learning. The Life of Gassendi was not long since carefully written by Bougerel, one of the Fathers of the Oratory, Paris, 1737, 12mo, concerning which, see *Biblioth. François*e, tom. xxvii. p. 353, &c.

who at that time were much devoted to physical and mathematical studies, he had many more adherents. Even those English philosophers and theologians, who combated *Thomas Hobbes*, (whose doctrines more resembled those of *Gassendi* than they did those of *des Cartes*,) and who, in order to confute him, revived the Platonic philosophy, such as *William [Benjamin] Whichcot*, *Theophilus Gale*, *Ralph Cudworth*, *Henry More*, and others, did not hesitate to associate *Plato* with *Gassendi*, and to put such a construction upon the latter, as to make him appear the friend of the former.²

§ 34. From this time onward, Christendom was divided by two distinguished sects of philosophers; who, though they had little dispute about things of most practical utility in human life, were much at variance respecting the starting points in all philosophical reasonings, or the foundations of all human knowledge. The one may not improperly be called the *metaphysical* sect, and the other the *mathematical*; nor would the leaders in these schools probably reject these appellations. The former trod in the footsteps of *des Cartes*; the latter preferred the method of *Gassendi*. *That* supposed, truth was to be discovered by reasoning; *this*, rather by experiments and observation. *That* placed little dependence on the senses, and trusted more to reflection and ratiocination: *this* placed less dependence on reasoning, and relied more on the senses and the actual inspection of things. *That* deduced from the precepts of metaphysics a long list of dogmas; by which, it affirmed, a way was opened for acquiring a certain and precise knowledge of the nature of God, of souls, of bodies, and of the entire universe; *this* did not indeed reject the principles of metaphysics, but it denied their sufficiency for constructing an entire system of philosophy; and contended, on the contrary, that long experience, a careful inspection of things, and experiments often repeated, were the best helps to the attainment of solid and useful knowledge. *That* boldly soars aloft to examine the first cause and source of truth, and the natures and causes of all things; and returning with these discoveries, descends to explain by them the changes that take place in nature, the purposes and the attributes of God, the character and duties of men, and the constitution and

² See the remarks we have made, in the Preface to Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, g. 2. a. and in many places of

our *Notes* to that work: [in the Latin translation, by Dr. Mosheim. *Tr.*]

fabric of the universe: *this*, more timid and more modest, first inspects, most attentively, the objects which meet the eye, and which lie as it were at our feet; and then ascends to inquiries into the nature and causes of things. *That* supposes very much to be perfectly well understood; and therefore is very ready to attempt reducing its knowledge into the form of a regular and complete system: *this* supposes innumerable things to elude our grasp; and instructs its followers to suspend all judgment on numberless points, until time and experience shall throw more light upon them; and lastly, it supposes that the business of making out complete *systems*, as they are called, either entirely exceeds the ability of mortals, or must be left to future generations, who shall have learned far more from experience than we have. This disagreement respecting the first principles of all human knowledge and science has produced much dissension respecting subjects of the greatest importance, such as the character of God, the nature of matter, the elementary principles of matter, the laws of motion, the mode of the divine government or providence, the constitution of the universe, the nature and mutual relations of souls and bodies: and the wise, who reflect upon the subject matter of these disputes and the habits and dispositions of human minds, are fearful that these controversies will continue and be perpetual.³ At the same time good men would be less troubled about these contests, if the parties would show more moderation, and would not each arraign the other as chargeable with a grievous offence against God, and with subverting the foundations of all religion.⁴

³ Voltaire published, a few years since: *La Métaphysique de Newton, ou parallèle des sentimens de Newton et de Leibnitz*, Amsterd. 1740, 8vo: which little book, though not so accurately written as it should be, nor a complete treatise on the subject, will yet be not a little serviceable to those who wish to know how much these philosophic schools disagree.

⁴ It is well known, that des Cartes and his followers, the metaphysical philosophers, were formerly accused by vast numbers, and they are still accused, of subverting all religion and piety. In the list of *Atheists unmasked*, by Jo. Harduin (*Œuvres mêlées*, p. 200, &c.), René des Cartes, with his principal and most noble followers, Anthony le Grand and

Silvanus Regis, hold a conspicuous place. Nor is the name of Franc. Nich. Malebranche, though many think him nearer allied to the fanatics, excluded from this black catalogue. (See vol. iii. p. 126.) It is true, that Harduin very often talks like one delirious; but he does not here follow his own genius, but adopts the views of the Peripatetic and Mathematical sects, who more fiercely than others assailed the Cartesian philosophy. And even very recently, Voltaire, though he is much more moderate, yet not obscurely assents to these accusations. (*Métaphysique de Newton*, cap. i. p. 3, &c.) Nor were the Metaphysical philosophers more temperate towards their adversaries. Long since, Anthony Arnould considered Gassendi, in his dispute

§ 35. All those who either embraced the sentiments of *des Cartes*, or adopted his rules of philosophizing, endeavoured to elucidate, confirm, amend, and perfect the metaphysical method in philosophy. And these persons were very numerous in this century, especially in Holland and France. But, as some of this description, not obscurely, undermined religion and the belief of a God, of which class *Benedict de Spinoza* was the ring-leader; and others of them abused the precepts of their master to pervert and overthrow certain doctrines of religion, as *e. g.* *Balthazar Becker*, hence the whole school, in various places, became extremely odious. There were none who pursued the metaphysical method more wisely, and at the same time more acutely, than *Francis Nicholas Malebranche* and *Godfrey William Leibnitz*; the former, a Frenchman, and one of the *Fathers of the Oratory*, a man equally eloquent and acute; the latter, a German, to be ranked with the first geniuses of any age.⁵ Neither of them, indeed, received all the *dicta* of *des Cartes*, but adopted his general method of philosophizing, added many opinions of his own, altered and improved many things, and confirmed others with more solid arguments. *Malebranche* yielded too much to his very fertile imagination; and therefore often inclined towards those who are agreeably deceived by the visions of their own creation. *Leibnitz* depended entirely on his reason and judgment.

§ 36. The *mathematical* philosophy, already mentioned, had a much smaller number of followers and friends: the causes of which will readily occur to those disposed to inquire for them. But it found a new country affording it protection, namely,

against *des Cartes*, as subverting the immortality of the soul. And *Godfr. Wilh. Leibnitz* added, that the whole of natural religion was corrupted and shaken by him. See *Maizeaux*, *Recueil des diverses Pièces sur la Philosophie*, tom. ii. p. 166. Nor does *Leibnitz* hesitate to declare, that *Isaac Newton* and his adherents, rob God of his best attributes and perfections, and rip up the foundations of natural religion. And most of the writings of both parties, quite down to our times, are full of such criminations.

⁵ Concerning *Malebranche*, the author of the interesting work *Search after Truth*, [*Recherche de la Vérité*, Paris, 1673, 3 vols. 12mo, also translated into English, in 1 vol. fol. *Tr.*] and of other metaphysical works; see *Fontenelle*,

Eloges des Académiciens de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, tom. i. p. 317, &c. For what is reprehensible in his philosophy, see *Jo. Harduin's Atheists unmasked*, in his *Œuvres mêlées*, p. 43, &c. The life and doctrines of *Leibnitz* are described by the same *Fontenelle*, *loc. cit.* tom. ii. p. 9. But his history, and his philosophy, are the most copiously described, by *Charles Gunther Ludovici*, in his *History of the Leibnitian Philosophy*, written in German, 2 vols. Lips. 1737, 8vo. The genius of this great man may be the most satisfactorily learned, by reading his *Epistles*, published by *Christ. Kortholt*, in 3 vols. 8vo, Leipsic; and afterwards by others. Nor is it necessary I should here draw his portrait.

Great Britain; the philosophers of which, perceiving in its infantile and unfinished features a resemblance of the great *Francis Bacon*, lord Verulam, took it into their arms, cherished it, and to our times have given it fame. The whole Royal Society of London, which is almost the public school of the nation, approved of it; and, with no less expense than pains and patience, improved and extended it. In particular, it is indebted for its progress very much to those immortal men, *Isaac Barrow*, *John Wallis*, *John Locke*, and him who should have been named first, *Robert Boyle*, a very religious gentleman, much noted among other things for his very learned works. The theologians also of that country,—a class of men whom philosophers are wont to charge with violently opposing their measures,—deemed it not only sound and harmless, but likewise most useful to awaken and to cherish feelings of reverence for the Deity, and to support and defend religion, and most consonant with the decisions of the holy Scriptures and the primitive church. And hence, all those who publicly assailed the enemies of God and religion, in the Boylian lectures, descended into the *arena* clad in its armour, and wielding its weapons. But by the ingenuity and diligence of no one have its increase and progress been more aided than by those of *Isaac Newton*; a man of the highest excellence, and venerable even in the estimation of his opponents: for he spent the whole of his long life in digesting, correcting, amplifying, and demonstrating it, both by experiments and by computations; and with so much success, that out of a silver mass, he may be considered as having made a gold one.⁶ The English say that the excellence and the superior value of this philosophy may be learned from this fact, that all those who have devoted themselves wholly to it, have left behind them bright examples of sanctity and solid piety; while, on the other hand, many of the metaphysical philosophers have been entirely estranged from God and his worship, and teachers and promoters of the greatest impiety.

§ 37. But although these two illustrious schools had deprived the ancient ones of their pupils and their reputation, yet all the

⁶ This great man's *Elementa Philosophiæ Mathematicæ*, often printed, and his other writings, philosophical and mathematical, and also theological, are of great notoriety. His life and merits are elegantly described by Fontenelle;

Eloges des Académiciens de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, tom. ii. p. 293—323. Add *Biblioth. Angloise*, tom. xv. pt. ii. p. 545, and *Biblioth. Raisonnée*, tom. vi. pt. ii. p. 478.

philosophers would not join themselves to one or the other of them. For when men were again at liberty to judge and think for themselves, there were individuals of superior genius and acumen, and some also whose imaginations were stronger than their judgments, that ventured to point out new ways towards the latent seats of truth. But nearly all of them failed of obtaining many followers; so that it will be sufficient just to glance at their object. There were some whose mediocrity of talents, or whose native indolence of character, deterred them from the difficult and laborious task of investigating truth by the efforts of their own minds, and who therefore attempted to collect, and to compact into a kind of system, the best and most satisfactory principles admitted by the schools. These are commonly denominated *Eclectics*. And finally, from these very disagreements and contests of the philosophers, some very acute men took occasion for despairing of finding the truth, and for opening again the long-closed school of the *Sceptics*. Among these, the more distinguished were *Francis Sanchez*, a physician of Toulouse⁷, *Francis de la Mothele Vayer*⁸, *Peter Daniel Huet*, bishop of Avranches⁹, and some others. It is common, and not altogether without reason, to place among this class *Peter Bayle*¹; who acquired high reputation in the latter part of this century by various works, rich in matter, and elegant in style.

⁷ There is a celebrated work of his, entitled: *De eo quid nihil scitur*; which, with his other tracts, and his Life, was published at Toulouse, 1636, 4to. See Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tom. iii. p. 2530, and Peter de Villemandy's *Scepticismus debellatus*, cap. iv. p. 32.

⁸ See Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tom. iv. art. Vayer, p. 2780, &c.

⁹ His book, on the Weakness of Human Reason, was published after his death, both in French, Amsterd. 1723, 8vo, and recently in Latin. But it appears, that, long before this book was either published or written, Huet had recommended the mode of philosophizing adopted by the sceptics; and thought this alone best suited to establish the Christian religion. See his *Commentarius de rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, lib. iv. p. 230, and his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, Preface, § iv. p. 9, where he approves the measures of those, who first enervate all philosophy, and expel it from the mind, by sceptical arguments, before they proceed to the doubting of the truth

of Christianity. We are aware that the Jesuits, to whom Huet was much inclined, formerly adopted with success, and do still adopt, this very hazardous artifice, in order to draw over Protestants to the Romish community.

¹ Who, at this day, can be unacquainted with Bayle? His Life, copiously written, in two volumes, 8vo, by Peter des Maizeaux, was published at the Hague in 1732 [and is prefixed to the fifth edition of his *Dictionnaire Hist. et Critique*; Bâle, 1738, 4 tomes, fol.] His scepticism was most clearly shown, and confuted with great dexterity, by Jo. Peter de Crousaz, in a very copious French work [*Examen du Pyrrhonisme*]; a neat abridgment of which was made by Sam. Formey [*Le Triomphe de l'Evidence*], and translated from French into German, by Alb. Haller, Götting. 1756, 8vo. [See also Bayle's own answer to this and other charges brought against him, subjoined to the fifth edition of his *Dictionnaire*, tom. iv. p. 616, &c. *Tr.*]

SECTION II.

THE PARTICULAR HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

PART I.

THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF THE ROMISH OR LATIN CHURCH.

§ 1. The sovereign pontiffs of this century.—§ 2. Solitude of the Romish church to oppress the Protestants.—§ 3. Commotions in Austria and Bohemia.—§ 4. The Bohemian war. Frederic V. defeated.—§ 5. Progress of the Bohemian German war.—§ 6. Gustavus Adolphus arrives. Termination of the thirty years' war.—§ 7. The peace of Westphalia.—§ 8. Injuries done to Protestants by the Romanists.—§ 9. The Moors driven out of Spain. Oppression of the Reformed in France.—§ 10. Attempts upon England fail.—§ 11. Milder measures of the Papists to overcome the Protestants.—§ 12. Theological conferences attempted.—§ 13. The popish pacificators.—§ 14. Pacificators on the side of the Protestants.—§ 15. The popish Methodists.—§ 16. Protestant apostates.—§ 17. Losses of the Romish church in the east.—§ 18. Authority of the pontiffs gradually diminished.—§ 19. Controversy of Paul V. with the Venetians.—§ 20. War with the Portuguese.—§ 21. Contests of the French with the pontiffs.—§ 22. Lewis XIV. in particular.—§ 23. State of the Romish clergy.—§ 24. The monks.—§ 25. The Congregation of St. Maur.—§ 26. Port Royal. Reformed Bernardines de la Trappe.—§ 27. New sects of monks.—§ 28. The Jesuits.—§ 29. State of literature in the Romish church.—§ 30. Philosophy.—§ 31. Merits of the Jesuits, the Benedictines, the Fathers of the Oratory, and the Jansenists.—§ 32. The principal writers.—§ 33. The Romish religion corrupted still more.—§ 34. Morality subverted by the Jesuits.—§ 35. Condition of exegetic theology.—§ 36. Dogmatic, moral, and polemic theology.—§ 37. Contests of the Jesuits and Dominicans respecting the aids of grace, under Clement VIII.—§ 38. Its continuation under Paul V. and its issue.—§ 39, 40. Commencement of the Jansenists.—§ 41. Arguments and measures of both parties.—§ 42. Five propositions condemned by Innocent X.—§ 43. Bull of Alexander VII. against Jansenius.—§ 44. Peace of Clement IX. Subsequent events.—§ 45. Austere piety of the Jansenists.—§ 46. The Convent of Port Royal.—§ 47. Controversy respecting the immaculate conception of St. Mary.—§ 48. Quietistic controversy. Molinos.—§ 49. His followers.—§ 50. Madame Guyon. Fénelon.—§ 51. La Peyrère, White, Sfondrati, and Borri.—§ 52. Canonizations.

§ 1. WHEN a new century began, the Latin church was governed by *Clement VIII.*¹, called in earlier life *Aldobrandini*,

¹ [A. D. 1592—1605. *Tr.*]

whose administration of the Roman commonwealth had already extended over several years. That he was able and astute, very eager to beat down the Protestants, and enlarge the Romish world, all admit: but whether he had as much prudence as the office of sovereign pontiff needs, many have thought not so clear.² He was succeeded³, in the year 1605, by *Leo XI.* of the Medicean family, who died, at an advanced age, in the very year of his elevation, and left the Romish chair to *Paul V.* of the family of Borghese⁴, a man of violent passions, and frequently a most insolent assertor of his prerogatives; as appears, among other things, from his rash and not very successful contest with the Venetians.⁵ In *Gregory XV.*⁶ of the family of *Ludovisi*, who was elected in 1621, there was more moderation than in *Paul V.*, but no more gentleness towards those who forsook the Romish church. This, however, is the common and almost necessary fault of all the Roman pontiffs, who without it, could scarcely fulfil the high duties of their office. *Urban VIII.*, one of the *Barberini*⁷, whom the favour of the cardinals placed in the Romish chair in 1623, showed himself very favourable and liberal to learned and literary men, being himself well versed in literature, and an excellent writer both in prose and verse⁸; but towards the *protestants*, he was extremely

² [He was born at Fano, in the beginning of 1536. His father, Salvestro Aldobrandini, was a doctor of laws at Florence, but of a distinguished family in that city. In politics he was a decided enemy to the Mediceis, and on their complete success, in 1531, he was compelled to leave his paternal city and seek a living elsewhere. Hippolytus, the future pope, was his youngest son. He proved worthy of the pontifical throne, both as a man of business, and an ecclesiastic from whom much was justly expected in the way of example. Every morning he said mass in person, every evening the illustrious Baronius received his confession, every noon, in the earlier years of his reign, twelve poor persons ate with him in one of his apartments. Ranke, *Fr. Transl.* iii. 290. *Ed.*]

³ [During 27 days. *Tr.*]

⁴ [1605—1621. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Before his elevation to the pontificate, he had led a studious life, and came little before the world unless in employments of a legal character. He was thus unknown as a political partizan,

and had fallen under none of those enmities which must be contracted by every such person. But an election, seemingly so little likely amid the strife of parties, surprised himself, and betrayed him into the weakness of considering it as an especial interposition of Providence. Thus regarding himself as an instrument divinely raised up for some particular purpose, being of an intractable temper, and having an intellect trained in the strict observance of legal sanctions, he filled the Papal chair with intolerable arrogance, harshness, and inflexibility. *Ibid.* 395. *Ed.*]

⁶ [1621—1623. *Tr.*]

⁷ [1623—1644. *Tr.*]

⁸ See Leo Allatius, *Apes Urbane*: which little book was published by Jo. Alb. Fabricius at Hamburg. It is a full catalogue of the learned and excellent men, who adorned Rome, in the pontificate of Urban VIII. and who experienced the liberality of that pontiff. The neat and elegant Latin poems of this pontiff have been often printed. [These poems were written while he was

cruel and harsh. Yet *Urban* will appear kind and good, if compared with *Innocent X.*⁹ of the family of *Pamphili*, who succeeded him in 1644. For he was ignorant of every thing, of which the ignorance is least to be excused in heads of the church; and surrendered up himself, and all public affairs civil and sacred, to the control of *Olympia*, his kinswoman, a most vicious creature, avaricious, and insolent.¹ His very zealous efforts to prevent the peace of Westphalia, I do not think should be reckoned among his peculiar crimes; because, if I am not greatly mistaken, the best of pontiffs would have done the same. His successor, in 1655, *Alexander VII.*, previously called *Fabius Chigi*², is deserving of a little more commendation. Still, he was not wanting in any one of the spots, which the pontiffs cannot wash out, if they would take sufficient care of their dignity. Besides, discerning and excellent men, even of the Romish church, have described him as possessing slender talents, inadequate to the management of great affairs, an insidious temper and very dishonourable fickleness.³ The

a cardinal. Under him, nepotism greatly prevailed; and the political transactions of his court are ascribable more to his nephews and family than to him. He procured a very distinguished edition of the Romish Breviary: suppressed the order of female Jesuits; conferred the title of *Eminence* on the cardinals, and on all cardinal-legates, the three clerical German electors, and the grand master of the order of Malta. *Schl.*]

⁹ [1644—1655. *Tr.*]

¹ *Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz*, tom. iii. p. 102, &c., last edition. Add vol. iv. p. 12. Respecting his contests with the French, see Bougeant's *Histoire de la Paix de Westphalie*, tom. iv. p. 56. &c. [Respecting *Olympia*, see *La Vie d'Olympe Maldachini, princesse Pamfili*, trad. de l'Italien de l'Abbé Gualdi, avec des notes par M. I. Geneva (or rather, Paris), 1770, 12mo. The original was published in 1666, 12mo. *Innocent*, before his election, had lived in free commerce with *Olympia*: which was continued after his elevation, and was carried to such lengths, that the Donna, under the reign of her dear brother-in-law, possessed all power, sold all offices and prebends, gathered money in a thousand ways, opened the despatches of the envoys, and guided and controlled all state affairs. She suppressed near 2000

minor cloisters, and thereby obtained vast sums: and other cloisters, threatened with the same fate, had to purchase their freedom. She was, for some time, excluded from the palace, and removed from the court, by cardinal Pancirolla, and his creature, the pretended cardinal Pamphili, whose proper name was Ascalli, and who had no connexion with the pope. But she soon after returned to her old place and was the absolute mistress of the Vatican, where she at last took up her residence: indeed, the unfriendly chroniclers say, that one of her ear-rings was found in the pope's bed. And such was the pontiff, who persuaded Ferdinand III. to hold the sword always drawn over the Protestants, who condemned Jansenius, and who entered his dissent against the peace of Westphalia. *Schl.*]

² [A.D. 1655—1667. *Tr.*]

³ See the *Mémoires du Card. de Retz*, tom. iv. p. 16, &c. p. 77, who very sagaciously decides many points respecting him: also *Mémoires de M. Joly*, tom. ii. p. 186. 210. 237, who speaks equally ill of Alexander: and the celebrated Arkenholz, *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. ii. p. 125, &c. ["The craft and dissimulation attributed to this pontiff, really constituted an essential part of his character; but it is not strictly true, that

two *Clements IX.* and *X.* who were elected, the one in 1668, and the other in 1669⁴, performed little worth recording for posterity. The former was of the family of *Rospigliosi*, and the latter of that of *Altieri*.⁵ *Innocent XI.* previously *Benedict Odeschalchi*, who ascended the papal throne in 1677⁶, acquired a high and permanent reputation, by the strictness of his morals, his uniformity and consistency, his abhorrence of gross superstition, his zeal to purge religion of fables, and to reform the clergy, and by other virtues. His example, however, most clearly shows, that much may be attempted, but that little can be accomplished by pontiffs who have sound views and upright intentions: likewise that the wisest regulations cannot long resist the machinations of such a multitude of persons, fostered and raised to power and influence, by licentiousness of morals, pious frauds, fables, errors, and worthless institutions.⁷ At

he was a man of a *mean genius*, or unequal to *great and difficult undertakings*. He was a man of learning, and discovered very eminent abilities at the treaty of Munster, where he was sent in the character of nuncio. Some writers relate, that, while he was in Germany, he had formed the design of abjuring popery, and embracing the protestant religion; but was deterred from the execution of his purpose by the example of his cousin count Pompey, who was poisoned at Lyons, on his way to Germany, after he had abjured the Romish faith. These writers add, that Chigi was confirmed in his religion by his elevation to the cardinalship. See Bayle, *Nouvelles de la Répub. des Lettres*, Octob. 1688." *Macl.*]

⁴ [1670—1676. *Tr.*]

⁵ *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. ii. p. 126. 131. [Clement IX. was a ruler fond of peace and splendour, a foe to nepotism, and a beneficent friend to his subjects. Clement X. was no less fond of peace than his predecessor; but introduced a peculiar kind of nepotism, by adopting as his son the cardinal Paolucci. Yet his six years' reign exhibited nothing remarkable. *Schl.*]

⁶ [1676—1689. *Tr.*]

⁷ See the *Journal Universel*, tom. i. p. 441, &c. tom. vi. p. 306. The present pontiff, Benedict XIV., attempted, in the year 1743, to enrol Innocent XI. among the saints. But Lewis XV., king of France, influenced, it is said, by the Jesuits, resisted the measure; because

Lewis XIV. had had much controversy with this pontiff; as we shall state hereafter. [It is a noticeable circumstance in his life, that in the thirty years' war, he served in Germany as a soldier; and there is still shown, at Wolfenbüttele, the house in which as an officer he is said to have resided. This circumstance, indeed, the count Turrezonico has called in question; in his work, *de Supposititiis Stipendiis Militaribus Bened. Odeschalci*, Como, 1742, folio. But Heumann has placed the fact beyond all doubt; in the *Hannöverisch. Nützlichen Sammlungen*, 1755, p. 1185; and in the *Beyträge von alten u. neuen Theologischen Sachen*, 1755, p. 882. He, however, afterwards assumed the sacred office; and even on the papal throne, exhibited all the virtues of a military commander, courage, strictness, and inflexibility of purpose. He sought to diminish the voluptuousness and splendid extravagance of his court, to correct all abuses among the clergy, and to extirpate nepotism. But he often went too far, and his reforming zeal frequently extended to things indifferent. For instance, he wished to prohibit the clergy from taking snuff, and the ladies from learning music; and the like. And in this way, he would have hindered the good effects of his zeal for reformation, if he had met with no obstructions to be overcome. To canonization, and to the reading of the bull in *Cena Domini*, he was no friend. He actually canonized no one; and on Maundy Thursdays, on which this bull was to

least, nearly all the praiseworthy regulations and enactments of *Innocent* fell to the ground and were overthrown, by the indolence and the yielding temper of *Alexander VIII.* of the *Ottoboni* family, who was created pope in the year 1689.⁸ *Innocent XII.* of the family of *Pignatelli*, a good man, and possessed of fine talents, who succeeded *Alexander*, in the year 1691, wished to restore the regulations of *Innocent XI.* to their authority; and did partially restore them. But he, too, had to learn, that the wisest and most vigorous pontiffs are inadequate to cure the maladies of the court and church of Rome; nor did posterity long enjoy the benefits that he provided.⁹ Quite at the end of the century, 1699¹, *Clement XI.* of the family of *Albani*, was placed at the head of the Romish church. He was clearly the most learned of the cardinals, and not inferior to any of the preceding pontiffs in wisdom, mildness, and desire to reign well. Yet he was so far from strenuously opposing the inveterate maladies and the unseemly regulations of the Romish church, that, indiscreetly, and, as he supposed, for the glory and security of the church, *i.e.* of the head of the church, he rather admitted many things, which conduce to its dishonour, and which show that even the better sort of pontiffs, through their zeal to preserve or to augment their dignity and honour, may easily fall into the greatest errors and faults.²

be read, he always gave out that he was sick. His life was written by Philip Bonamici, the papal secretary of the Latin Briefs, with design, probably, to favour his canonization, in which business he was the Postulator: and it was entitled *Commentar. de Vita et Rebus gestis venerab. Servi Dei, Innocentii XI. Pont. Max.* Rome, 1776, 8vo. *Schl.*]

⁸ [1689—1691. *Tr.*—*Alexander VIII.* restored nepotism, condemned the Jesuitical error of philosophical sin, and benefited the Vatican library, by purchasing the library of queen Christina. *Schl.*]

⁹ [1691—1700. *Tr.*] Cardinal H. Noris says much respecting *Innocent XII.*, his election, character, and morals, in his *Epistles*; published in his Works, tom. v. p. 362. 365. 370. 373. 380. [His hostility to nepotism, and his inflexibility, his strictness, and his frugality, were as great as those of *Innocent XI.* His strictness he manifested, in particular, by forbidding the clergy to wear wigs, and by requiring the monks to live according to their rules. He was so little disposed

to burn heretics, that the Inquisition began to doubt his orthodoxy; and when he wished to protect Molinos, they by commissioners put this question to him, What did Aloysius Pignatelli believe? *Schl.*]

¹ [A. D. 1701—1721. *Tr.*]

² There were published the last year [A. D. 1752], in French, two biographies of *Clement XI.*; the one composed by the celebrated Lafitau, bishop of Sisteron in France, *Vie de Clément XI.* Padua, 1752, 2 vols. 8vo; the other composed by Reboulet, chancellor of Avignon, *Histoire de Clément XI.* Avignon, 1752, 2 vols. 4to. Both (but especially the latter) are written with elegance; both contain many historical errors; which French historians are commonly not duly careful to avoid: both are not so much histories as panegyrics; yet such, that discerning readers can easily discover, that, though very discreet, *Clement*, from a desire to confirm and exalt the pontifical majesty, did many things very imprudently, and by his own

§ 2. The pains taken by the Romish church to extend its power among the barbarous nations that were ignorant of Christianity, have been already noticed. We have, therefore, now, only to describe its care and efforts to recover its lost possessions, and to bring the protestants under subjection. And for this, its efforts were astonishingly great and various. In the struggle, it resorted to the power of genius, to arms and violence, to promises, to flatteries, to disputations, and to wiles and fallacies; but for the most part, with little success. In the first place, in order to demonstrate the justice of that war, which it had long been preparing to carry on by means of the house of Austria against the followers of the purer faith, it in part suffered, and in part caused, the peace settled with the protestants by *Charles V.* to be assailed by *Casper Scioppius*, a perfidious but learned man, by the Jesuits, *Adam Tanner*, *Anthony Possevin*, *Balthazar Hager*, *Thomas Hederick*, *Laurence Forer*, the jurists of Dillingen, and by others. For it wished people to believe, that this treaty of peace had no legitimate force; and that it was violated and rendered null, by the protestants themselves, because they had either corrupted or forsaken the Augsburg Confession.³ This malicious charge was repelled, privately, by many Lutheran divines; and publicly, in 1628 and 1631, by order of *John George*, elector of Saxony, in two volumes, accurately drawn up by *Matthew Hoe*; which were called the *Lutherans' defence of the apple of their eye*⁴, to indicate the importance of the subject. The assailants, however, did not retreat; but continued to dress up their bad cause in numerous books, written for the most part in an uncourteous and sarcastic style. And on the other hand, many of the Lutherans exposed their sophisms and invectives.

§ 3. The religious war, which the pontiffs had for a long time been projecting by means of the Austrians and Spaniards, commenced in the Austrian territories; where those who had renounced the Romish religion were, near the beginning of the century, oppressed in numberless ways by their adversaries, with impunity, and were divested of all their rights.⁵ Most of

fault brought much vexation on himself.

³ Respecting these writings, see, besides others, *Christ. Aug. Salig's Historie der August. Confession*, vol. i. b. iv.

ch. iii. p. 768, &c. [See also Schlegel's notes to this paragraph. *Tr.*]

⁴ *Defensio pupillæ Evangelicæ.*

⁵ What occurred in Austria itself, is laboriously narrated by *Bern. Raupach*,

them had neither resolution nor ability to defend their cause, though guaranteed by the most solemn treaties and laws. The Bohemians alone, when they perceived it to be the fixed purpose of the adherents of the pope, to deprive them of all liberty of worshipping God according to the dictates of their consciences, though this was purchased with a prodigious expense of blood by their fathers, and but recently confirmed to them by royal charter, resolved to resist the enemies of their souls, with force and arms. Therefore, having entered into a league, they ventured courageously to avenge the wrongs done to them and to their religion. And that they sometimes went further than discretion, or the precepts of that religion which they defended, would justify, no one will deny. This boldness terrified their adversaries, but did not entirely dismay them. The Bohemians, therefore, in order to pluck up the very roots of their sufferings, when the emperor Matthias died in 1619, thought it their duty, to elect for their sovereign one who was not a Roman catholic. This they thought themselves entitled to do, by the ancient privileges of the nation, which had been accustomed to elect its sovereigns by a free suffrage, and not to receive such as came in the common course of nature. In consequence *Frederic V.* the electoral prince Palatine, who professed the Reformed religion, was chosen, and solemnly crowned, this very year at Prague.⁶

§ 4. But this step, from which the Bohemians anticipated security to their cause, brought ruin upon their new king; and upon themselves various calamities, among which was that most dreaded by them, the loss of a religion purged of the Romish corruptions. *Frederic*, being vanquished by the imperial forces at Prague, in the year 1620, lost not only the kingdom that he had occupied, but also his hereditary dominions; and now an exile, had to give up his very flourishing territories, together

in his *Austria Evangelica*, written in German. The sufferings of the friends of a purer faith, in Styria, Moravia, and Carinthia, and the arts by which they were utterly suppressed, the same diligent and pious writer intended to have described, from published and unpublished documents; but death prevented him. [Something on the subject, as far down as the year 1564, to which date Raupach had arrived when death overtook him, Dr. Winkler has left us, in his

Anecdota Hist. Eccles. pt. viii. p. 233, &c. *Schl.*]

⁶ Here, in addition to the writers of the ecclesiastical history of this century, Andrew Carolus, and Jo. Wolfg. Jaegerus, see Burch. Gotth. Struve's *Synagma Histor. German.* p. 1487. 1510. 1523. 1538, &c. and the authors he cites. Add Mich. la Vassor, an accurate writer's *Histoire de Louis XIII.* tom. iii. p. 223, &c.

with his treasures, to be depopulated and plundered by the Austrians and Bavarians. Many of the Bohemians were punished with imprisonment, exile, confiscation of their property, and death: and the whole nation, from that time onward, was compelled to follow the religion of the conqueror, and to obey the decrees of the Roman pontiff. The Austrians would have obtained a much less easy victory, nay, would have been obliged at least to give better terms to the Bohemians, if they had not been aided and assisted by *John George I.*, the elector of Saxony; who was influenced both by his hatred of the Reformed religion, and by other motives of a political nature.⁷ This overthrow of the prince Palatine was the commencement of the thirty years' war which occasioned so much misery to Germany. For some of the German princes entered into a league with the king of Denmark, and defended in war against the emperor the cause of the prince Palatine; who, they maintained, was unjustly de-

⁷ Here may be consulted, the *Commentarii de bello Bohemico Germanico ab anno Chr. 1617 ad ann. Chr. 1630*, 4to. Le Vassor's *Histoire de Louis XIII.* tom. iii. p. 444, &c. Compare, also, on many points of these affairs, Abraham Scultetus' *Narratio Apologetica de Curriculo Vitæ suæ*, p. 86, &c. It is a matter of notoriety, that the Roman catholics, and particularly the Jesuit Martin Becan induced Matthias Hoe, who was an Austrian by birth, and chaplain to the elector of Saxony, to make it appear to his master, that the cause of the Palatinate, as being that of the *Reformed* religion, was both unrighteous and injurious to the *Lutheran* religion; and to persuade him to espouse the cause of Austria. See the *Unschuldige Nachricht*. A. D. 1747, p. 858. [This Scultetus was the known court preacher to the unfortunate king of Bohemia; and he is said to have contributed much to his resolving to accept the Bohemian crown. Yet this last, Scultetus denied; though he admitted, that he subsequently commended the king for having taken that resolution, and in one of his sermons, exhorted him to manly courage. Matthias Hoe of Hoeneg, of noble Austrian birth, burned with the most terrible religious hatred, and actually abhorred the Reformed, more than he did the Roman catholics. To be convinced of this, we need only to read his *Manifest Proofs, that the Calvinists harmonize with the Arians*

and the Turks; or his *Thoughts respecting the Heilbron League of the protestant states with Sweden*; which last piece is in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, vol. xxxiv. p. 570—581. These traits in his character were known; and perhaps also, the susceptibility of his heart in respect to gold. And hence the Jesuitical emissaries, and particularly Becan, were able, (by their unassuming and flattering letters, in which they represented the misfortune it would be, to have the Bohemians fall under the dominion of a Reformed prince,) to give such a direction to his mind, that he exerted himself against the Reformed, and hindered his master from entering into a league with them. His master was attached to the Evangelical Lutheran faith, was very conscientious, and believed simply whatever his confessor said, *by whom* (as it is expressed in the above cited *Thoughts*, &c.) *he inquired of the Lord*. The Austrian gold, at the same time, may also have had considerable influence on the court preacher's eloquence. At least it is openly stated, that the court preacher afterwards received 10,000 dollars, from the imperial court, to divest the elector of those scruples of conscience, which might cause him [to oppose] the peace of Prague, so injurious to the common cause. See Puffendorf, *Rerum Suecicar.* lib. vii. p. 193. *Schl.*]

prived of his hereditary dominions. For they contended, that this prince, by invading Bohemia, had not injured the German emperor, but only the *house of Austria*; and that the emperor had no right to avenge the wrongs of that *house* by inflicting the penalties decreed against princes that should rebel against the Roman empire. But this war was not attended with success.⁸

§ 5. The papists, therefore, being elated with the success of the emperor, were confident that the period most earnestly longed for had now arrived, when they could either destroy the whole mass of heretics, or bring them again under subjection to the church. The emperor, giving way too much to this impression, fearlessly carried his arms through a great part of Germany; and not only suffered his generals to harass with impunity those princes and states which manifested less docility than was agreeable to the Romish court, but also showed, by no doubtful indications, that the destruction of all Germanic liberty, civil and religious, was determined upon. And the fidelity of the elector of Saxony to the emperor, which he had abundantly evinced by his conduct towards the elector Palatine, and the disunion among the princes of Germany, encouraged the belief that the apparent obstructions to the accomplishment of this great object might be overcome with but moderate efforts. Hence, in the year 1629, *Ferdinand II.*, to give some colour of justice to this religious war, issued that terrible decree, called, from its object, the *Restitution-Edict*; by which the *Protestants* were commanded to deliver up and restore to the Romish church all ecclesiastical property which they had gotten into their hands since the religious peace established in the preceding century.⁹ The Jesuits especially are said to have procured from the emperor this decree: and it is indeed ascertained, that this sect had proposed to claim a great part of the property demanded, as due to them in reward of their great services to the cause of religion; and hence arose a violent contest between them and the ancient possessors of that property.¹ The sol-

⁸ [The principal historians of this war are Khevenhüller, *Annales Ferdinandi*; von Chemnitz, *Swedish War*; Puffendorf, *de Rebus Suecicis*; and the Histories of the thirty years' war, by Bougeant, Krause, Schiller, &c. See Henke's *Kirchengesch.* vol. iii. p. 321, note. *Tr.*]

⁹ This subject will be found illustrated

by the authors mentioned in Struve's *Syntagma Histor. German.* p. 1553, &c. and by the others mentioned above. [See note⁹, vol. iii. p. 157. *Tr.*]

¹ See Christ. Aug. Salig's *Historie der Augsb. Confession*, vol. i. book iv. ch. iii. § 25. p. 810, &c.

diers forthwith gave weight and authority to the imperial mandate wherever they had power; for, whatever the Romish priests and monks claimed as theirs,—and they set up false claims to many things, which by no right belonged to them,—the soldiers, without any investigation being had, wrested it at once from the possessors, often with intolerable ferocity; nor did they hesitate to treat innocent persons with various and most exquisite cruelty.

§ 6. Unhappy Germany amidst these commotions was in trepidation; nor did she see among her sons any one sufficiently powerful to resist the enemy now rushing upon her on every side; for the councils of her princes were exceedingly distracted, partly by religious considerations, partly by eagerness for personal aggrandizement, and partly by fear. But, very opportunely, *Gustavus Adolphus*, king of Sweden, the great hero of his age, whom even envy could celebrate after his death, came forward and opposed himself to the Austrian forces. At the instigation especially of the French, who were jealous of the growing power of Austria, he landed in Germany, in 1629, with a few forces; and in a short time, by his victories, destroyed in a great measure the very confident expectations, indulged by the emperor and the pope, of shortly triumphing over our religion. Their extinguished hopes seemed to revive again when this great asserter of Germanic liberty fell victorious in the battle of Lützen.² But time in some measure repaired this immense loss. The war therefore was protracted, to the great misfortune of Germany, amidst various vicissitudes, through many years; until the exhausted resources of the parties in it, and the inclinations of *Christina*, the daughter of *Gustavus* and queen of Sweden, who desired a peace, put an end to these evils and sufferings.

§ 7. After a violent conflict of thirty years, the celebrated peace, called the peace of *Westphalia*, because it was concluded at Munster and Osnaburgh, cities of Westphalia, in the year 1648, gave repose to exhausted Europe. It did not, indeed, procure for the *protestants* all the advantages and privileges which they wished for; because the emperor could not be induced, by any considerations, to reinstate perfectly the Bohe-

² *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. i. p. 7—20, where much is said of Gustavus, his achievements, and his death.

The author of this book also illustrates, in various respects, the history of the peace.

mians and the Austrians in their former privileges, nor to restore the Upper Palatinate to its former sovereign; not to mention other difficulties of less moment, which it was necessary to leave untouched: still the peace procured much greater advantages to the adversaries of the Romish see than its patrons could well brook; and it established firmly the great interests of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. In the first place, the peace of Augsburg, which the Lutherans had obtained of *Charles V.* in the preceding century, was put in a position to defy machinations and stratagems of any sort: and moreover, the edict which required them to restore the ecclesiastical property of which they had gained possession since that peace, was annulled; and it was determined that each party should for ever possess all that was in its hands at the commencement of the year 1624. The advantages acquired by each of the protestant princes, (and to many of them they were not inconsiderable,) it would detain us too long to enumerate.³ The Roman pontiff, in the mean time, clamoured loudly, and left no means untried to interrupt the pacification: but neither the emperor, nor any one who favoured his cause, was daring enough to venture again upon that perfidious sea on which they had with difficulty escaped shipwreck. The compact was therefore signed without delay; and all the stipulations made in Westphalia, were ratified and executed at Nuremberg in the year 1650.⁴

§ 8. After this period, the Roman pontiffs and their confederates did not venture to attack the professors of the Reformed religion by public war; for they found no opportunity to attempt so perilous a measure with any good prospects.

³ Whoever wishes for circumstantial information on this whole subject, will find abundant satisfaction, in the *Acta Pacis Westphaliae, et executionis ejus Norimbergensis*; an immortal work of immense labour, compiled by Jo. Godf. Meyern. As a shorter history, instead of all others, may be consulted, the work of Adam Adami, bishop of Hierapolis, entitled, *Relatio Historica de Pacificatione Osnabrugo-Monasteriensi*; which, improved and rendered more accurate than before, the illustrious author republished, Leips. 1737, 4to. Very elegant also, and composed for the most part from the documents of the French envoys, is the

very eloquent Jesuit, Bougeant's *Histoire de la Paix de Westphalie*, Paris, 1746, 6 vols. 8vo. Nor is this Jesuit's history only neat and beautiful; it is also, in general, true and impartial.

⁴ Innocent X. assailed this peace in a warm epistle or *bull*, A.D. 1651. On this epistle there is extant a long and learned commentary of Jo. Hornbeck, entitled, *Examen Bullæ Papalis, qua P. Innocentius X. abrogare nititur pacem Germaniæ*, Utrecht, 1652, 4to. Perhaps the pontiff's epistle would have found the emperor and his associates ready to listen to it, if it had been backed by gold, to give it weight.

But wherever it could be done without fear of the consequences, they exerted themselves to the utmost to abridge the protestants exceedingly of their rights, advantages, and privileges, though confirmed by oaths and the most sacred enactments. In Hungary, for instance, the citizens, who were protestants, both Lutheran and Reformed, were tormented with innumerable vexations, for ten years together, from 1671 to 1681.⁵ Of the lesser evils, which they suffered both before and after this storm, from men of various classes, but especially from the Jesuits, there was neither measure nor end. In Poland, all that dissented from the Roman pontiff, experienced, to their very great sorrow and distress, nearly throughout the century, that no compact, limiting the church's power, was accounted sacred and inviolable at Rome. For they were deprived of their schools, and of very many of their churches; dispossessed of their property by various artifices; and often visited, though innocent, with the severest punishments.⁶ The posterity of the Waldenses, living shut up in the valleys of Piedmont, were sometimes exposed to the severest sufferings, on account of their perseverance in maintaining the religion of their fathers; and especially in the years 1632, 1655, and 1685, when the Savoyards cruelly attacked that unhappy people with fire and sword.⁷

⁵ See the *Historia Diplomatica de Statu Religionis Evangelicæ in Hungaria*, p. 69, &c. Paul Débrezenus, *Historia Ecclesiæ Reformata in Hungaria*, lib. ii. p. 447, &c. Schellhorn, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. viii. p. 46—90. [After some previous events, which occurred in the year 1670, a conspiracy of some Hungarian nobles against the emperor, in 1671, gave the catholics a favourable opportunity to gratify their thirst for persecution. The noblemen were put to death, as we learn from civil history; but at the same time, for three successive years, nearly all the evangelical churches were taken from them by force, and the Lutheran and Reformed ministers and schoolmasters, as participators in the conspiracy and insurrection, were summoned, a part of them to Tirnau and others to Presburg. When they appeared, a paper was presented to them to sign, which was very injurious to their ecclesiastical rights. And as they refused to sign it, they were thrown into noisome prisons, where they fared hard enough. From these, in 1675, many of

them were condemned to the galleys, and were sent to Naples; where, however, the intercession of the Dutch admiral, Ruyter, procured them freedom. The other prisoners, at the intercession of the republic of Holland, were also set at liberty. *Schl.*]

⁶ See Adrian Regenvolscius, *Historia Eccles. Slavoniæ*, lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 216. 235. 253. What was undertaken against the Polish dissidents, (as they were called,) after the times of Regenvolscius, [after A. D. 1652,] may be learned from various writings published in our times. [See Jo. Erskine's *Sketches of Church Hist.* vol. ii. p. 147, &c. *Tr.*]

⁷ See Peter Gilles' *Histoire Ecclésiastique des Eglises Vaudoises*, cap. xlviii. &c. p. 339, Geneva, 1656, 4to, [also Jo. Leger's *Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises*, pt. ii. cap. 6—20, and P. Boyer's *Abrégé de l'Histoire des Vaudois*, cap. x—xxvi. p. 64—235, of the English translation, Lond. 1693. The dukes of Savoy and the kings of France made open war upon the unfortunate protestants, and actually expelled them the country, in 1686.

The infractions of the treaty of Westphalia, in many parts of Germany, and of the Germanic liberties secured by that treaty, in consequence of this preposterous zeal for the welfare and extension of the Romish church, were so many and so great, as to supply matter enough for large volumes.⁸ And so long as it shall remain the established belief at Rome, that God has given to the Romish church and to its head dominion over the whole Christian world, there never will be reason for expecting that those can live in security and safety who renounce subjection to it; for they will always be looked upon as rebellious citizens, whom their legitimate sovereign has a right to punish according to his pleasure.

§ 9. The faithful servants of the Roman pontiff, at length, in this century, completely purged both Spain and France of the last remains of heresy. In Spain, the descendants of the Moors or Saracens, who once held the sovereignty over a considerable part of that country, had long lived intermingled with the other citizens, and were considerably numerous. They were indeed Christians, at least in profession and outward behaviour, and industrious, useful to the country, and injurious to no one; but were not a little suspected of a secret inclination towards Mahomedism, the religion of their fathers. The clergy therefore did not cease to importune the king, till he had delivered the country from this pest, and expelled from his territories the whole multitude of Saracens, whose numbers were prodigious. By this measure the Spanish commonwealth, indeed suffered a great loss, the sad effects of which are felt to the present time; but the church, which is far more important and excellent than the civil state, deemed herself so much the more benefited by it.⁹ The *Reformed* in France, commonly called *Huguenots*, having been long borne down by various oppressions, and well nigh destroyed, sometimes by crafty and concealed plots, and at other times by open and violent onsets, were at last most cruelly compelled, either secretly to flee their country, or to embrace, most reluctantly, and against

Three years after, most of them returned; but whole congregations remained permanently in foreign lands, and particularly in the territory of Würtemberg. *Tr.*]

⁸ The Histories of religious grievances, by the learned Burch. Gotth. Struve

and Christ. Godfr. Hoffmann, composed in German, are in every body's hands.

⁹ Michael Geddes, *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain*; in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 59, &c.

their consciences, the Romish religion. This long persecution, than which a greater or more cruel has not occurred in modern times, will more suitably be explained in the history of the *Reformed church*.

§ 10. All the efforts, devices, and plans, which the boldest and most versatile geniuses could give birth to, were employed to bring Great Britain and Ireland again under the Romish yoke. But all these attempts failed of success. In the beginning of the century, some nefarious miscreants, burning with hatred of a religion which they regarded as new and false, having received encouragement from three Jesuits, of whom *Henry Garnet* was the chief, determined to destroy at a stroke the king, *James I.*, with his son and the whole British parliament, by means of gunpowder, which they had concealed under the house in which the parliament usually met.¹ For they had no doubts, if these could be destroyed, that means would be found for reinstating the old religion, and giving it its former ascendancy. The English call this horrid plot the *gunpowder conspiracy*. But Divine Providence caused it to be wonderfully discovered, and frustrated, when it was ripe for execution.² More gently and cautiously were things done during the reign of *Charles I.*, the son of *James*. For the king being of a mild and effeminate character, and apparently not far removed from Romish sentiments, having also a French wife who was devoted to the Romish worship, and being guided chiefly by the counsels of *William Laud*, archbishop of Canterbury, an honest man undoubtedly, and not unlearned, but heated with an immoderate love of Christian antiquity; a reconciliation between England and the Roman pontiff seemed likely to take place, but rather by means of caresses and promises, than through commotions and bloodshed.³ But this expectation was frustrated by that

¹ [The three Jesuits were Garnet, Gerard, and Greenway. The first was provincial of the order. He was executed; the other two escaped. Probably, no one of the three could be fairly said to have advised this nefarious plot. They asserted themselves to have strongly dissuaded from it; but they became cognisant of it, while it was in preparation, and did not reveal it. *Ed.*]

² Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, livr. xviii. tom. vii. p. 40, &c. John Henry Heidegger, *Historia Papatus*, period vii. p. 211. 291, &c. [Hume's

Hist. of England, ch. xlvi. vol. v. p. 60, &c. *Tr.*]

³ See Urban Cerri's *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 315, &c. Dan. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 194, &c. [Those who would really study Abp. Laud's character, must not confine themselves to writers with a strong dissenting or republican bias. They must consult Heylin and Wharton, among elder authorities, or Lawson and Le Bas among moderns. From such sources they will find the archbishop to have resembled very imperfectly the portraits of him

lamentable civil war in which *Laud* as well as *Charles* were beheaded, and *Oliver Cromwell*, a man of energy, foresight, and cunning, and one who dreaded even the shadow of the Romish religion, was placed at the head of the government, with the title of *Protector* of the commonwealth of England. But Romish hopes revived when *Charles II.* was raised to the throne of his father, to the immoderate joy of the people: revived also with increased confidence and satisfaction. For the king himself, as appears now from very abundant testimony⁴, had already been secretly initiated, during his exile, in the Romish worship; and his only brother, *James II.*, the heir of the crown, had openly apostatized from the religion of the English nation to that of Rome. But *Charles* was prevented from doing any thing in favour of popery by his native indolence, extreme fondness for dissipation, and an indifference to all religion, tending to extreme impiety: and *James*, by his immoderate eagerness to consult the wishes of the Romanists, and to follow the rash counsels of the Jesuits, whom he kept about him, inflicted an incurable wound both upon the Romish religion and upon himself. For being created king after his brother's death, he supported in the most open manner, and therefore most injudiciously, the languishing cause of popery in England and Ireland; and to do this more effectually, he fearlessly trampled upon those rights and liberties of the nation which were held most sacred and precious. Exasperated by these measures of the king, the people of England, in the year 1688, invited over from Holland his son-in-law, *William*, prince of Orange; and his valour obliged his father-in-law to flee into France, an exile; and deprived the friends and

drawn by Neal, and other sectaries and republicans. Though deficient in tact, discernment, and pliability, (exactly the qualities most pressingly wanted during his primacy,) he possessed other qualities really of more sterling value. His regard for ecclesiastical antiquity will naturally be estimated differently, according to the differences of opinion upon such matters that prevail in the Christian world. But some excuse is fairly due for a strong leaning to the side taken by him, on account of the extreme views taken by the side which was habitually in collision with him. *Ed.*]

⁴ Gilb. Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. i. book iii. p. 603, &c. 606, &c. [and book i. p. 73, 74. *Tr.*] Dan. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 223. 237. 534. [ed. Boston, 1817, vol. iv. ch. iv. p. 255, &c. *Tr.*] Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, livr. xxiii. vol. ix. p. 160. Hume's *Hist. of Engl.* ch. lxiii. vol. vi. p. 374, and especially ch. lxvi. vol. vii. p. 3, note; where it is proved, that Charles II. entered into a treaty with the king of France, in the close of the year 1669, or beginning of 1670, for the purpose of overthrowing the protestant religion in England, and establishing popery on its ruins. *Tr.*]

promoters of the Romish religion of all hope of recovering England for their church.⁵

§ 11. When the wiser patrons and promoters of the Romish cause perceived that little success attended violence and war, they concluded, that the reluctant minds of the protestants must be overcome by milder measures, and by covert artifices. But all of them were not disposed to adopt precisely the same course. Some resorted to public disputations between distinguished men of the two communities; indulging an expectation, which the numerous vain attempts of the preceding age could not but weaken, that in such colloquies, the more strenuous adversaries of the papal supremacy could either be vanquished, or at least softened. Others thought that contests should be avoided, and consultations rather should be held by the dissidents, in order to agree upon a compromise. Lastly, there were others who, believing that the former polemics on the side of the Romish church possessed vigour and spirit enough, but were deficient in *skill*, judged that new attacks should be made: and these found out new modes of reasoning against heretics.

§ 12. At the very commencement of the century, A. D. 1601, some distinguished Lutheran divines, by authority of *Maximilian* of Bavaria, and *Philip Lewis*, elector Palatine, disputed at Ratisbon, with three Jesuits of great fame, respecting the *rule of faith and practice*, and the *judge of religious controversies*; subjects which embrace nearly the whole controversy between the protestants and Roman catholics. In the year 1615, *Wolfgang William*, prince Palatine, who had apostatized to the Romish faith, brought about a rencounter at Neuburg, between *James Keller*, a Jesuit, and *James Heilbronn*, a Lutheran. In the year 1645, *Uladislaus*, king of Poland, called the more distinguished theologians, papists as well as Lutherans and Reformed, to a meeting at Thorn in Prussia, to deliberate amicably on the means of putting an end to the existing religious controversies: which design of the king procured for this discussion the name of the *Charitable Conference*.⁶ A little

⁵ These events are very accurately described by Gilbert Burnet and Rapin Thoyras; by the former, in the second volume of the *History of his own Times*, (which has been translated from English, into both French and German,) and by

the latter, in his *Histoire d'Angleterre*, vol. x. Add Dan. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. ch. xi. p. 536, &c. [And Hume's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. vii. ch. lxx. lxxi. *Tr.*]

⁶ Colloquium charitativum. [The Ame-

after, in 1651, *Ernest*, landgrave of Hesse, in order to give a plausible air to that apostacy to the Romish camp, which he had before resolved on, ordered *Valerianus Magnus*, a celebrated divine of the Capuchin order, to hold a discussion, particularly with *Peter Haberkorn*, a divine of Giessen, in the castle of Rheinfels. Among the private disputes of this kind, the most noted of all was that of *John Claude*, a learned divine of the French Reformed church, with that very superior man of the papal church, *James Benign Bossuet*, in the year 1685. All these conferences had one and the same result. Neither party could convince the other; but each exasperated and alienated the other from itself, more than before.⁷

§ 13. The whole art and method of those who attempted a *reconciliation* between the protestants and the papists, consisted in efforts to make it appear, that the parties did not disagree so much as they supposed; and that there was not so much need of an argumentation [of the points at issue], as of a careful and perspicuous explanation of those doctrines of the Romish community which were offensive to their opponents, in order to remove entirely all controversy, and unite the minds of both in

rican translator has followed Maclaine in rendering these words; but, perhaps, a more correct version would be, *the friendly Conference*. Ed.]

⁷ Whoever wishes for a fuller account of these conferences, may consult the writers mentioned by Casper Sagittarius, *Introduct. in Historiam Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 1569, 1581, 1592, 1598. Claude and Bossuet each wrote and published the history of the dispute between them. Bossuet's book is entitled: *Conférence avec M. Claude sur la matière de l'Eglise*. Paris, 1683, 12mo. In answer to this, Claude published his: *Réponse au Livre de M. de Meaux, intitulé Conférence avec M. Claude*: à la Haye, 1683, 8vo. [The conference at Ratisbon was between seven Lutheran and three Roman catholic divines, and occupied 14 sessions, ending Nov. 28th. Both parties, afterwards, published the *Acts* of this conference: which produced further controversy, each party accusing the other of misrepresentation. See Schmidt's Continuation of Sagittarius' *Introduction*, p. 1569, &c.—There was a conference appointed at Durlach, in 1612, by order of Geo. Frederic, margrave of Baden, and Francis, duke of Lorraine. The

latter, at the request of the Jesuits, forbade the protestants to draw *inferences* from Scripture, and required them to cite only direct, categorical declarations of the Bible against the Roman catholics. These terms the protestant divines refused, and the conference ended. Its *Acts* were published, Strasburg, 1614, 4to.—The conference at Neuburg embraced but two sessions; as Heilbronn, by advice of his friends, refused to appear at the third. It related wholly to the correctness of the citations from the fathers, in a book published by Heilbronn, entitled, *Uncatholic Popery*. Keller published his account of the conference, Ingolst. 1615, 4to, and Heilbronn his account, Ulm, 1616, 4to.—The conference at Thorn was occasioned by the Reformed preacher at Dantzic, Barthol. Nigrinus, who had become a Roman catholic, and persuaded the king, that such a conference would be attended by good consequences. But the result did not answer the expectations from it. The history of the conference, and of the subsequent written discussions, is given by Christ. Hartknoch, in *der Preussich. Kirchen-historie*, vol. iv. ch. 6.—See Schlegel's note here. Tr.]

bonds of harmony. But in pursuing this general plan, they varied so much from each other, as to make it clear that they needed to come to some agreement among themselves, before there could be any ground for listening to the counsels and admonitions which they gave. The principal man among those who exerted their ingenuity in this way, was *Armand Richelieu*; that very powerful French minister of state, who spared neither promises, nor threatenings, nor arguments and persuasions, in order to bring the French Reformed Christians to unite with the papists.⁸ The course pursued by this illustrious man was followed, but with unequal steps, and with less influence, by the German Jesuit, *James Masenius*⁹, by *Adolphus Godfr. Volusius*, a divine of Mentz¹, *Matth. Prætorius*, a Prussian², by *Aug. Gibbon de Burgh*, an Irishman, who was a professor at Erfurth³, by *Henry Marcellus*, a Jesuit⁴, and by some others of less fame. In

⁸ Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choiesies*, tom. i. p. 31, 32, &c. new edit. Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. i. art. Amyraut, note 1, p. 183, art. Beaulieu, note C, p. 484, tom. ii. art. Ferry, note D, p. 1169, tom. iii. art. *Milletierre*, p. 1982, and elsewhere. [To Moses Amyraut, an eminent French protestant divine and professor at Saumur, Richelieu commissioned a Jesuit, named Andebert, to offer a negotiation for a union of the protestants and Calvinists. The Jesuit stated, that, for the sake of peace, the king and his ministers were willing to give up the invocation of creatures, purgatory, and the merit of good works; that they would limit the power of the pope; and if the court of Rome would consent to it, they would create a patriarch; that the cup should be allowed to the laity; and that some other relaxations might be made. Amyraut mentioned the eucharist. The Jesuit said; no change in that was proposed. Amyraut said; then nothing can be done. Here the conference, of four hours' length, terminated. See Bayle, l. c.—Beaulieu, a protestant professor of theology at Sedan, was suspected, but without grounds, of a willingness to sacrifice some doctrines, to produce a union. He had only maintained, that many of the disputes of theologians were about words rather than things. Yet it appears, that marshal Turenne sounded Beaulieu on the subject of a union. See Bayle, l. c.—Paul Ferry was an eloquent French protestant preacher at Metz. His ene-

mies circulated the false report, that he was one of the protestant ministers whom cardinal Richelieu had persuaded to agree to a union of the protestant and Roman catholic churches. See Bayle, l. c.—Theoph. Brachet Sieur de la Milletierre was a protestant minister in France, who turned catholic in 1645, after being silenced for attempts to unite the protestant and catholic churches, on terms dishonourable to the former. He wrote and published much on the subject. See Bayle, l. c. *Tr.*]

⁹ See Fred. Spanheim's *Stricturæ ad Bossueti Expositionem Fidei Catholicæ*; in his *Opp. Theol.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 1042. [Masenius published some books on the subject of a union; which were answered by the protestants. *Tr.*]

¹ He published: *Aurora Pacis religiosæ divinæ veritati amica*: Mayence, 1665, 4to.

² In his *Tuba Pacis*; concerning which, see Peter Bayle's *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, A.D. 1685, p. 1309. [He was a Lutheran minister when he wrote the book; but he soon after became a catholic. *Schl.*]

³ In his *Luthero-Calvinismus schismaticus quidem, sed reconciliabilis*. [He was an Augustinian Eremit, who, after long wandering about, settled in Germany, and died at Erfurth, in 1676, as ex-provincial of his order, and professor of theology. *Schl.*]

⁴ The *Sapientia pacifica* of Marcellus was, by order of the duke of Gotha, confuted by Jo. Chr. Seldius.

later times, no one has entered upon such an attempt with greater caution and deliberation, than *James Benign Bossuet*, bishop of Meaux; a man of uncommon genius, and extraordinary prudence, whose *Exposition of the catholic faith* tends exclusively to show, that a short and easy way of return to the Romish religion would be open to the protestants, if they would only judge of its nature and principles, not according to the views entertained of it by their teachers, but as it really is.⁵

⁵ Of this little book, and its fortunes, very much might be said, not without profit. Among many others, see Christ. Matth. Pfaff, *Historia Literar. Theologicæ*, tom. ii. p. 102. Jo. le Clerc, *Biblioth. Universelle et Histor.* tom. xi. p. 438.—["It is remarkable, that nine years passed before this book could obtain the pope's approbation. Clement X. refused it positively. Nay, several Roman catholic priests were rigorously treated, and severely persecuted, for preaching the doctrine contained in the *Exposition* of Bossuet, which was, moreover, formally condemned by the university of Louvain, in the year 1685, and declared to be *scandalous* and *pernicious*. The Sorbonne also disavowed the doctrine contained in that book; though by a late edict we learn, that the fathers of that theological seminary have changed their opinion on that head, and thus given a new instance of the *variations* that reign in the Romish church, which boasts so much of its uniformity in doctrinal matters. The artifice that was employed in the composition of this book, and the tricks that were used in the suppression and alteration of the first edition that was given of it, have been detected with great sagacity and evidence by the learned and excellent archbishop Wake in the Introduction to his *Exposition of the Doctrines of the Church of England*, &c. See also his two Defences of that *Exposition*, in which the perfidious sophistry of Bossuet is unmasked and refuted in the most satisfactory manner. There was an excellent answer to Bossuet's book published by M. de la Bastide, one of the most eminent protestant ministers in France. This answer the French prelate took no notice of, during eight years; at the end of which he published an advertisement, in a new edition of his *Exposition*, which was designed to remove the objections of la Bastide. The lat-

ter replied in such a demonstrative and victorious manner, that the learned bishop, notwithstanding all his eloquence and art, was obliged to quit the field of controversy. See a very interesting account of this insidious work of Bossuet, and the controversies it occasioned, in the *Bibliothèque des Sciences*, published at the Hague, vol. xviii. p. 20. This account, which is curious, accurate, ample, and learned, was given partly on occasion of a new edition of the *Exposition*, printed at Paris in 1761, and accompanied with a Latin translation done by Fleury, and partly on occasion of Burigny's Life of Bossuet, published the same year, at Paris." *Macl.*—Bossuet's famous *Exposition*, which merely makes a thin pocket volume, was written some years before its publication, MS. copies of it having been taken so early as 1667. In the early part of 1671, 12 or 14 copies of it were printed for private circulation among persons whose opinions the author wished to have. Two or three of these copies never were returned, and one of them came into the possession of Abp. Wake. As this differs considerably from the work regularly published, which it was towards the close of 1671, great use has been made of the fact by Protestants. Bossuet evidently was inclined at first to give up points, or very nearly so, which his friends saw could not be treated in that way without shaking Romanism to its centre. As it is, he has left many things with very little defence, that require a good deal. He has gone upon the principle of defending nothing that cannot plead a sanction from the Council of Trent. This is a judicious line for an advocate to take, because he can thereby save himself trouble, and make the best of his cause; but it is ruinous to popular Romanism. Not only does it leave to shift for themselves, innumerable absurdities and superstitions which popery

After him, *John Dez*, a Jesuit of Strasburg, undertook to demonstrate the same thing, though with less success, in a book in which he endeavours to prove that there is no disagreement, or but very little, between the council of Trent and the Augsburg confession; than which, no two systems can be more unlike.⁶ All these, and some others, undertook upon their own responsibility alone, to remove the difficulties which prevented our ancestors from uniting with the pontiff: but *Christopher de Roxas*, bishop of Thina in Bosnia, came forward clothed with public authority, or at least professing to be so; and in the year 1686, and onwards, he visited the principal protestant courts in Germany, not only holding out the prospect of a new and more free council than that of Trent, but also giving assurance, that the pontiff would freely grant to his returning children, the protestants, whatever privileges and immunities they might demand, if they would only cease to decline the very mild government of the common father of Christians. But it was not difficult for the theologians, nor for the more discerning statesmen also, to discover that this was only a snare; and that the Romish bishops aimed, not so much to bring about an honourable and stable peace, as to introduce again the ancient system of slavery.⁷

provides for captivating the vulgar, but it also renders the foundations of many things, approved by well-informed Romanists, rather insecure. The book, however, though feared by the papal party at first, is now generally recommended to inquirers. It makes out a very plausible case, which may gain over cultivated minds, but its omissions do not shake the ignorant, because they do not read the book. *Ed.*]

⁶ The book is entitled: *La Réunion des Protestants de Strasbourg à l'Eglise Romaine*; Strasb. 1689, 8vo. See Phil. Jac. Spenser's *Theological Reflections*, (in German,) vol. i. p. 95.

⁷ See the collections in Jo. Wölff. Jäger's *Historia Eccles.* sæcul. xvii. and in Christ. Eberh. Weismann's *Historia Eccles.* sæcul. xvii. p. 735. There are also extant other proposals for union, made known at the German courts in the year 1660, by the elector of Mayence, by order and authority, (as it is said,) of the Roman pontiff: and which Jo. Dan. Gruber has published, in the *Commercium Epistoli-*

cum Leibnitianum, tom. i. p. 411—415: add, p. 426, &c.—[Christopher Rojas, (Roxas, Rohas, or Rorhas,) de Spinola, was a native Spaniard, and first came to Vienna in 1666, as confessor to the Infanta, Margaretha Theresa, the first wife of the emperor Leopold. In the year 1668 he was made bishop of Tina in Croatia; and in 1685, bishop of Neustadt Wienerisch, in Lower Austria. While bishop of Tina, his bishopric affording him little employment, he travelled about Germany, with the approbation of pope Innocent XI. as a negotiator with the protestants for their return to the church of Rome. The emperor Leopold also employed him in civil negotiations; and in 1691, empowered him to negotiate, with his protestant subjects in Hungary and Transylvania, a reconciliation with Rome. The terms he offered the protestants were, (I.) The suspension of the decrees of Trent; and the assembling a new council, in which the protestants and catholics should each have an equal number of voters, and the decisions of

§ 14. These Romish peacemakers found among the protestants, especially among the Reformed, some divines, whose natural dislike of contention, or whose hope of obtaining fame and making their fortune, induced them to listen to these overtures; and to assert that the points in controversy between the two communities were not of such magnitude as to forbid all union. Among the French Reformed, *Louis le Blanc*, a man otherwise possessed of discernment, together with his disciples, fell under a suspicion of this fault.⁸ It is more certain that *Theophilus Brachet*, *Milletierre*,⁹ and *Huisseaux*, a divine of Saumur, *Tanaquil Faber*, and some others, were chargeable with this conduct.⁹ Among the English, *William*

Trent undergo a new and impartial investigation. (II.) The acquittal of the protestants from the charge of heresy, provided they would cease to call the pope *Antichrist*. (III.) Communion in both kinds; marriage of priests; continuance in their possession of church property; abolition of auricular confession; and public worship in the vernacular tongue. In respect to the authority of the pope, and traditions, he did not express himself clearly. — The archbishop of Mayence, who had been active in promoting the peace of Westphalia, after sending an envoy to Rome, and consulting the electors of Treves and Cologne, held several meetings with the German Catholics, who were solicitous for the peace of the country, at Mayence, Treves, Darmstadt, Rome, and elsewhere; and then made the following proposals to the protestants at Ratisbon.

1. That twelve Lutheran and twelve catholic divines should meet together, swear to act honestly and in good faith, without fraud or subterfuge, as they should answer it to God. 2. That they should examine the religious disputes, and decide them according to the Bible only. 3. That to enable them to agree, they should first make a new translation of the Bible. 4. That whatever a majority of them agree to, should be considered as valid articles of faith. 5. That both the decrees of the council of Trent and the Augsburg confession, should be examined, article by article, and judged of according to the Scriptures. As preliminary articles, it was proposed to yield: 1. Worship in the German language. 2. Marriage of bishops and the secular clergy; but not of monks and

nuns. 3. The abolition of auricular confession in Germany, and the other protestant countries; with the exception of Spain and Italy, where for certain reasons it was esteemed necessary. 4. Every one to be at liberty to pray to the saints or not. 5. Purgatory no longer to be an article of faith. 6. Communion in both kinds to be allowed. 7. The pope no longer to be regarded as universal judge, but only as the first priest and bishop of the church. Difficult questions of conscience may be laid before him: but none shall be compelled to follow his decisions. 8. Christians to be hereafter divided into two classes, the Ancient Catholics, and the Reformed Catholics, who should regard each other as brethren. Cardinals to be taken from both classes, and an equal number from each. — To these propositions, the Lutheran courts raised many objections; and the whole project was soon abandoned. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. vii. p. 98, &c. and Schlegel's note here. *Tr.*]

⁸ See Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tom. i. p. 484, &c. [art. Beaulieu. See also note (5), p. 76. His whole name was Louis le Blanc, Sieur de Beaulieu. *Tr.*]

⁹ Concerning Milletierre, see Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. iii. p. 1982, [and note (5), p. 76.] Concerning Huisseaux and his pacific propositions, see Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. iii. p. 14, and Jac. Aymon, *Synodes Nationaux de Eglises Réformées en France*, tom. ii. p. 765. [Jo. Quick's *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, vol. ii. p. 544, &c. *Tr.*] On Faber's attempt, see Dan. Geo. Morhof, *Polyhistor*, tom. i. p. 295.

Forbes, especially, showed himself ready to compromise a great part of the controversies which separate us from the Romanists.¹ Among the Dutch, no man of information can well be ignorant, how much *Hugo Grotius* was disposed to unite all sects of Christians together, and especially, to excuse and to give favourable views of the papists.² But these and the others (whom we omit to mention,) obtained only this reward for their well intended labours, that they offended both parties, and drew upon themselves a great weight of odium. To this class of divines, who burned with a preposterous zeal for union with the Romanists, many refer *George Calixtus*, a very learned professor in the university of Helmstadt; that is, the very man, than whom no one, perhaps, in this age, more learnedly and lucidly demonstrated the errors and defects of the papal church; and no one more uniformly affirmed that the decrees and the denunciations of the council of Trent destroyed all hope of healing the division. The reason why he was thought to lean towards this class, was that he used softer language than was customary respecting some controversies: and that he considered the first principles of the Christian religion as not absolutely subverted by the Romanists, but only loaded and deformed by a great multitude of intolerable opinions.

§ 15. This band of *pacificators*, which was badly marshalled, and weak from its own discords, was easily put to flight by a moderate effort: but stronger forces were necessary to withstand those among the papists who devised new modes of warfare. These have usually been called *Methodists*: and they were chiefly of that ingenious nation, the French; whom perpetual conflicts with the very learned *Huguenots*, (as the protestants of France are called,) rendered extremely fond of disputation, and also expert in it for that age. They may very

¹ His *Considerationes modestæ et pacificæ controversiarum de Justificatione, Purgatorio, &c.*, were published, Lond. 1658, 8vo, and in Germany, with corrections, by Jo. Fabricius, a divine of Helmstadt. He is highly extolled by Jo. Ern. Grabe, in his notes to Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica*, p. 19. Nor were his probity, and very exemplary life, unworthy of praise. Yet the wiser among the English cannot but admit, that he favoured the Romish party too much. See Gilbert Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 22. He

was of course much commended by the papists. See Rich. Simon's *Lettres Choies*, tom. iii. lettr. xviii. p. 119. He was, undoubtedly, one of those who did most to persuade the English (whether rightly or wrongly), that king Charles I. and William Laud had designs of again restoring the Romish religion in England.

² Here may be consulted with advantage, though he is partial to Grotius, the author of the book: *Grotii Manes ab iniquis obtreptatoribus Vindicati*, tom. ii. p. 542. 826, &c.

conveniently be divided into two classes. The first class imposed hard and unreasonable laws of argumentation upon the protestants; and resembled those generals who concentrate their troops in fortresses, and surround them with ramparts, to enable them more easily to resist the assaults of their foes. Of this class was *Francis Veron*, a Jesuit, who considered the enemies of the Romish religion obliged to prove their doctrines, by explicit declarations of the holy Scriptures, and therefore preposterously denied them any *inferences*, necessary consequences, or argumentation³; *Barthold Nihusius*, an apostate⁴; the brothers, named *Walenburg*, and others, who deeming it easier to defend their cause against attacks than to demonstrate its justice, threw the whole burden of proof on their adversaries, assuming the ground of mere respondents and defendants; *Armand Richelieu*, who recommended neglect of the various objections and complaints of adversaries, reducing the whole controversy to the single article of the *church*, and placing the divine majesty and authority of *that* beyond all cavils, by

³ Jo. Musæus, *de Usu Principiorum Rationis in Controversiis Theologicis*, lib. i. cap. iv. p. 22. Geo. Calixtus, *Digressio de Arte Nova*, p. 125, &c. Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choisiës*, tom. i. p. 276. [The famous controversial preacher, Veron, who, under the protection of the French court, travelled about, challenging the Huguenots to public disputation and conference, from the year 1622, onward, composed a book with the Thrasonic title: *Methodus nova, facilis et solida, hæresin ex fundamento destruendi, et refutandi confessionem Gallicam, Augustanam, Saxonicam, libros denique omnes Theologorum Protestantium*, &c. Schl.]

⁴ Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. iii. p. 2096, &c. [art. Nihusius.] This vain and half-learned man was formally confuted by Geo. Calixtus, in his *Digressio de Arte Nova, contra Nihusium*; a book very well worth reading; Helmst. 1634, 4to. [Nihusius was a Lutheran divine, educated under Calixtus at Helmstadt. But he turned Roman catholic about the year 1614; after which he became an abbot and a bishop, and wrote numerous letters and tracts in support of popery. He died in 1657. His principal work was entitled: *Ars Nova dicto sacræ Scripturæ unico lucrandi e Pontificiis plurimos*

in partes Lutheranorum, detecta nonnihil etsuggesta Theologis Helmstedtensibus, Georgio Calixto præsertim et Conrado Horneio. Nihusius assumed that the church of Rome was an ancient church, and in possession of a system of doctrines which she had held unmolested for ages: of course she was not to be ousted of her possession by any new claimant, unless that claimant could make good his title. In this way, he threw all the burden of proof on the Protestants, or the innovators upon the established religion. At the same time, he forbade their reasoning from Scripture, and drawing inferences; and required them to bring direct and positive proofs. Reasonings, he said, were human; positive declarations of the Bible were divine. Moreover, in reasoning from the Bible, men differed so widely, that there was no knowing what to believe, unless we admitted, and confided in, an infallible interpreter, namely, the pope. When it was objected that the popes had, for centuries, been such dissolute and base characters, that it could not be supposed they were the mouth of God to men, he replied, that the same might be said of some of the writers of the Bible, David, for instance, &c. See Bayle, *loc. cit.* Tr.]

means of conclusive arguments; and some others.⁵ The other class preferred the plan of those generals, who, to avoid a protracted war, resolve to stake all upon the issue of a general battle, instead of wasting time in sieges and a series of skirmishes; that is, they thought best not to weigh one point after another, and answer in detail all the arguments of opponents, but to overwhelm the protestants, at once, by certain great principles or general arguments, involving the whole subject, or by what are technically called *præjudicia*. The glory, if not of inventing, yet of perfecting this method, and of displaying it with great eloquence, is enjoyed by *Peter Nicole*, a Jansenist, who was neither a bad man, nor an obtuse reasoner.⁶ After him, many others thought so much power to lie in this method, that they believe a single argument of this kind, if wisely and properly managed, sufficient to overthrow the whole cause of the protestants. Hence some opposed the protestants with the single principle of *prescription*: others considered our case as altogether desperate if it could be made to appear that the principal reformers were sensualists, and destitute of virtue: many had hopes of divesting their antagonists of all means of defence, on the ground that religious separation or *schism* is the greatest of all evils, if they made it appear that the fathers of the Reformed churches were the authors of so great a calamity.⁷ Pre-eminent among these, for the felicity of his genius, and the copiousness of his elo-

⁵ For a somewhat fuller account of these matters, see Frederic Spanheim, *Stricturæ ad Expositionem Fidei Bossueti*, in his *Opp.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 1037. Jo. Henr. Heidegger, *Historia Papatus*, period vii. § cxcviii. p. 316. Jo. Geo. Walch, *Introduction to Religious Controversies*; written in German, vol. ii. p. 191, &c. Christ. Eberh. Weismann, *Historia Eccles. sæcul. xvii.* p. 726, and various others. [Peter and Adrian von Waldenburg, were two brothers, born at Rotterdam, who abandoned their country, and their religion, and lived at Cologne. The first was a titular bishop of Mysia, and suffragan to Cologne: the other was the titular bishop of Adrianople, and suffragan to Mayence. Their works, consisting chiefly of controversial pieces against the protestants, were printed together, under

the title of: *Fratrum Waldenburgicorum Opera*, 1670, 2 vols. fol. *Schl.*]

⁶ He is generally supposed to be the author of that book, confuted by vast numbers, entitled: *Préjugez légitimes contre les Calvinistes*, Paris, 1671, 8vo, and afterwards reprinted several times.—[“This method certainly was not the invention of Nicole, for it seems to differ little, if at all, from the method of cardinal Richelieu. We may observe further, that Richelieu seems rather to belong to the second class of Methodists than to the first, where Dr. Mosheim has placed him.” *Macl.*]

⁷ Fred. Spanheim, *Diss. de Prescriptione in Rebus Fidei adversus Novos Methodistas*; in his *Opp.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 1079.

quence, but not for his discernment, was *James Benign Bossuet*, who endeavoured to demonstrate from the disagreements among the protestant doctors, and the frequent changes undergone by their institutions and doctrines, that the church established by *Luther* was not a true church; and from the perpetual uniformity of the Romish church, that it was the true church and of divine origin.⁸ This appears very surprising in a learned man, who could not be ignorant of the remarkable subserviency that popes habitually display to individuals, times, and places; and still more in a Frenchman, whose fellow-citizens contend, with so much zeal, that modern Rome differs as much from ancient and primitive Rome as lead does from gold.

§ 16. So many and various efforts of the patrons of the Romish church, occasioned indeed the protestant doctors not a little labour, but produced very slender effects. Some of the princes, and a few learned men, were induced to embrace again the Romish religion, which their fathers had renounced: but no one nation or province could be persuaded to follow their example. Of the highest order of persons, *Christina*, queen of Sweden, a lady of great spirit and genius, but precipitate, and one who preferred her ease, pleasure, and liberty to all other considerations⁹; *Wolfgang William*, count Palatine of the Rhine¹⁰; *Christian William*, marquis of Brandenburg¹;

⁸ His *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, Paris, 1688, 8vo, is very generally known. To this day, the papists value it very highly, and place it among their strongest bulwarks. And they may continue to exult in this their great champion and defender, if they choose; but if they are not beside themselves, and if they would preserve the head of their church safe, they must exceedingly desire, that Bossuet's great principle, that *whatever church frequently modifies and changes its doctrines, has not the holy Spirit*, may never be believed true, by one who is acquainted with the course of events at Rome. [Against Bossuet, James Basnage wrote his famous *Histoire des Eglises Réformées*; Rotterdam, 1690, 2 vols. 8vo. And as Bossuet replied to this, in his *Défense de l'Histoire des Variations*, Basnage composed his great work, *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis J. C. jusqu'à présent*; Rotterd. 1699, 2 vols. fol. *Schl.*]

⁹ Of this queen, and the causes of her defection to the Romish church, there is

a very full account in Arkenholz, *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*; which is a very interesting and useful book. [This vain and rash woman, who probably had no fixed religious principles, became weary of the cares of government; resigned her crown in 1654, and retired to Italy to enjoy the refined society of that country. As a preparatory step to a comfortable residence at Rome, while on her way thither, she changed her religion. *Tr.*]

¹⁰ [This prince, at his solemn renunciation of protestantism, in the year 1614, assigned as his reasons, the common arguments used by catholics to prove the truth of their religion, and the falsehood of the protestant. But it was believed at the time, and even by catholic historians, that a principal motive with him was, to secure the favour of the emperor and of the Spanish court, in order to make sure his heirship to the duchy of Julian Cleves. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iv. p. 370, and Schlegel's note here. *Tr.*]

Ernest, prince of Hesse²; *John Frederick*, duke of Brunswick³; and *Frederick Augustus*, king of Poland⁴, subjected themselves to the Roman pontiff. Of the men of genius and erudition, the illustrious *Jo. Christian*, baron of Boisneburg, privy councillor to the elector of Mayence, and a noted Mæcenæ in that age⁵; *Christ. Ranzovius*, a knight of Holstein⁶; *Caspar Scioppius*⁷; *Peter Bertius*⁸; *Christopher Besoldus*⁹; *Helfr. Ulr. Hunnius*¹; *Nich. Stenonius*, a celebrated Danish physician²;

¹ [At the capture of Magdeburg by the imperial troops, in 1630, he was taken prisoner, and carried to Vienna, where his conversion took place. The grounds of it, which he published, were chiefly that the protestants had no legitimate priesthood. See Schlegel's note here. *Tr.*]

² This very learned and good prince was converted in 1651, by the celebrated Capuchin monk, Valerius Magnus. See Gruber's *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum*, tom. i. p. 27. 35. *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. i. p. 216. But it is manifest from the writings of Ernest himself, that he, as well as Anth. Ulric, duke of Brunswick, and many others, did not go over to such a Romish church as actually exists, but to a very different one, which had long since ceased to be, and of which his imagination formed an idea.

³ [He put entire confidence in his favourite preacher, Henry Julius Blum; and when solicited to apostatize, refused, unless the catholics could first convert Blum. The Jesuits then applied themselves to Blum, and offered him an income of 2000 dollars annually, if he would turn catholic. Blum consented. A dispute was held between them in presence of the duke.—For a considerable time Blum answered all the arguments of the Jesuits triumphantly; but at length they adduced a new argument, which Blum could not withstand, and which, he told the duke, was unanswerable. Of course he now openly yielded to popery; and the duke followed his example. This was in 1654. Blum obtained his pension, and at length was made vice-president of the supreme court of appeals at Prague. See Schlegel's note here. *Tr.*]

⁴ [He was the elector of Saxony, and to qualify himself for the throne of Poland, made profession of the catholic religion in the year 1697. See Schro-

eckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. vii. p. 74, and Henke's *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 559. *Tr.*]

⁵ He apostatized to the Romish church in 1653, following the example of Ernest, prince of Hesse; and was a man of great distinction, but rather a man of letters, than a sound reasoner or philosopher. See Gruber's *Commercium. Epistol. Leibnitianum*, containing his and Conring's *Epistles*, tom. i. p. 35. 37. 39. 48. 56. 60. 70. 76. 93, &c.

⁶ See Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 520. [He defended Lutheranism at Helmstadt in 1649. But the next year, at Rome, the splendour of the Jubilee, and the arguments of Lucas Holstenius, overcame him. See Henke, *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 300, &c. *Tr.*]

⁷ [He was a German, learned, ardent, restless. He became a papist about A. D. 1600; fell out with the Jesuits; and fought much against the Protestants. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, vol. iv. art. *Scioppius. Tr.*]

⁸ [Bertius was rector of the theological college of Leyden. Being an Arminian, he was censured by the synod of Dort, and afterwards excommunicated. He retired to France, became a catholic, was a professor at Paris, historiographer to the king, and died in 1629. See Rees's *Cyclopædia*, article *Bertius. Tr.*]

⁹ [Besold was a learned and excellent man, professor of law at Tübingen, and after his conversion to the Romish church in 1635, professor at Ingolstadt. He published his motives; and appears to have been sincere; though the timidity of his character, and the troubled state of the times, seem to have had an influence. His revolt was a serious loss to the protestants. See Henke, *Kirchengesch.* vol. iii. p. 517, and Schlegel's note here. *Tr.*]

¹ [He was the son of the famous Ægidius Hunnius, and brother to Ni-

Jo. Phil. Pfeiffer, a professor at Königsberg³; *Lucas Holstenius*⁴, with his kinsman, *Peter Lambecius*⁵; *Henry Jul. Blum*, professor at Helmstadt, a learned but vain man⁶; *Daniel Nessel*⁷; *Andrew Fromm*⁸; *Barthold Nihusius*, *Christ. Hellwig*, *Matth. Prætorius*⁹; and some others of inferior note and standing, revolted to the Romish party. But if from these you except such as we are abundantly assured were led to this change by their domestic misfortunes, their desire to advance their rank and glory, their inordinate desire of wealth and worldly advantages, their fickleness of mind, their imbecility of intellect, and other causes of no better character, you will reduce the

cholas. He was professor of law at Giessen and Marburg, turned catholic in 1631, was made councillor and vice-chancellor at Treves, and died in 1636. See Henke and Schlegel, *loc. cit.* Tr.]

² [This celebrated anatomist travelled for improvement as far as Italy. On his return, he was made professor of anatomy at Copenhagen; but preferring Italy, he soon removed to that country. There, at the age of 37, in the year 1675, he became a real Roman catholic, changed his profession, was created a titular bishop, and sent as papal legate into Germany, where he died in 1686. He was first a great anatomist, and then a very sincere catholic, and a man of blameless life. He wrote many tracts in defence of popery. See Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 867, &c. Tr.]

³ [See Henke's *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 305. He apostatized in 1694; published his apology for it; and died the next year. Tr.]

⁴ [This distinguished literary man was born at Hamburg in 1596; first studied medicine, but afterwards devoted himself to Latin and Greek literature, and to ecclesiastical antiquities. He early travelled to Italy and Sicily. Returning, he pursued study in Holland. Being denied a scholarship at Leyden, he left that place in disgust, and after travelling a year or two, settled in Paris, A.D. 1624. Here he was promoted, became a catholic, and an author. He next went to Italy, where he was in high esteem; was made librarian to the pope, and came near to being a cardinal. He died 1661, aged 65. He was one of the most learned men of his age,

and a sincere catholic, but not bigoted. See Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, vol. i. p. 257, and vol. iii. p. 321—342. Tr.]

⁵ [Lambecius was a countryman and nephew of Holstenius, and a rector at Hanburg. But he had a bad wife, and besides, also fell into ill fame as a teacher of false doctrine. He therefore abandoned his country, office, wife, and religion, and became a librarian at Vienna. *Schl.*—This very learned man, and voluminous writer and editor, died in 1680, aged 52. See Jo. Möller, *Cimbria Literata*, vol. i. p. 323, and vol. iii. p. 391—414. Tr.]

⁶ He apostatized in 1654. [See above, p. 80, note (3). Tr.] See Jac. Burchard's *Historia Biblioth. Augustæ*, pt. iii. p. 223. 233. Gruber's *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum*, tom. i. p. 41. 95. 135. 137. 379. 388. 410, &c. In these Epistles he is usually called Florus.

⁷ [He was the son of Martin Nessel, a rector of Bremen, and studied law. He and his father both turned catholics in 1667. Daniel succeeded Lambecius, as librarian at Vienna, and died A.D. 1700. See Henke's *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 302. Tr.]

⁸ [He was a provost at Berlin, and from the year 1662, laboured much to unite the protestants and Roman catholics. His apostasy took place at Prague, in 1667. See Henke, *loc. cit.* iv. p. 303; and Schlegel's note here. Tr.]

⁹ [Concerning Nihusius, see above, p. 77, note (4). Prætorius was noticed also, p. 72, note (2). Hellwig was a physician, and son-in-law to J. P. Pfeiffer, mentioned in note (3), in this page. He apostatized with his father-in-law, A.D. 1694. Tr.]

whole number to a few persons, whom no one will greatly envy the Roman catholics.¹

§ 17. The Christians of the East, who were not of the Romish communion, opposed the papal envoys no less firmly than the Europeans. Nor do the more ingenuous catholics themselves deny that those who give us splendid accounts of the great extension of the papal authority among the Nestorians and Monophysites, and of the favourable disposition of several of the prelates of these sects towards the Romish church, deceive us with fictitious statements.² On the other hand, the sovereign pontiffs suffered two very severe losses in the East during this century; the one was in Japan, the other in Abyssinia. What occurred in Japan has already been stated among the evils which the Christian cause in general experienced. It remains therefore, only to give account of the occurrences in Abyssinia or Ethiopia.—In the beginning of the century, the mission to the Abyssinians, which had been interrupted in the preceding century, was renewed by the Portuguese Jesuits with very favourable auspices. For the emperor *Susneius*, who assumed the name of *Seltam Segued* at his coronation, after his victories over his enemies, influenced partly by the eloquence of the Jesuits, and partly by the hope of confirming his authority by the aid of Portuguese troops, committed the direction of all religious affairs, in the year 1625, to *Alphonso Mendez*, a missionary from Portugal; or, in other words, created him *patriarch* of the nation. The next year, he not only himself publicly swore obedience to the authority of the Roman pontiff, but also required all his people to forsake the religion of their fathers, and to embrace that of Rome. But that new prelate, with his associates, by his ill-timed zeal, himself subverted the foundations of the papal authority, which appeared to be so well established. For, in the first place, he resolved to subdue the

¹ Of these men, and others of a similar character, an account is given by Godfr. Arnold, *Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*, pt. ii. book xvii. ch. iii. p. 912, &c. Weismann's *Historia Eccles.* sæcul. xvii. p. 738. Walch's *Einleitung in die Religions-Streitigkeiten*, vol. ii. p. 728, &c. [Henke's *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. iii. and iv.] With these may be joined the best writers on civil and literary history.

² See the express declarations made by Jo. Chardin, in various parts of his

travels. Add, respecting the Armenians, Urban Cerry, *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 170: also concerning the Copts, p. 216. 222, &c. That some small, but poor congregations were collected among these sects, no one denies. Thus, near the middle of the century, the Capuchins collected a very small company of popish converts among the Asiatic Monophysites, whose prelate resides at Aleppo. See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1408.

people, the greatest part of whom, together with their ministers, held their ancient religion more dear than life itself, by means of terror, wars, and very severe punishments, in the manner of the *Portuguese Inquisition*. In the next place, those who yielded obedience to the commands of the emperor, the prelate ordered to be baptized and consecrated anew, after the Roman form; as if they had previously been entirely without the true Christian ordinances; which was an injury to the religion of their fathers that the clergy regarded with more horror than they did the tortures and violence inflicted on recusants. And lastly, he did not hesitate to rend the commonwealth into factions, and to encroach even upon the authority and the prerogatives of the emperor. Hence arose, first, civil commotions and formidable insurrections; then the indignation of the emperor himself, and a general abhorrence of the Jesuits; and finally, a public edict of the emperor, in 1631, which gave the citizens full liberty to embrace which of the two religions they preferred. The son of Seltam, *Basilides*, who succeeded to the throne on the death of his father in 1632, thought proper to clear the country of these troublesome strangers; and therefore, in the year 1634, he drove *Mendez* and the whole body of Jesuits and Portuguese from Abyssinia, with no kind of indulgence or tenderness.³ From this time onward, such an abhorrence of the Roman name became firmly rooted in the breasts of the Abyssinians, that they most cautiously guard their frontiers, lest some Jesuit or other priest of the Romish communion should creep into the country and again embroil their commonwealth. The Roman pontiffs at first sought to repair the damage done by the Jesuits by sending out two French Capuchin monks, and these being stoned to death by the Abyssinians

³ See Job. Ludolf's *Historia Æthiopica*, lib. iii. cap. xii. Mich. Geddes, *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 233, &c. Matur. Veisse la Croze's *Histoire du Christianisme d'Éthiopie*, p. 79, &c. Jerome Lobo's *Voyage d'Abyssinie*, p. 116. 130. 144, and Henry le Grand's Additions to it, p. 173, and his fourth Dissertation, subjoined to vol. ii. p. 32. The judgment of this learned man respecting the Jesuit *Mendez*, in this *Diss.* iv. p. 36, is worth transcribing. "Il eût été à souhaiter que le Patriarche ne se fut pas chargé de tant d'affaires, (thus cautiously does he speak of *Mendez's* lust of power, and intrusion into the affairs

of the civil government,) et qu'il n'eût pas fait tant valoir son autorité, en se conduisant en Abyssinie, comme dans un pays d'Inquisition. Il révolta tout le monde, et rendit les Catholiques, et en particulier les Jésuites, si odieux, que le haine qu'on a conçue contre eux dure encore aujourd'hui."—["The third Book of La Croze's *History*, which relates to the progress and ruin of this mission, is translated by Mr. Lockman into English, and inserted in *The Travels of the Jesuits*, vol. i. p. 308, &c., as also is Poncet's *Voyage*, mentioned in the following note." *Macl.*]

as soon as they were discovered, recourse was had to more secret methods; and at last, the authority of *Lewis XIV.*, king of France, was resorted to, in order to open a door for the access of their missionaries to Ethiopia.⁴ But, to the present time, they have not been able, so far as we know, to calm the wakeful indignation of that highly incensed nation.⁵

§ 18. We have thus far spoken of the external prosperity or adversity of the Romish church, and of the zeal of the pontiffs to extend the limits of their empire: we now proceed to examine its internal state. The ancient form of government was in no respects changed: yet the officers of the church, in most countries, were abridged of no small part of their ancient power by the civil authorities. For that happy age was every where gone

⁴ These projects are mentioned by Urban Cerry, *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 217, &c. Henry le Grand, Supplement to Lobo's *Itinerarium Æthiopicum*, tom. i. p. 181, &c. tom. ii. p. 108, &c. ["Father Lobo, who resided nine years in Ethiopia, has given an elegant and lively, though simple and succinct description of that vast empire, in his *Itinerarium Æthiopicum*. This *Itinerary* was translated into French by M. le Grand, and enriched by him with several curious anecdotes and dissertations. Hence Dr. Mosheim sometimes quotes the *Itinerarium*, under the title of *Voyage d'Abyssinie*, referring to le Grand's French translation of it." *Mucl.*]—I would have the reader compare what this papist, [le Grand,] who was not unfriendly to the Jesuits, states, from documents that are above all dubitation, with the Voyage of the French physician, Charles James Poncet, who travelled into Ethiopia in the year 1698, in company with the Jesuit Brevedent, who died on the way; which *Voyage* was published by the Jesuits, in the fourth volume of the *Lettres curieuses et édifiantes des Missions étrangères*, Paris, 1713, 8vo. The discerning reader may thus learn how much reliance is to be put on the statements which the Jesuits give us of the friendly disposition of the Asiatic and African Christians towards the see of Rome. After ingenuously and candidly making this comparison, he will perhaps declare that Grecian, and even Punic faith, is more to be trusted than that of the Jesuits.

⁵ The biographers of Clement XI. and especially Lafitau and Reboulet, amuse us with fables, invented perhaps by the Jesuits and their friends, when they tell us of the Abyssinian emperor's embracing the Romish religion in the year 1712; or of his petitioning the Roman pontiff in 1703, to send him teachers, to instruct him and his people. On the contrary, it is fully ascertained, that but a few years ago, the Abyssinians most rigorously denied, not only to all Europeans, but also to the Turks, all access to their country: nay, they would not allow Egyptian Monophysites, who entered Ethiopia, to return again. This is confirmed by the best possible testimony in such a case, that of Benedict Maillet, who long filled the office of French consul in Egypt, and was appointed by Lewis XIV. ambassador to the emperor of Abyssinia: in his *Description de l'Égypte*, pt. i. p. 325, Paris, 1735, 4to. To him we add Henry le Grand, who, in his *Additions to Jerome Lobo's Itinerarium*, p. 222, (published in 1728,) after faithfully detailing all the projects of the French and the popes in our age, for introducing Romish priests into Abyssinia, subjoins, that all such projects must necessarily appear vain and chimerical, to persons acquainted with the state of things in Ethiopia: "Toutes ces entreprises paroîtront chimeriques à ceux qui connoissent l'Abyssinie et les Abyssins." Perhaps the mission which is now fitting out at Rome to the Abyssinians, will add new confirmation to this opinion.

by, when the clergy might excite public commotions, engage in civil affairs at their pleasure, terrify with their sacred denunciations, and impose contributions and other burdens upon the citizens. The supreme pontiff himself, though saluted with the same appellations and titles as formerly, often experienced, with profound regret, that names had lost much of their ancient power and import, and were daily losing more and more. The principle formerly held only by the French, that the power of the Roman pontiff was wholly and exclusively confined to sacred and ecclesiastical affairs, and by no means extended to secular things, the property, the persons, and the business of the citizens, had now become well nigh the universal opinion of all kings and princes. The schools, indeed, in most parts of the Romish world, with the public writers, extolled the majesty of the pontiff to the utmost of their ability; and the Jesuits, who wished to be thought among the first defenders of the Romish see and power, did the same; and even the courts of princes sometimes used magnificent language respecting the dignity and authority of the head and father of the church. But the misfortune is, that even in cases like this, men commonly talk one way and act another; sovereign princes, accordingly, when any question or controversy arose with the court of Rome, measured the rights and prerogatives of the pontiff not as formerly, by the decisions of the schools, but by their own convenience and interests.

§ 19. This the sovereign pontiffs experienced, to their great detriment, as often as they ventured in this age to resume their former pretensions, and to encroach upon the jurisdictions of foreign states. In the year 1606, *Paul V.*, a haughty pontiff, laid the Venetians under an interdict; because they presumed to punish certain priests who had committed crimes, and forbade the erection of any more sacred edifices in their territories, without the consent of the senate, and prohibited all further transfers of estates to the clergy, without permission from the government. But the senate of Venice most firmly and vigorously resisted this wrong. For, first, it would not allow the priests to intermit the sacred services, as the pontiff had commanded; and the Jesuits and Capuchins, who chose to obey the pontiff rather than the senate, were banished the country. In the next place, they ordered *Paul Sarpi*, a theologian of the republic, who was a monk of the order of *Servites*, a man of

very great genius, and other persons deeply learned in civil and ecclesiastical law, to demonstrate the justice of their cause in several treatises, and to inquire with great freedom into the just limits of the papal power; which was done with so much force and ability, that *Cæsar Baronius*, with other writers to whom the Roman pontiff trusted the defence of his cause, could with difficulty make head against them. When at length *Paul V.* prepared for war against the Venetians, *Henry IV.*, king of France, interposed, and brought about a peace, but on terms that were not very honourable to the pontiff⁶; for the Venetians could not be induced to rescind entirely those decrees which had given offence to the Romish bishop, nor to allow the banished Jesuits to return to their country.⁷ The senate of Venice, at that time, contemplated a secession from the Romish church: and the English and Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to persuade them to such a step. But many causes of great weight prevented the measure; nor did the sagacious and circumspect *Sarpi* himself,

⁶ Besides Thuanus (de Thou), and other historians, see Gabr. Daniel's *Histoire de France*, tom. x. p. 358, &c. of the recent edit. Jo. Hen. Heidegger's *Historia Papatus*, period vii. § ccxx. p. 322, &c. Jo. Wolf. Jaeger's *Historia Eccles. sæcul. xvii. decenn. i.* p. 108. But especially the writings of the celebrated Paul Sarpi and of the other Venetian theologians, deserve a careful perusal. For being written with no less solidity than erudition and elegance, these works contributed most to open the eyes of kings and magistrates, and lead them no longer to yield entire obedience to the will of the pontiffs, as had formerly been done. Pre-eminent among these writings, is the *Istoria delle Cose passate entre Paul V. et la Republ. di Venetia*, composed by Paul Sarpi, who is usually called Fra Paolo, i. e. Brother Paul; printed Mirandol. 1624, 4to, and the *Historia Interdicti Veneti*, by the same author; which was printed at Cambridge, 1626, 4to, by William Bedell, at that time chaplain to the English embassy at Venice, and afterwards a bishop in Ireland. Paul V., therefore, whose rashness and imprudence led the Venetians to publish these books, was himself the cause of those very great perplexities which the Romish see afterwards experienced from time to time.

⁷ The Venetians indeed, a long time after, in the year 1657, while Alexander VII. governed the Romish church, being wearied with the importunities of several princes, and especially Lewis XIV. king of France, suffered the Jesuits to return to their territories. Yet quite down to our age, no where is this very powerful society under more restraint than among the Venetians; to its own loss, it finds the old grudge remaining deeply fixed in the public mind. See the *Voyage Historique en Italie, Allemagne, Suisse*; Amsterd. 1736, 4to, vol. i. p. 291. To this day, the pontifical rescripts and bulls have just so much power among the Venetians, as the interests of the republic and the judgment of the senate will allow them to have. I adduce as a most credible witness, cardinal Henry Noris, who (in the *Epistles of famous Venetians*, vol. i. p. 67,) thus wrote, in the year 1676; "Poche Bulle passevano quelle acque verso le parte del Adriatico, per le massime lasciate nel Testamento di Fra-Paolo." That is, "Few bulls of the pontiffs pass the waters of the Po, and reach the shores of the Adriatic: they are prohibited by the maxims which Brother Paul laid down in his last testament."

though he was no friend to the Romish court, appear to approve that step.⁸

§ 20. If the Portuguese had possessed as much wisdom and courage as the Venetians, equally unsuccessful would have been the contest which *Urban VIII.* waged with them in 1641, and continued till the year 1666. The Portuguese, having driven out the Spaniards, made *John*, Duke of Braganza, their king. *Urban* and his successors pertinaciously refused either to acknowledge *John*, as king of Portugal, or to confirm the bishops appointed by him, though urged to it in a thousand ways both by the Portuguese and the French. The consequence was, that the greatest part of the Portuguese territories was for a long time without bishops. The vicar of Christ, who above all things should have no fear of man, had such a dread of Spanish resentment, that rather than offend the king of Spain, he chose to violate his most sacred duty, and leave great numbers of churches without pastors. The king of Portugal was advised from various quarters, and especially by the French, to imitate the example of the Venetians; and to cause his bishops to be consecrated by a national council of Portugal, in despite of the pontiff: and he seemed, at times, disposed to act with vigour. But as well from the ascendancy of the Inquisitions, as from the amazing superstition of the people, and their devotion to the will of the pontiff, he could not muster courage to adopt energetic measures. Wherefore it was not till after the lapse of twenty-five years, and the conclusion of a peace with the Spaniards, that *Clement IX.* confirmed the bishops appointed by the king. So far, however, did the Portuguese show themselves men, as that they strenuously resisted the pontiff, when

⁸ This project of the Venetians is expressly treated of by Gilbert Burnet, in his *Life of William Bedell*, p. 18, &c. of the French edit. and by Peter Francis le Courayer, *Défense de la nouvelle Traduction de l'Histoire du Concile de Trente*, p. 35, &c. Amsterd. 1742, 8vo, who shows very clearly that Sarpi departed indeed, in many respects, from the opinions of the Romish church; yet that he did not approve of all the doctrines of the protestants; nor would he recommend to the Venetians to separate from the Romish church. [From the account of the agent for a union, Jo. Bapt. Lenke, to the elector Palatine, which the keeper

of the records, Gattler, has given in an appendix to the *Hist. of the Duchy of Württemberg*, vol. vi. no. 10, p. 57, it appears that in the year 1609, a protestant congregation of more than 1000 persons, among whom were about 300 gentry of the principal families, then existed at Venice; which brother Paul Sarpi and his friend Fulgenzo had collected, and which contemplated, under favourable circumstances to abandon popery. The substance of this account is also in *Le Bret's Magazin zum Gebrauch der Staaten- und Kirchengesch.*, vol. ii. p. 235, &c. *Schl.*]

he endeavoured to make use of this contest as a means for extending his power in Portugal; nor would they suffer the ancient prerogative of their kings, to designate the bishops of the country, to be at all abridged.⁹

§ 21. For many centuries there had been almost perpetual controversy between the French nation and the popes: which, as in other periods, so also in this century, sometimes came to an open rupture. If the pontiffs ever employed cunning and perseverance in any cause, they certainly did so, throughout this century, in their endeavours to subdue the feelings of the French, which were much opposed to the high claims of the papal power; and to destroy or gradually undermine what are called the *liberties of the Gallican church*: and the Jesuits were their principal coadjutors in this business. But to these machinations very strong opposition was made, both by the parliament of Paris, and by the very able writers, *Edmund Richer*, *John Launoy*, *Peter de Marca*, *Natalis Alexander*, *Lewis Ellies du Pin*, and others, who had the courage to bring forward the opinions of their fathers, some with more spirit and erudition, and others with less, and to confirm them with new arguments and authorities. The court, indeed, did not always reward these protectors of their country according to their merits; nay, frequently showed itself opposed to them, with a view to please the angry and menacing pontiff: yet this afforded little advantage to the papal cause. The French kings, it seems, would rather have their rights silently maintained, than publicly defended with noise and war, in open declarations and disputations: nor did they esteem it below their dignity to temporize occasionally; and to pretend great reverence for the mandates and edicts of the pontiffs, in order more easily to obtain from them the objects of their wishes.¹ But if they perceived the Romish prelates taking advantage of this complaisance to extend their authority, they remembered that they were kings of the French, that is, of a nation for a long time most impatient of Romish

⁹ See Mich. Geddes, History of the pope's behaviour towards Portugal, from 1641 to 1666; which is in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 73—186. The cause of the Portuguese in this contest, is learnedly defended, among the French, by Ism. Boulliau, whose *Libelli duo, pro Ecclesiis Lusitanis, ad Clerum Gallicanum*,

were reprinted at Helmstadt, 1700, 4to.

¹ ["It was with a view to this that Voltaire, speaking of the manner in which the court of France maintains its prerogatives against the Roman pontiff, says, pleasantly, that *the king of France kisses the pope's feet, and ties up his hands.*" *Macl.*]

servitude. This is abundantly confirmed by the contests of *Lewis XIV.* with the pontiffs.²

² Many, both of the Lutherans and Reformed, and they men of great merit and learning, lament the augmentation of the Romish power in France during this century, and the gradual corruption of the minds of both the *noblesse* and the clergy, by the prevalence of Italian notions respecting the papal power, which the ancient French people viewed with abhorrence : and from this they infer, that the famous *liberties of the Gallican church* were much abridged in this century, by the influence, principally, of the Jesuits. Into these views they are led, partly by certain measures of the French monarchs, which have the appearance of greatly subserving the wishes of the pontiffs, and partly by the numberless declamations of the Jansenists, and other recent French writers, who lament that the ancient glory has departed from the French nation, that the edicts of the popes are held in immense veneration, that the Jesuits have imbued the minds of the monarchs, and of the leading men in the government, with excessive attachment to the Romish views, that vigilance is used against all those who wish to see the opinions of their ancestors prevail, that the tribunal of the *Inquisition* is gradually introduced, and other things of this sort. But I am persuaded that more reliance is placed on these representations than ought to be ; and that the rights of the French people are still in the same state as formerly : nor am I able in any measure to discern those triumphs of the pontiffs over the French, which many excellent men, no less than Frenchmen generally, who are too indignant, especially the Jansenists and the *Appellants*, think they can clearly see. As the general policy of the French government is much more artful and crafty in the present age, so the machinations of the pontiffs are thwarted, in more silent and artful methods, than in the preceding more rude age. The same conflict is kept up as before ; but it is now managed in a very different way. And this new and politic course does not meet the views of many of the French, who are of an ardent temperament, and who think they ought to contend in open manly warfare, in the manner of their fathers. Hence those

sighs and lamentations over the rights of the nation invaded and almost annihilated by the craftiness of the Jesuits. If these persons could check those passions, with which Frenchmen are so prone to be agitated, and would carefully examine the history of their country, they would certainly learn, that their liberties are not extinct ; nor are they neglected by their monarchs, but are only maintained with more caution and foresight. France, I am aware, is full of persons who basely flatter the pontiffs, and seem inclined to become slaves for the sake of gain or of honours. But the number of such was no less, formerly, than it is now ; as might be proved by numberless examples. Nor is it common for states to be ruled and governed by such characters. The Jesuits are in high authority ; and they sometimes cause things to be done which cannot but be grievous to the friends of the ancient Gallic liberties : but things of this sort occurred also in those times when there were no Jesuits : and on the other hand, very many things occur, continually, which are most adverse to the wishes of the Jesuits, and which undoubtedly give much disquietude to the pontiffs. Those who contend learnedly for the opinions of their ancestors, sometimes scarcely escape without punishment : those who dispute with warmth, not unfrequently suffer for it, and are either imprisoned or sent into exile : and the most modest writers receive no reward for their labours. True ; it is so. Yet the cause which these men defend, is not disapproved of nor is it deserted ; but *their* manner of supporting it is disliked. For the monarchs and their friends, in reality, choose to have the machinations of the pontiffs resisted, without noise and clamour, rather than by publications and dispute, which often produce parties in a nation, excite the passions of men, disturb the public peace, and exasperate the pontiffs, and alienate them from the French nation. At the same time, the public teachers are at full liberty to instil into their pupils the ancient principles of the nation, and to explain fully in the schools those views, by which the Romish lust of power has usually been for ages repressed. Some things

§ 22. The first of these occurred in the time of *Alexander VII.*, and originated from the temerity of the pontiff's Corsican guards; who, in the year 1662, ventured to insult the king's ambassador, the marquis *de Créqui*³ and his lady, at the instigation, as it is reported, of *Alexander's* nephew. The French monarch was bent upon avenging this insult by a war: but the pope imploring his clemency, he granted him peace, in 1664, at Pisa, on the following conditions, among others: that he should send his nephew to Paris to ask pardon, and that he should brand the Corsican nation with infamy by a public edict, and inscribe upon a pillar in the Farnesian square, both the crime and its punishment, for the information of future generations. But this contest of the king was not so much with the pontiff, as head of the church, as with *Alexander*, considered as a prince and a temporal sovereign.⁴ With the pontiff in his proper character the monarch had a controversy in 1678 and the follow-

take place which are inconsistent with these principles; and restraint is laid upon those who think it very hard to depart from the customs and practices of their fathers; yet this is almost never done, unless either necessity, or the prospect of some great advantage, warrants it. Besides, the public authorities take good care that the pontiffs shall derive no great benefit from such condescensions to them. That this was the fact, in the affair of the Bull *Unigenitus*, in which many things occurred not agreeing with the ancient customs and opinions of the French, will be readily seen by those who will examine carefully the whole transaction, and compare the public decisions with the actual state of the country. It was judged best, frequently to admit a less evil, in order to avoid a greater. In short, the kings of France are wont to treat the sovereign pontiff as the ancient heroes, who descended into the infernal regions, treated the dog Cerberus, that guarded the gate of that dark world, (no offence is intended by this comparison,) sometimes throwing him a cake, when he growled, and sometimes awing him with their brandished swords, as occasion and circumstances demanded; and both for the same object, namely, that they might freely march on in their chosen way. — These remarks I thought proper to extend thus far, lest those who read the

bitter complaints and declamations of the Jansenists and *Appellants*, should put entire confidence in them; which many *Protestants* have done, and particularly those who are not well acquainted with the world.

³ [He was *duke* of Créqui, having been so created in 1653 (Moreri). The pope, in this case, appears to have been the oppressed party. Créqui's domestic were extremely dissipated, and behaved at Rome with insupportable insolence, attacking the watch, and disturbing the whole city by riotous nocturnal frolics. Some of these disorderly young men having, upon one occasion, assaulted a detachment of the pope's guards, sword in hand, the whole *corps* thought itself insulted, and under instigation, as it was considered, of Marius Chigi, the pontiff's kinsman, repaired in arms to the ambassador's residence. The duchess of Créqui's carriage was then entering the court-yard, and into this the guards fired. In the tumult a page was killed, and several servants were wounded. Gifford's *Hist. Fr.* iv. 379. *Ed.*]

⁴ See Jo. Wolfg. Jaeger's *Historia Eccles. sæcul. xvii. decenn. vii. lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 180, &c.* Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV.* tom. i. p. 131, &c. The French also published some tracts, in which the history of this contest was related. *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. ii. p. 72, &c. [Jo. Gifford's *History of France*, vol. iv. p. 379. *Tr.*]

ing years, when *Innocent XI.* filled the Romish see. The subject of this controversy was the *right* which the French call the *Régale*; according to which, when a bishop dies, the king is allowed to collect and enjoy the revenues of the see, and in some respects to act in the place of bishop until a new prelate fills the place of the defunct. *Lewis* wished to subject all the churches in his kingdom to this right; but *Innocent* pronounced this to be impossible, and would not consent to have this power pushed beyond the limits within which it had been formerly exercised. This contest was carried on with great passion on both sides. To the many admonitions and epistles of the pontiff the king opposed severe laws and mandates: and when the pope refused his approbation to the bishops appointed by the king, the latter, by his regal authority, caused them to be inducted into office: thus showing publicly that the Gallic church stood not in need of a pope. On the other hand, the high-spirited and persevering pontiff denounced the vengeance of Heaven against the king; and omitted nothing which might show that the pope's ancient power was not yet extinct.⁵ The king, offended by this resolute behaviour, in the year 1682, assembled that famous convention of his bishops at Paris, in which the ancient opinions of the French respecting the power of the pontiff, as being exclusively spiritual, and inferior to that of councils, were stated in four propositions, adopted, confirmed, and set forth as the perpetual rule for all the clergy as well as for the schools.⁶ But

⁵ See Jo. Henry Heidegger's *Historia Papatus*, period vii. § cccxli. &c. p. 555. Voltaire, *Siccle de Louis XIV.* tom. ii. p. 210, and numerous others, who either professedly, or incidentally, treat of the right of *Régale*, and the disputes that grew out of it. Henry Noris discusses very copiously the history of the origin and progress of this right, in his *Istoria delle Investiture Ecclesiastiche*, p. 547, &c. in his *Opp.* vol. v. [See also Gilbert Burnet, in his History of the rights of Princes in the disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Church lands, relating chiefly to the pretensions of the crown of France to the *Régale*, and the late contests with the court of Rome; London, 1682, 8vo. Tr.]

⁶ [This convention was composed of 8 archbishops, 26 bishops, and 38 other clergymen, who set their names to the four following propositions:

I. That God has given to St. Peter, and to his successors, the vicars of Christ, and to the church itself, power in spiritual things, and things pertaining to salvation; but not power in civil and temporal things: Our Lord having said: "My kingdom is not of this world;" and again: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." And therefore that injunction of the apostle stands firm: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. There is no power but is from God; and the powers that be are ordained of God." Therefore, in temporal things, kings and princes are subject to no ecclesiastical power of God's appointment; neither can they, either directly or indirectly, be deposed by authority of the keys of the church; nor can their subjects be exempted from fidelity and obedience, nor be absolved

Innocent received this blow also with manly courage.⁷ Soon after, this violent contest was followed by another, when *Innocent*, in the year 1687, deprived the ambassadors resident at Rome, and among others the French ambassador, *Lavardin*, of the right of asylum; because it often rendered criminals secure of impunity. The king employed all the means that his angry feelings could suggest, to induce the pontiff to restore the right which he had taken away: but the latter met the king with an open front, and could by no means be persuaded even to put on the semblance

from their oath of allegiance. And this principle, which is necessary to the public tranquillity, and no less useful to the church than to the state, ought by all means to be held fast, as being consonant to the word of God, to the tradition of the fathers, and to the example of the saints.

II. That plenary power in spiritual things so exists in the apostolic see, and in the successors of Peter, the vicars of Christ, that at the same time the decrees of the holy ecumenical council of Constance, approved by the apostolic see, and confirmed by the practice of the Roman pontiffs and of the whole church, and observed by the Gallican church with perpetual veneration, respecting the authority of general councils, as contained in the fourth and fifth sessions, must also be valid, and remain immovable. Nor does the Gallican church approve of those who infringe upon the force of these decrees, as if they were of dubious authority, or not fully approved, or who pervert the words of the council, by referring them solely to a time of schism.

III. Hence, the exercise of the apostolic power is to be tempered by the canons, which the Spirit of God dictated, and which the reverence of the whole world has consecrated. The rules, customs, and regulations received by the Gallic realm and church, are also valid, and the terms of the fathers remain immovable; and it concerns the majesty of the apostolic see, that statutes and usages confirmed by the consent of so great a see and of such churches, should retain their appropriate validity.

IV. In questions of faith, likewise, the supreme pontiff has a principal part, and his decrees have reference to all and singular churches; yet his judgment is not incapable of correc-

tion, unless it have the assent of the church.

These propositions, approved by Lewis XIV. and registered by the Parliament of Paris, on the 23rd of March, 1682, were ordered to be publicly read and expounded in the schools from year to year, and to be subscribed to by all clergymen and professors in the universities. See Jac. Benig. Bossuet's *Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallicani*; the documents at the beginning of vol. i. *Tr.*]

⁷ These four propositions, which were extremely adverse to his wishes, the pontiff caused to be opposed both publicly and privately. The most distinguished person who defended the cause of the pontiff was cardinal Celestine Sfondrati; who, under the assumed name of Eugene Lombard, published: *Regale Sacerdotium Romano Pontifici assertum, et quatuor propositionibus explicatum*, 1684, 4to. The form of the types shows that the book was printed in Switzerland. Next to him in the multitude of Italians, Spaniards, and Germans, who supported the tottering majesty of the pontiff against the French, Nicholas du Bois, a doctor of Louvain, stood conspicuous. He published some books on the subject, which are mentioned by Bossuet. But all these were confuted by the very eloquent bishop of Meaux, Jac. Benign. Bossuet, in a learned work composed by order of the king, but which was not published till long after his death, entitled: *Defensio Declarationis celeberrimæ, quam de Potestate Ecclesiastica sanxit Clerus Gallicanus*, 19 Martii, 1683, Luxemburgi, 2 vols. 1730, 4to. For the king forbade the publication of the *Defence*, because, after the death of Innocent, there seemed to be a great prospect of peace; which in fact soon followed.

of yielding.⁸ This long conflict, which was injurious to both the parties, was at length closed by the death of *Innocent*. The subsequent pontiffs were more pliable, and therefore more ready to remove the principal causes of contention; yet they were not so careless as to forget the dignity of the Romish see. The right of asylum was abrogated with the consent of the king: the controversy respecting the *right of the Régale* was adjusted by a compromise.⁹ The four celebrated propositions respecting the power of the pontiff, without objection from the king, were yielded over by some bishops in private letters to the pope, but were by no means given up. To the present day they maintain their place among the laws of the realm.

§ 23. That the faults, which had long characterized the bishops and some of the inferior clergy in the Romish church, were rather increased than diminished, no good men even of the papal body will deny. The bishops every where owed their elevation, rarely to their piety and merit, but for the most part to personal friendships, to services rendered to individuals, to simony, to affinities and relationships, and often even to their vices. And the greater part of them lived as if they had been hired with their great salaries expressly to exhibit before the people examples of those very vices which the Christian religion condemns.¹ If there were some (and that there were, I do not deny,) who endeavoured to benefit their flocks, and who set themselves against both ignorance and wickedness, they were either put down by the enmity and hatred of the others, or at least fell under neglect, and were hindered from effecting any thing great and laudable. And nearly the same things were experienced by those clergymen of inferior rank who exerted all their powers in behalf of truth and piety. These, however, if compared with those whom voluptuousness, ambition, and lust for wealth drove headlong, were exceedingly few. Some indeed of the pontiffs of this century should not be defrauded of their just praise for attempting to correct the morals of the clergy by wholesome laws, and to bring them to exhibit at least common

⁸ See Jaeger, *loc. cit.* decenn. ix. p. 19, &c. The *Legatio Lacardini*, which was published, 1688, 12mo. But especially *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. ii. p. 248, &c.: for Christina engaged in this contest, and took sides with the king of France.

⁹ See Claude Fleury, *Institutio Juris Eccles. Gallici*, p. 454, &c. of the Latin translation.

¹ See a multitude of proofs, collected from the most celebrated doctors of the Romish church, in the *Mémoires de Port-royal*, tom. ii. p. 308.

decency in their lives. Yet it is strange that those very discerning prelates should not see that the very constitution of the Romish church and its whole interior structure, were insuperable obstacles to all such good designs; and that a pontiff, even if he were inspired, unless he also possessed more than human power, and could be present in many places at the same time, could never reduce such a heterogeneous mass of people to good order.

§ 24. The monks, though in many places they lived more decently and circumspectly than formerly, yet for the most part neglected extremely the rules and regulations of the founders of their orders. In the beginning of the century, as good and learned monks themselves admit, the state of all the monasteries was still lamentable. But as the century advanced, some wise men, first among the Benedictines in France, and then also in other countries, endeavoured to *reform* certain monasteries; that is, to bring them back in some degree to the rules and laws of their order.² Their example was afterwards followed by other religious houses of the Cluniacensians, Cistercians, Regular Canons, Dominicans, and Franciscans.³ At this time, there-

² Le Bœuf, *Mémoires sur l'Hist. d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 513, &c., where there is an account of the first *Reforms* of this century. *Voyage Littéraire de Deux Bénédictins*, pt. ii. p. 97, &c.

³ There is an account of all the convents, both Benedictines and others, which submitted to a *reform* of any kind, in Hipp. Helyot's *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. v. vi. vii. &c. To whose account, however, numerous additions might be made. Of the *Reformed* congregation of Clugni, which commenced in the year 1621, the Benedictines have treated expressly, in their *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 544, &c. They also treat of the *Reformed* Canons Regular of St. Augustine, in tom. vii. p. 778. 787. 790. For an account of the *Reformed* Cistercians, in France and Germany, see Jo. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedictin.* tom. vi. p. 121, &c. *Voyage Littéraire de Deux Bénédictins*, tom. i. 7, 8, tom. ii. p. 133. 229. 269. 303. The *Reformed* Cistercians, with great zeal, attempted a *reformation* of their whole sect, in this century; but in vain. See Meaupou, *Vie de l'Abbé de la Trappe*, tom. i. p. 192, &c. I omit other notices, as requiring too much room.—[I find no more suitable place to notice

some abolished orders in this century. Clement XIV. in his Bull for suppressing the order of Jesuits, mentions the congregation of the Reformed Conventual Brethren, which Sixtus V. approved, but which Urban VIII. abolished, by his Bull of Feb. 6, 1626, "because the above-named brethren did not yield spiritual fruits to the church of God; nay, very many disagreements had risen between those Reformed conventual Brethren, and the Unreformed conventual Brethren:" and he allowed them to go over to the Capuchin Brethren of St. Francis, or the Observant Franciscans. According to the same Bull, the order of Regulars of St. Ambrose and St. Barnabas ad Nemos, was suppressed by the same pontiff. And in the year 1668, Clement IX. abolished the three regular orders of Canons Regular of St. Gregory in Alga, of Hieronymists de Fesulis, and of Jesuates, established by St. Jo. Columbanus; "because they were of little or no use to the church, and had loaned their revenues to the Venetian republic, to be applied to war against the Turks." *Schl.*]

fore, the monks of the Romish church became divided into two classes; namely, the *Reformed*, who, abandoning their licentious and profligate manners, lived more decently, and more conformably to the rules of their order; and the *Unreformed*, who disregarded the precepts of their founders, and chose to live as they found it convenient and pleasant, rather than austere, and according to the laws by which they were bound. But the number of the *Unreformed* far exceeds that of the *Reformed*: and moreover, most of the *Reformed* not only depart widely from the mode of living prescribed by their rule, but are also, in one place and another, gradually relapsing into their former negligence.

§ 25. Among the *Reformed* monastic associations, certain *Congregations* of Benedictines surpass the others, partly in the beauty and excellence of their regulations, and partly in the constancy with which they observe their rules. The most famous of these is the French *Congregation of St. Maur*⁴, which was formed under the authority of *Gregory XV.* in 1621, and endowed with various privileges and rights by *Urban VIII.* in 1627. This association does not indeed consist of genuine followers of *St. Benedict*, nor is it free from every thing that can reasonably be censured; yet it has many excellences which raise it above all others. Of these excellences the first and most useful is, that it devotes a certain number of persons of superior genius to the cultivation of learning, both sacred and civil, and particularly to the study of history and antiquities; and that

⁴ See the *Gallia Christiana*; not the old work of this name, but the new and elegant production of the Benedictines of this same Congregation of St. Maur; vol. vii. p. 474, &c. Hipp. Helyot's *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vi. cap. xxxvii. p. 256. The Bull of Gregory XV. approving the society of St. Maur, is severely criticised in all its parts, by Jo. Launoï, that scourge of the monks, even the best of them, in his *Examen Privilegii S. Germani*; *Opp.* tom. iii. pt. i. p. 303. He also treats of the dissensions and commotions in this order, soon after its institution, (though with considerable prejudice, as is usual for him when speaking of monks,) in his *Assertio Inquisit. in Privileg. S. Medardi*, pt. i. cap. lxxvi. in his *Opp.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 227. [This Congregation consists of more than 180 Abbeys and Conventual Priors, which are divided into six provinces (extending over the greatest

part of France); and it is governed by a general, two assistants, and six visitors, who are elected, as are the superiors of the several cloisters, every three years, in a general chapter of the order. As it is the object of this Congregation to revive the spirit of St. Benedict in the observance of his rule, so special care is taken to train up the young religious according to it. Hence, in each province, one or two houses for novices are erected, from which, those to be admitted to profession are removed to other cloisters, where they are trained for two years, to virtue and to acts and exercises of worship. After this, they study human learning and theology five years; and then spend one year in collecting their thoughts, and thus prepare themselves for orders, and for more assiduity in their spiritual offices. In some cloisters there are also seminaries for the education of youth. *Schl.*]

it furnishes them abundantly with all the helps they need to prosecute their business with advantage.⁵ Those who are acquainted with the history of learning need not be informed how much this institution has benefited the literary world, or what a multitude of excellent and immortal works it has produced, for illustrating every branch of learning except philosophy.⁶

§ 26. But the best and most sacred of these changes were esteemed trivial and imperfect by those whose eye was fixed on

⁵ The Benedictines talk largely of the great services done by this Congregation in various ways; and among other difficult enterprises, they mention numerous cloisters of monks, which had collapsed and become corrupt, recovered and restored to order and respectability. See *Voyage de Deux Religieux Bénédictins de la Congrég. de St. Maur*, tom. i. p. 16, tom. ii. p. 47, and nearly throughout that work. And a person must be much prejudiced, who can look upon all these statements as fictions. There are, however, in the Romish community, persons who, for various reasons, dislike this society. First, some of the bishops are unfriendly to these learned Benedictines. For after these monks had thrown great light upon ancient history, and upon diplomatics, by their learned works, they were able to defend their possessions, property, and rights, more learnedly and successfully in the courts, against the bishops who coveted them, than when they were destitute of this literature and erudition. In the next place, the Jesuits, whose merits and glory were greatly obscured by the splendid works undertaken and accomplished by these Benedictines, endeavour, to the utmost of their power, to run down both them and their pursuits. See Rich. Simon's *Lettres Choiesies*, tom. iv. p. 36. 45. Others are led by superstition to indulge hatred of them; but it is, perhaps, a superstition tinged with envy. For these Benedictines have substituted the pursuit of learning, in place of that manual labour, which the rule of St. Benedict prescribes for his monks. The more robust are required to labour with their hands during certain hours of the day; but the more feeble, or such as possess superior genius, are taxed with intellectual or mental labour, or the pursuit of sacred and secular learning. This is censured

by certain austere persons, who are very fond of the ancient monastic discipline, and who think that literary pursuits are disreputable for monks, because they divert the mind from the contemplation of divine things. As this sentiment was advanced with excessive ardour, especially by Armand John Bouthillier de Rance, abbot of La Trappe, in his book *des Devoirs Monastiques* (on the duties of monks), the most learned of the Benedictines, John Mabillon, 'was directed to defend the cause of his fraternity; which he did, in his well known work, *de Studiis Monasticis*, which was first published, Paris, 1691, 8vo, and often afterwards, and translated also into the Latin and other languages. Hence arose that noted controversy in France, "How far is it suitable for a monk to attend to literature?" an elegant history of which has been given to the world by Vincent Thuillier, a very learned monk of the congregation of St. Maur: published among the *Opera Posthuma Mabillonii et Ruinarti*, tom. i. p. 365—425.

⁶ A list of the writings and works with which the congregation of St. Maur have favoured the learned world, is given by Philip le Cerf, *Bibliothèque Historique et Critique des Auteurs de la Congrégation de S. Maur*; Hague, 1726, 8vo, and by Bernh. Pez, *Bibliotheca Benedictino-Mauriana*: Augsburg, 1716, 8vo. These monks are going on, with great perseverance, to benefit both sacred and profane learning, with their elaborate and excellent productions. [A more complete catalogue of their works is in the *Histoire Littéraire de la Congrégation de S. Maur, ordre de St. Benoit, où l'on trouve la vie et les travaux des auteurs qu'elle a produits depuis son origine en 1618, jusqu'à présent, avec les titres, énumération, l'analyse, des différentes éditions des livres, qu'ils ont don-*

the ancient discipline, and who wished to see the lives of monks strictly conformed to their first rules. The number of these in the Romish church was not inconsiderable; though they had little influence, and were odious to most people on account of their severity. The reforming party thought that a monk should spend his whole life in prayers, tears, contemplation, sacred reading, and manual labour; and that whatever else might occupy him, however useful and excellent in itself, was inconsistent with his vocation, and therefore vain, and not acceptable to God. Besides others, who had not the fortune to become so celebrated, the Jansenists proposed this rigid reformation of the monks; and they exhibited some examples of it in France⁷, the most perfect and best known of which, was that which took place in the convent of sacred virgins, bearing the name of *Port Royal*, and which has flourished from the year 1618 down to the present time. [A. D. 1753.⁸] Several emulated this example; but the most successful and zealous of all these was, in the year 1664, *Armand John Bouthillier de Rance*, abbot of *La Trappe*, a man of noble birth, whose good fortune it was to keep his associates clear from that ill name of extravagant superstition, which the Jansenists had contracted, although they fared as hardly as ever the old Cistercians did, if their discipline did not actually surpass by its austerity the ancient Cistercian standard. The fraternity established by this noted man still flourishes under the name of the *Reformed Bernardines of La Trappe*, and has been propagated among the Italians and the Spaniards; though, if credit is to be given to the testimony of many, it has gradually departed much from the very painful discipline of its founder.⁹

nés au public, et le jugement, que les Savans en ont porté; ensemble la notice de beaucoup d'ouvrages manuscrits, composés par des Bénédictins du même corps. Brussels and Paris, 1770, 4to. *Schl.*]

⁷ See *Mémoires de Portroyal*, tom. ii. p. 601, 602. In particular, that most celebrated Jansenist, Martin de Barcos, introduced the austere discipline of ancient monks into the monastery of St. Cyran, of which he was abbot. See *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 132. Mo-leon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 135, &c. But after his death, the monks of St. Cyran, like those of other places, re-

lapsed into their old habits. See *Voyage de Deux Bénédictins*, tom. i. pt. i. p. 18, &c.

⁸ Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. v. cap. xlv. p. 455.

⁹ See Marsollier, *Vie de l'Abbé de la Trappe*, Paris, 1702, 4to; 1703, 2 vols. 12mo. Meaupou, (a doctor of the Sorbonne,) *Vie de M. l'Abbé de la Trappe*, 1702, 2 vols. 8vo. Felibien, *Description de l'Abbaye de la Trappe*, Paris, 1671, 12mo. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vi. cap. 1, &c. [The author of this reformation lived, as the greater part of the French Abbés now do, in a thought-

§ 27. Of the new orders of monks which arose in this century,—for that fruitful mother, the church, has never ceased to produce such fraternities,—we shall notice only those which have acquired some celebrity. We mention first, the French society of *Fathers of the Oratory of the holy Jesus*, instituted in 1613 by *John Berulle*¹, a man of various talents,

less unprincipled manner, and kept up an illicit intercourse with a French lady, Madame de Montbazou. Her sudden death by the small-pox, and the unexpected sight of her mutilated corpse, brought him to the resolution of becoming a Carthusian. The common statement is this. The abbot had received no notice of the lady's sickness, and after an absence of six weeks, returned from the country to visit her. He went directly to her chamber, by a secret stair-way, with which he was acquainted, and there found her dead, and her corpse mutilated. For the leaden coffin which had been made for her was too short, and it was found necessary to cut off her head. The sight of her corpse in the coffin, and her head on the table, so affected him, that he resolved to forsake the world, and to embrace the severest monastic order. Vigneul-Marville (*Mélanges d'Hist. et de Littérature*, Rotterd. 1700, 8vo, tom. iii. p. 126.) contradicts this statement. He says thus much only was true: the abbot had been a particular friend of this lady; and once, on waiting on her, he learned from a gentleman in her antechamber, that she had the small-pox, and was then wishing the attendance of a clergyman. The abbot went to call one; and on his return found her dying. He was much affected on the occasion; but it was two or three years after this event that he formed his rigorous establishment. And probably the additions and alterations of the story were invented, for the sake of giving it a romantic aspect. Be this as it may, the abbot changed his life, and established an order, into which none would enter but melancholy people, who were weary of the whole world, and constantly in fear of losing heaven. They allowed of no scientific or literary pursuits, and in their library had none but devotional books. Their worship was continued day and night: and if a cloister contained so many as 24 monks, they were divided into three classes,

which interchanged continually. All these monks lived very austere; and observed a rigorous silence, conversing together only once a week, and then not on worldly things. Their time was divided between manual labour, the canonical exercises, and private devotion. They lived wholly on bread, herbs, and pulse. *Schl.*

¹ [*Peter de Berulle* was his real name. He was born of an ancient family in Champagne, in 1575, and first gained notice as a disputant against the protestants, who were then very numerous in France. Having besides the advantage of gentle birth, great sweetness of temper and eminent intellectual endowments, he was thought remarkably fit for restoring the monastic system among his countrymen, to some sort of efficiency. He first justified this opinion of him by naturalizing, after many difficulties, a Spanish Carmelite society among the French. In his next enterprise, that of establishing in France a body of secular priests, upon the system lately brought into action by Philip Neri, in Italy, he had to struggle with the Jesuits, who considered this new community as a rival to their own. Berulle, however, succeeded. Among the events of his life most interesting to Englishmen, was his connection with Henrietta Maria, queen to Charles I. He solicited at Rome the dispensation for her marriage, and accompanied her to England. The English *schism*, as he called our Reformation, he attributed chiefly to the unconciliating spirit with which Henry VIII. was met at Rome. Berulle's own character was perfectly disinterested. He had made a vow in early life to accept no ecclesiastical dignity, and it was not until Urban VIII. dispensed with his vow, and pressed him to become a cardinal, that he consented, in 1627, to accept that dignity, for the support of which, he was preferred to two abbacies. He died in 1629, universally respected, although his elevation to the Roman purple had

who served the commonwealth and religion, the court and the church, with equal ability, and was at last a *cardinal*. This institution was, in reality, intended to oppose the Jesuits. It has trained up, and still is training up, many persons eminent for piety, eloquence, and erudition. But through the influence of the Jesuits, who were its enemies, it fell under a suspicion of broaching new doctrines in certain of its publications. The priests who enter this fraternity do not divest themselves of private property; but, so long as they continue in the society, (and they are at liberty to retire from it when they please,) they relinquish all prospects of admission to any sacred office which has attached to it fixed revenues, or rank and honour. They are required faithfully to discharge all the duties of *priests*, and to make it their greatest care and effort to perfect themselves and others more and more continually in the art of profitably discharging those duties. Their associations, therefore, may not improperly be denominated schools for *sacerdotal theology*. In more recent times, however, they have in fact begun to teach elegant literature, and branches of learning connected with religion.² With these we join the *Priests of the Missions*, an order founded by *Vincent de Paula*, who was canonized not long since. They were constituted a regular and legitimate society in 1632 by *Urban VIII*. To fulfil the designs of their founder, they must attend especially to three things: first, to improve and amend themselves daily by prayers, meditation, reading, and other things: secondly, to perform

been far from generally acceptable to the French prelacy, several of their body considering themselves to have prior claims. *Ed.*]

² See Habert de Cerisy, *Vie du Cardinal Berulle, Fondateur de l'Oratoire de Jésus*; Paris, 1646, 4to. Jo. Morin's Life, prefixed to his *Antiquit. Orientales*, p. 3, 4, 5. 110. Rich. Simon's *Lettres Choiesies*, tom. ii. p. 60, and his *Bibliothèque Critique*, (which he published under the fictitious name of Sainiore,) tom. iii. p. 303. 324. 330, &c. On the character of Berulle, see Adr. Baillet's *Vie de Richer*, p. 220. 342. Mich. le Vassor, *Histoire de Louis XIII.* tom. iii. p. 397, &c. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. viii. cap. x. p. 53, &c. *Gallia Christiana Benedictinor.* tom. vii. p. 976, &c. [These *Fathers of the Oratory* must not be confounded with the Italian

order, of the same name, established in the preceding century, by Philip Neri. (See vol. iii. p. 264.) Both agree in this, that they devote themselves to learning: but the Italians pursue, especially, church history; while the French pursue all branches of learning. The founder of this order, Berulle, was in so high favour with the queen of France, Anna of Austria, that cardinal Richelieu envied him: and his death, which occurred in 1629, was so sudden, that some conjectured he died of poison. The Fathers of the Oratory are not monks, but secular clergymen; nor do they chant any canonical hours. They are called Fathers of the *Oratory*, because they have no churches, in which the sacraments are administered, but only chapels or *oratories*, in which they read prayers and preach. *Schl.*]

sacred missions among the people living in the country towns and villages, eight months in the year, in order to imbue the country people with religious knowledge, and quicken their piety (from which service they derive their name of Priests of the *Missions*): and lastly to superintend seminaries, in which young men are educated for the priesthood, and to train up candidates for the sacred office.³ Under the counsel and patronage of the Priests of the Missions are the *Virgins of Love* or the *Sisters of Charity*, whose business it is to minister to the indigent in sickness. They originated from a noble lady, *Louisa le Gras*; and received the approbation of *Clement IX.* in 1660.⁴ The *Brethren and Sisters of the pious and Christian schools* were instituted by *Nicholas Barre* in 1678. They are usually called *Piarists*; and their principal object is the education of poor children of both sexes.⁵ But it would be tedious to expatiate on this subject, and to enumerate all the religious associations which, in the various parts of the Romish jurisdiction, were now set up with great expectations, and then suddenly neglected and suffered to become extinct.

§ 28. The society of Jesuits, by which as its soul the whole body of the Romish community is governed, if it could have been oppressed and trodden to dust by hosts of enemies, by numberless indignities, by the most horrid criminations, and by various calamities, must undoubtedly have become extinct, or at least must have been divested of all reputation and confidence. The French, the Belgians, the Poles, the Italians, have attacked it with fury; and have boldly charged it, both publicly and privately, with every species of crimes and errors that the imagination can conceive, as most pernicious to the souls of men and to the peace and safety of civil governments. The Jansenists especially, and those who accord with them partially, or wholly, in sentiment, have exposed its character in numberless publications, strengthened not merely by satire and groundless declamation, but by demonstrations, testimony, and documents of the most credible nature.⁶ This immense

³ M. Abely, *Vie de M. Vincent de Paul*; Paris, 1664, 4to. Helyot, *loc. cit.* tom. viii. cap. xi. p. 64. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 998, &c.

⁴ Gobillon, *Vie de Madame le Gras, fondatrice des Filles de la Charité*; Paris, 1676, 12mo.

⁵ Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. viii. cap. xxx. p. 233.

⁶ Here is matter for a volume, or rather for many large volumes; for there is scarcely any part of the catholic world which does not offer for our inspection some conflict of the Jesuits

host, however, of accusers and of most decided enemies seems not so much to have weakened and depressed this very prudent sect as to have exalted it and enriched it with possessions and honours of every kind. For the Jesuits, without parrying the strokes of their enemies by replies and noisy disputation, but by silence for the most part, and patience, have held on their course, amidst all these storms, and reaching their desired haven, have possessed themselves, with wonderful facility, of their supremacy in the Romish church. The very countries in which the Jesuits were once viewed as monsters and public pests, have sometimes voluntarily, and sometimes involuntarily, surrendered no small share of their interests and concerns to the discretion and good faith of this most potent fraternity.⁷

with the magistrates, with other orders of monks, or with the bishops and other religious teachers; from which the Jesuits, though they might seem to be vanquished, yet finally came off victorious. An attempt was made to bring together all these facts, which lie scattered and dispersed through numberless writers, by a man of the Jansenist party, who a few years ago undertook to write a history of the order of Jesuits, if he should be permitted to fulfil the promises in his *Préface: Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tom. i. Utrecht, 1741, 8vo. And no man was more competent to finish the work commenced by him, than he; unless we are to regard as fabulous, all that he tells us respecting his travels and his sufferings for many years, while exploring the plans, policy, and operations of the Jesuits. But this good man, imprudently venturing to go into France, was discovered, it is said, by his enemies, and assassinated. Hence his work was carried no farther than the third volume. [Dr. Maclaine, in his note here, written at the Hague, about the year 1764, says this man was a Frenchman, named Benard; that he was then living at the Hague; that he had not been massacred in France, but had returned in safety from his visit to that country; that he had never travelled, in the manner he pretended in his preface, to collect information, but had collected all his information from books in his study, and had made up the story of his travels to amuse his readers and procure credit to his book; and that no good reason was

offered for his having violated his promise to continue the work. J. M. Schroeckh, (in his *Kirchengesch. s. d. Reform.* vol. ii. p. 645,) tells us, on the authority of a Dutch journal, that the man's name was Peter Quesnel, with the surname Menard; that he had never travelled as he pretended; that he died at the Hague in the year 1774; and that the report was, he was persuaded, a little before his death, to burn the manuscript of the residue of his work, which was sufficient to fill 20 volumes. *Tr.*]

⁷ Perhaps no people have attacked the Jesuits with more animosity and energy, or done them more harm, than the French. Those who wish to learn what was said and done against them, by the parliament, by the university of Paris, and by the people of France, may consult Cæsar Egasse de Boulay, *Historia Academiæ Parisiensis*, tom. vi. p. 559—648. 676. 738. 742. 744. 763. 774—890. 898. 909: who has scarcely omitted any thing relating to the subject. And what was the issue of all these most vehement contests? The Jesuits, after being ignominiously expelled from France, were first honourably received again, under Henry IV. in the year 1604, notwithstanding the indignation of so many men of the greatest reputation and of the highest rank, who were opposed to them. See the *Mémoires du Duc de Sully*; the late edition of Geneva, vol. v. p. 83, &c. 314, &c. In the next place, they were admitted to the government both of the church and of the state; and this felicity they retain quite to our times. [So it was when

§ 29. Literature and the sciences, both the elegant and the solid branches, acquired additional honour and glory in the better provinces of the Romish church. Among the French, the Italians, the Spaniards, the Belgians, all in communion with Rome, there was no want of men distinguished for their genius and their knowledge of various sciences and languages. But we must not ascribe this prosperous state of learning to the influence of the public schools. For in these, both of the higher and lower orders, its place has been maintained, even down to our own times, by that ancient, jejune, and barbarous mode of teaching, which blunts, retards, depresses the minds of men, instead of sharpening and raising them; while it loads the memory with a multitude of terms and distinctions, void alike of meaning and utility. But beyond the limits of these reputed seats of learning, certain great and excellent men guided others to a better and more profitable method of prosecuting study. In this matter the pre-eminence is justly due to the French; who being prompted by the native powers of genius, and encouraged by the munificence of *Lewis XIV.* towards learning and learned men, treated nearly all branches of literature and science in the happiest manner; and rejecting the barbarism of the schools, exhibited learning in a new and elegant dress, fit for captivating the mind.⁸ And how greatly the efforts of this very refined nation tended to rescue the other nations from scholastic bondage, no person, of but a moderate share of information, can well be ignorant.

§ 30. No means whatever could remove from the chairs of philosophy those misnamed *Aristotelians*, who were continually quoting *Aristotle*, while in reality they did not understand him. Nor could the court of Rome, which is afraid of every thing new, for a long time persuade itself to allow the new discoveries of the philosophers to be freely promulged and explained; as is manifest from the sufferings of *Galileo*, a Tuscan mathematician, who was cast into prison for bringing forward the Copernican

Dr. Mosheim wrote: but now

"Venit summa dies et ineluctabile
tempus

Dardaniæ," &c.

And even in this France, where the Jesuits were caressed by the great, and feared by bishops and archbishops, the conflagration began, which consumed

the whole fabric of the Jesuits' universal monarchy. *Schl.*]

⁸ This will be found illustrated by Voltaire, in the noted work already quoted repeatedly: *Siècle de Louis XIV.* and in his Additions to that work, [in the edition, Paris, 1820, vol. ii. cap. xxxi—xxxiv. *Tr.*]

system of astronomy. Some among the French, led on by *René Des Cartes* and *Peter Gassendi*⁹, of whom, the former confuted the Peripatetics by his doctrines, and the latter by his writings, first ventured to abandon the thorny fields of the Aristotelians, and to follow more liberal principles of philosophizing. Among these there were some Jesuits, but a much larger number from among the *Fathers of the Oratory* and the disciples of *Jansenius* who distinguished themselves. Here will readily occur to many minds the names of *Malebranche*, *Anthony Arnault*, *Bernard Lami*, *Peter Nicole*, and *Blaise Pascal*, who acquired lasting fame, by illustrating, perfecting, and adapting to common use the principles of *Des Cartes*.¹ For *Gassendi*, who professed to understand but few things, and who rather taught how to philosophize, than proposed a system of philosophy, found no such great number to approve of him among a people eager for knowledge, sanguine, ardent, and impatient of protracted labour. Toward the close of the century, some of the Italians as well as other nations, began to imitate the French; at first indeed timidly, but afterwards, more confidently, as the pontiffs appeared to relax a little of that jealousy which they had entertained against the new views of the naturalists, mathematicians, and metaphysicians.

§ 31. But it is proper to notice here, more distinctly, who were the persons entitled to the praise of having preserved and advanced both divine and human learning in the Romish church. During a large part of the century the Jesuits were nearly the only teachers of all branches of learning; and they alone, among the monks, were accounted learned men. And the man must either be ignorant or uncandid, who can deny that many extraordinary and very learned men have been ornaments to that society. Lasting as literature itself will be the merits of *Denys Petau* (*Dionysius Petavius*²), *James Sirmond*³, *Peter Possin*⁴,

⁹ Gassendi's *Exercitationes Paradoxe adversus Aristoteleos*, is in his *Opera*, tom. iii. p. 95, &c. and is an accurate and elegant performance, which did great harm to the cause of the Peripatetics. See the remarks already made, [in section I. § 31, of this century, p. 47. *Tr.*]

¹ The reward which these men got for their labours, was, that they were charged with atheism by the Peripatetics; John Harduin, who was intoxicated with the Aristotelico-Scholastic

philosophy, being the accuser: *Athei Detecti*, in his *Opera Posthuma*, p. 1, &c. and p. 259. Nor is the cause of this odium very difficult to be discovered. For the Cartesian Philosophy, which avoids all darkness and obscurity, is much less efficacious for defending the Romish cause, than the vulgar scholastic philosophy, which delights in darkness.

² [Petau, born in 1583, died 1562; wrote largely on chronology, and the history of religious doctrines; and ably

*Philip Labbé*⁵, *Nicholas Abrams*⁶, and even of *John Harduin*⁷, though he was an out-of-the-way man in many things, and scarcely sane, as well as of many others. But as the century advanced, this literary glory of the Jesuits was greatly obscured by the Benedictines, especially by those belonging to the *Congregation of St. Maur*. For while the Jesuits talked immoderately of their merits and renown, and were unceasingly censuring the sloth and indolence of the Benedictines, in order to give plausibility to their designs of invading and appropriating to themselves the revenues and the goods of the Benedictines; the latter saw the necessity of wiping this stain away, as it could not wholly be denied, and of disarming the violent cupidity of their enemies, by making themselves really meritorious. Wherefore, they not only opened schools in their convents for instructing youth in all branches of learning, but also appointed select individuals of the best talents, to publish great and imperishable works, which might vindicate the ancient glory and reputation of the Benedictine family against its traducers. This task has been admirably fulfilled, and with a success which baffles description, for about a century past, by such superior men as *John Mabillon*⁸, *Luke D'Achery* (*Dacherius*⁹), *René Massuet*¹, *Theodore Ruinart*², *Anthony Beaugendre*³, *Julian*

edited several of the fathers, particularly Epiphanius. *Tr.*

³ [Sirmond, confessor to Louis XIII., died 1651, aged 92; wrote much on church history, and edited several of the fathers. His works were printed, Paris, 1696, 5 vols. fol. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Possin, born in 1590, and died at Rome near the end of the 17th century; was distinguished as a Hebrew and Greek scholar, and for his editions of the fathers. *Tr.*]

⁵ Labbé of Bourges, died in 1667, aged 60. He was a man of great learning, particularly in church history; but proud and overbearing. *Tr.*

⁶ [Abrams, born 1589, died 1655, was chiefly distinguished for polite learning, and for his comments on Cicero's *Orationes*, and on Virgil. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Harduin, died at Paris in 1729, aged 83. He was a prodigy of learning; but maintained, that most of the Greek and Latin Classics were forgeries of the monks in the middle age. His best work is his *Acts of the Councils*, in 12 vols. fol. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Mabillon was born in 1632, and died at Paris in 1707. He travelled much for literary research, in France, Germany, and Italy; and besides publishing the works of St. Bernard, and the Lives of Sainted Benedictines, (*Acta Sanctorum ordinis Benedicti*), and his *Analecta Veterum*, he composed *Diplomatics*, *Annals of the Benedictines*, and some smaller works. *Tr.*]

⁹ [D'Achery, born 1608, died 1685; collected judiciously, and published numerous unprinted writings, pertaining to ecclesiastical history, in 13 vols. 4to, or (2nd ed.) in 3 vols. fol. entitled *Spicilegium*, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ [Massuet, born 1665, died 1716; published the best edition of Irenæus. *Tr.*]

² [Ruinart, born 1657, died 1709; was associated with Mabillon, and published *Acts of the ancient Martyrs*, the works of Gregory Turonensis, and of Victor Vitensis; and some other works. *Tr.*]

³ [Beaugendre is noted only for the

*Garnier*⁴, *Charles de la Rue*⁵, *Edmund Martene*⁶, *Bernard Montfaucon*⁷, and many others; some of whom have published excellent editions of the Greek and Latin fathers; others have drawn from the obscure shelves of libraries those ancient papers which serve to elucidate the history and antiquities of the church; others have explained the ancient events in church and state, the customs and rites of former times, the chronology of the world, and other parts of polite learning; and others have executed other works worthy to be handed down to posterity. I know not how it happened; but from the time these new stars appeared above the literary horizon, the splendour of Jesuit erudition began gradually to decline. For there is no one disposed to deny that, for a long time past, the Jesuits in vain look around among their order to find an individual that may be compared with the Benedictines; who are constantly pursuing strenuously every branch of literature, and publishing almost every year distinguished monuments of their genius and erudition; nor have the Jesuits for many years published a single work that can compete with the labours of the Benedictines; unless it be the *Acta Sanctorum*, now issuing from their press at Antwerp. The rivals of the Benedictines were the French *Fathers of the Oratory*; many of whom are acknowledged to have laboured successfully in advancing several branches of both human and divine knowledge: which, if there were no other examples, would be manifest from the works of *Charles le Cointe*, author of the imperishable Ecclesiastical Annals of France⁸, and of *John Morin*⁹,

lives of some French bishops, and an edition of the works of *Hildebert*. Tr.]

⁴ [Garnier died 1723, aged 53; noted as editor of the works of St. Basil, 3 vols. fol. Tr.]

⁵ [De la Rue, born 1685, died 1739, an associate of Montfaucon, and editor of the works of Origen, 3 vols. fol. He must not be confounded with the Jesuit of the same name, who was a poet and editor of Virgil, in *Usum Delphini*. Tr.]

⁶ [Martene died 1739, aged 85; he travelled much to explore monasteries and libraries, and published a commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict; on the ancient monastic rites; a *Thesaurus* of unpublished works, in 5 vols. fol. and with Durand, a new *Thesaurus* of the same kind, in 10 vols. fol., and he and Durand were the Benedictine travellers, authors of *Voyage Littéraire de Deux*

Religieux de la Congrégation de S. Maur. Tr.]

⁷ [Montfaucon, born 1655, died 1741, aged 87; a very learned antiquarian, known by his *Analecta Græca*, 4to. *Palæographia Græca*, fol.; the works of Athanasius, 3 vols. fol. Origen's *Hexapla*, 2 vols. fol. Chrysostom's works, 13 vols. fol. *Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, 15 vols. fol. *Monumens de la Monarchie Française*, 5 vols. fol.; a *Collection of the Greek Fathers*, 2 vols. fol. *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, 2 vols. fol.; and some other works. Tr.]

⁸ [Le Cointe, born 1611, died 1681. His *Annales Ecclesiast. Francorum*, in 8 vols. fol. extends from A. D. 235 to A. D. 835. Tr.]

⁹ [Morin, born 1591, educated a protestant, became a catholic, and died at Paris, 1659. He wrote on the Origin of

*Lewis Thomassin*¹, and *Richard Simon*.² Lastly, the Jansenists, or at least those who favoured the sentiments of *Augustine*, published various works, some erudite, and others neatly and methodically composed, very useful both to adults and to the young. Who is such a stranger to the literature of that age as not to have heard of the works of the *Messieurs de Port-Royal*³; and of the very elegant and useful productions of *Tillemont*⁴, *Arnauld*⁵, *Nicole*⁶, *Pascal*⁷, *Lancelot*⁸, and others? The other religious orders, as well as the bishops and inferior clergy, in the Romish church, had also their great men. For it would be strange, if, in such a multitude of men enjoying much leisure and all advantages for study, there should not be some successful scholars. Yet all who acquired fame and merited distinction as learned men and authors, out of those four orders just mentioned, would collectively scarcely form so large a body as any one of those orders alone can exhibit.

§ 32. Hence a copious list might be drawn up of learned men in the Romish church, who live in works, composed with great care

Patriarchs and Primates; on the Samaritan Pentateuch; and published an edition of the *Septuagint*, 2 vols. fol. and the *Samaritan Pentateuch*. There were several distinguished men named Morin. *Tr.*]

¹ [Thomassin, born 1619, died 1695; published a history of religious doctrines, a feeble imitation of Denys Petau's work, in 3 vols. fol. Paris, 1680. Voltaire says he was "a man of profound erudition: and first composed Dialogues on the fathers, on Councils, and on History." *Tr.*]

² [Simon, born 1638, died 1712; a great critic: wrote *Critical History of the Old Test.*; *History of Ecclesiastical Revenues*, 2 vols. 12mo. *Critical Diss. on Du Pin's Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiast.* *Crit. Hist. of the New Test.*, and various other works. *Tr.*]

³ By this title are designated all the Jansenist writers: but especially, and in a stricter sense, those who spent their lives in literary and devotional pursuits, in the retired situation of Port-Royal, not far from Paris. Among these, it is generally known, there were great men who possessed first-rate talents, and were very finished writers.

⁴ [Sebastian le Nain de Tillemont, born at Paris, 1637, died 1698, refused a bishopric, and wrote *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiast. des six pre-*

miers Siècles, Paris, 1693, &c. 16 vols. 4to, and *Histoire des Empereurs et auteurs Princes, jusqu'à l'Empereur Honorius*. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Anthony Arnauld, or Arnaud, was born at Paris, 1612, and died at Liege, 1694. He wrote on grammar, logic, and geometry; and polemic pieces against the Jesuits and the Calvinists on moral subjects; and is supposed to have contributed No. 3. 9. 12, 13, 14, and 15, to the *Provincial Letters*. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Peter Nicole, born 1625, died at Paris, 1695. Besides controversial pieces against the Jesuits, and aiding Arnaud in some works, he wrote *Essais de Moral*, 13 vols. 12mo. *On the Perpetuity of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist*, 3 vols. *Préjugés légitimes contre les Calvinistes*; and translated the *Provincial Letters* into Latin, with large notes, under the fictitious name of William Wendrock. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Blaise Pascal, born at Clermont, 1623, died 1662. Besides his *Pensées*, and some treatises on Mathematics and Nat. Philosophy, he composed the famous *Lettres à un Provincial*. His works were printed in 5 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1799. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Claude Lancelot, born 1616, died 1695; taught Greek and the mathematics at Port-Royal; and had a hand in the school books there published. *Tr.*]

and diligence, although they themselves are dead. Of the monastic families and the priests bound to live according to certain rules, the most distinguished were *Cæsar Baronius*⁹, and *Bellarmino*¹, both cardinals, and both extremely useful to their church, the first by his elaborate *Annals*, and the latter by his controversial writings; also *Nicholas Serrarius*², *Francis Feuardentius*³, *Anthony Possevin*⁴, *James Gretser*⁵, *Francis Combesis*⁶, *Natalis Alexander* (*Alexander Noel*⁷), *Martin Becan*⁸, *James Sirmond*,

⁹ [Baronius, born at Sora, in Naples, 1538, second general of the Italian order of Fathers of the Oratory, confessor to pope Clement VIII., cardinal, and librarian of the Vatican; wrote *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 12 vols. fol. Rome, 1588—1607; was candidate for the papal chair in 1605; and died in 1607. *Tr.*]

¹ [Bellarmino, a Florentine, born in 1542, cardinal in 1599, died in 1621. He wrote *Opus Controversiarum*, 3 vols. fol. *De Potestate summi Pontificis, a Commentary on the Psalms*, and an account of the ecclesiastical writers. He was learned, and a giant reasoner, though in a bad cause. *Tr.*—Robert Bellarmine, or Bellarmino, was born at Monte Pulciano, in Tuscany, and enrolled himself among the Jesuits, in 1560. His importance in Romish controversy of a doctrinal kind, is the same as that of Baronius, in history. His great work is entitled, *Roberti Bellarmini, e Societate Jesu, S. R. E. Cardinalis, Disputationes de Controversiis Christianæ Fidei, adversus hujus temporis Hereticos*. This has been, ever since its publication, the main repository of Romish arguments, but the party which it serves so effectually has never been altogether satisfied with it. Bellarmine's mind was too great for the lower arts of controversy. Hence he states the objections of opponents with a degree of candour that has made some people speak of his *Controversies* as quite as useful for attacking, as for defending, the church of Rome. In defending the papacy too, although he went so far as to disgust a large portion of the Romish world, yet he fell short of the extravagances current at Rome. Hence Sixtus V. condemned his treatise *De Romano Pontifice*, as injurious to the papal see. Another of his controversial works was an attack, under the name of Matthew Tortus, upon James I. of England, of which the drift was, to encourage English Romanists in refusing, or evading, the oaths prescribed by law. This was answered

by Bp. Andrewes. He also wrote a catechism, which became highly popular, but which embodies principles so unfavourable to civil power, that even Maria Theresa suppressed it in her dominions. Bellarmine likewise wrote some ascetic pieces, which have been highly prized among Romanists. He was, indeed, no less exemplary than able, but like other men, with his weaknesses, as all the world saw after his death, when an Autobiography appeared, which showed him to have possessed a degree of vanity, that people at a distance little suspected in him. *Ed.*]

² [Serrarius, of Lorrain, a Jesuit, died at Mayence in 1610, aged 65; a voluminous commentator on the Bible. His works fill 16 vols. fol. *Tr.*]

³ [Feuardent, of Normandy, a Franciscan, born 1541, died 1641; edited Irenæus; wrote and preached, furiously, against the protestants. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Possevin was a Jesuit of Mantua, born 1533, died 1611. He was papal legate to Poland, Sweden, Germany, &c. He wrote *Bibliotheca selecta de Ratione Studiorum*, 2 vols. fol. *Apparatus Sacer*, 2 vols. fol. and some other things. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Gretser, a German Jesuit, born 1561, professor of theology at Ingolstadt; died 1636. He wrote much against the protestants. His works fill 17 vols. fol. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Combesis, a Dominican of Guienne, died 1679. A fine Greek scholar, and editor of several Greek fathers, and of five Greek historians. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Natalis Alexander, a Dominican of Rouen, died in 1724, aged 86. He wrote *Historiæ Eccles. Vet. et Novi Test. selecta Capita*, in 30 vols. 8vo, 8 vols. fol. and 18 vols. 4to, also a *System of Theology*, 2 vols. fol. His *Eccles. History* is candid and learned, but written in a dry and argumentative manner. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Becan, a Jesuit of Brabant, confessor to Ferdinand II., died at Vienna, in 1624. He wrote much against the

*Dionysius Petavius, Peter Possin, Lewis Cellot*⁹, *Nicholas Caussin*¹, *John Morin, Theophilus Raynard* (*Raynaudus*²), *Paul Sarpi*³, *Sfortia Pallavicini*⁴, *Philip Labbé, Lewis Maimbourg*⁵, *Lewis Thomassin, Cœlestine Sfondrati*⁶, *Joseph Aguirre*⁷, *Henry Noris*⁸, *Luke D'Achery, John Mabillon, John Harduin, Richard Simon, Theodore Ruinart, Bernard de Montfaucon, Anthony Gallon*⁹, *Fortunatus Scacchi*¹, *Cornelius a Lapide*², *James Bonfrere*³, *Hugh Menard*⁴, *Claude Seguenot*⁵, *Bernard Lami*⁶, *John Bolland*⁷,

protestants, and a *Sum of Theology*, in French. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Cellot, a Jesuit of Paris, died 1658. He wrote the *History of Gottschalk*, and published the *Opuscula* of Hinemar of Rheims. *Tr.*]

¹ [Caussin, a French Jesuit, died 1651, aged 71. He was confessor to Louis XIII., and wrote *de Sacra et Profana Eloquentia*, and some other things. *Tr.*]

² [Raynard, an Italian Jesuit, died at Lyons, 1663, aged 80. He edited several of the fathers, and wrote *Tables for sacred and profane history*. His works were printed at Lyons, 1665, in 20 vols. fol. *Tr.*

³ [Sarpi, a Venetian monk of the order of Servites, born 1552, died 1623; a celebrated defender of the religious liberties of his country against the pontiff. He wrote a *History of the Council of Trent*, fol., a *History of Benefices*; and various tracts in defence of his country, which fill six vols. 12mo. Venice, 1677. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Pallavicini, a Romish Jesuit and cardinal, born at Rome, 1607, died 1667. He wrote, in Italian, a *History of the Council of Trent*, opposed to that of Sarpi, Rome, 1656, 2 vols. fol. translated into Latin, Antw. 1673, 2 vols. fol.; also a *Treatise on Style*, &c. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Maimbourg, a French Jesuit of Nancy, born 1610, died 1686, noted as a preacher, but more as a historian. His *Histoire du Lutheranisme* was refuted by Seekendorf; his *Hist. du Calvinisme* by Jurieu and by Jo. Bapt. de Rocoles. He also wrote *Histories of Arianism, of the Iconoclasts, of the Crusades, of the schism of the Greeks, of the schism of the West, of the decay of the Empire, of the League, of the pontificate of Leo the Great*. He is a sprightly writer, but a partial historian. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Sfondrati, a Benedictine abbot of St. Gall, and a cardinal, died at Rome,

1696, aged 53. He wrote *Gallia Vincitata*, and *Nodus Prædestinationis dissolutus*, 4to. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Aguirre, a Spanish Benedictine, professor at Salamanca, defended the papal supremacy against the French, was made a cardinal, published *Collectio maxima Conciliorum omnium Hispan. et Novi Orbis*, &c. 6 vols. fol., and died at Rome, 1699, aged 69. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Noris, an Augustinian monk, born at Verona, 1631, of Irish parentage, professor of Eccl. Hist. at Pisa, librarian of the Vatican, a cardinal in 1695, and died at Rome in 1704. He wrote a *Hist. of Pelagianism, History of Investitures*, and various other learned works, printed collectively, Verona, 1729, 1730, 5 vols. fol. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Gallonio, a Romish presbyter of the Oratory, died 1605. He wrote *de Cruciatibus Martyrum*, with plates, 1594, 4to, and some other things. *Tr.*]

¹ [Scacchi was an Italian Augustinian Eremit, who corrected the Romish Martyrology and Breviary, and died in 1640. *Tr.*]

² [a Lapide was a Jesuit of Liege, who wrote *Commentaries on the Bible*. 10 vols. fol. and died at Rome, 1637, aged 71. *Tr.*]

³ [Bonfrere was a Jesuit, professor at Douay, wrote *Commentaries on the Pentateuch, on Scripture names*, &c., and died at Tournay, 1643, aged 70. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Menard was a Benedictine of St. Maur, born at Paris in 1587, and died in 1644. He wrote *Diatribæ de unico Dionysio*, and *Martyrologium ex ordine Benedict.* *Tr.*]

⁵ [Seguenot was a French priest of the Oratory, wrote notes on the French translation of Augustine *de Virginitate*, which excited commotion; and died in 1644. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Lami was also a French priest of the Oratory, born in 1645, and died in 1715. He wrote on geometry, on the

*Godfrey Henschenius*⁸, *Daniel Papebroch*⁹, and many others. Of the other clergy, or those not of any religious order, but *secular clergymen*, as they are called, in distinction from the *regular clergy*, the following acquired distinction and fame by their writings; viz. *James David Perron*¹, *William Est* (*Estius*²), *John Launoi*³, *Gabriel Aubespine* (*Albaspinæus*⁴), *Peter de Marca*⁵, *John Armand Richelieu*⁶, *Luke Holstein*⁷, *Stephen Baluze*⁸, *John Bona*⁹, *Peter Daniel Huet*¹, *James Benignus Bossuet*², *Francis*

sciences, on perspective, on Christian Morality, 5 vols. 12mo. *Apparatus Biblicus*, 4to, de *Tabernaculo*, fol., *Harmonia Evangelica*, 2 vols. 4to, &c. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Bolland, a Jesuit of Tillemout in Flanders, who commenced the *Acta Sanctorum*, of which he published 6 vols. fol., and died in 1665. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Henschen, a Jesuit of Antwerp, continuator of the *Acta Sanctorum*, died 1682. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Papebroch, a Jesuit of Antwerp, also a continuator of the *Acta Sanctorum*, died in 1714. *Tr.*]

¹ [Perron, born a French protestant, 1556, turned catholic, became bishop of Evreux, abp. of Sens, almoner of France, and in 1604, a cardinal. He was very learned and eloquent, and a great reasoner: wrote on the Eucharist, against du Plessis Mornay, &c., and died at Paris in 1618, aged 63. His works fill 3 vols. fol. *Tr.*]

² [Estius, born at Gorcum in Holland, was divinity professor and chancellor of the university of Douay; where he died in 1613, aged 71. He wrote *Commentaries on the Epistles*, 2 vols. fol., Annotations on difficult passages of Scripture, fol., and the martyrdom of Edmund Campian. *Tr.*]

³ [Launoi, a doctor of theology at Paris, born in 1603, and died in 1678. He was a strenuous defender of the liberties of the Gallic church, a strong opposer of legends, and a learned critic. His works were printed at Geneva, in 10 vols. fol. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Aubespine, bishop of Orleans, died 1630, aged 52. He was learned in ecclesiastical antiquities; and commented on the fathers and councils. *Tr.*]

⁵ [De Marca was born at Gart in Béarn, 1594, first studied law, married and became a counsellor, and then theology, was bishop of Conserans, archbishop of Toulouse, and lastly of Paris,

where he died in 1662. This great man wrote a History of Béarn, and de *Concordia Imperii et Sacerdotii*. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Richelieu, born 1585, died 1642, a cardinal, peer, and prime minister; persecuted the French protestants; and wrote a defence of the catholic faith against the protestants; a tract on the best method of confuting heretics; and several other things. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Holstein. See note (4), p. 81. He was a critic and editor, and wrote de *Abassinorum Communionem sub unica specie*; on the *Sacrament of Confirmation among the Greeks*; on the *Nicene Council*, &c. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Baluze, professor of canon law at Paris, died 1718, aged 87. He wrote *Lives of the Popes of Avignon*; and was a noted editor. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Bona, born in Piedmont, 1609, died at Rome, 1674, a cardinal. He wrote *Manuductio ad Cælum*; *Principia Vite Christianæ*; *Via Compendii ad Deum*; de *Sacrificio Missæ*; de *Discretione Spirituum*; de *Rebus Liturgicis*, lib. ii.; de *Divina Psalmodia*; *Testamentum*; and *Horologium Asceticum*. He was a very devout man. *Tr.*]

¹ [Huet, born in Caen, 1630, bishop of Soissons, and of Avranches, died 1721. He was very learned, and wrote de *Interpretatione libri ii. Origeniana*; *Demonstratio Evangelica*; *Censura Philosophiæ Cartesianæ*; *Quæstiones Abetanae de Concordia Rationis et Fidei*; and several other things. *Tr.*]

² [Bossuet, born at Dijon, 1627, bishop of Meaux, counsellor of state, died 1704. This elegant writer composed a *Discourse on universal History*; *History of the Variations among Protestant Churches*; *Funeral Orations*; *Exposition of the Catholic Faith*; *Disputes with Fenelon*, &c., collected, Paris, 1743, in 12 vols. 4to. *Tr.*]

Fenelon³, Anthony Godeau⁴, Sebastian le Nain de Tillemont, John Baptist Thiers⁵, Lewis Ellies du Pin⁶, Leo Allatius⁷, Lawrence Alexander Zaccagni⁸, John Baptist Cotelier⁹, John Filesac¹, Joseph Visconti², and others.³ This list might be greatly enlarged by adding the names of such laymen, either in private or public life, as did service to sacred and secular learning.

§ 33. That the public religion of the Romish church, both as to articles of faith and rules of practice, was not purified in this century, and conformed to the only standard, the sacred Scriptures, but was, in many places, corrupted and deformed, either by the negligence of the popes, or the zeal of the Jesuits, is the complaint, not so much of those opposed to this church, or those called *heretics*, as of all those members of it who favour solid and correct knowledge of religion and genuine piety. As to doctrines of faith, it is said that the Jesuits, with the connivance, nay, frequently with the assistance of the Romish prelates, entirely subverted such of the first principles of Christianity as the council of Trent had left untouched: for they

³ [Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, born 1651, died 1715. He wrote *Explication des Maximes des Saints sur la Vie intérieure*, in which he supported the views of Madam Guyon, and thus involved himself in controversy with Bossuet, and incurred censure from the pope; also *Telemachus*; *Dialogues of the Dead*; *Dialogues on Eloquence*; *Demonstration of the Existence of God*; *Spiritual Works*; and many other pieces; in all, 10 vols. 8vo. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Godeau, born at Dreux, 1605, died 1671, bishop of Venice. He wrote some commentaries on the Scriptures, and an *Eccles. Hist.* 3 vols. fol. 1653. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Thiers, born at Chartres, 1641, died 1703; professor of *Belles Lettres* at Paris; and then curate of Vivray in the diocese of Le Mans. He wrote on Superstitions; concerning the Sacraments; on Fast days; History of Perukes; the Crucifixion of St. Francis, &c. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Du Pin, a doctor of the Sorbonne, born at Paris, 1657, died there, 1719, aged 62. He wrote *Bibliothèque Universelle des Auteurs Ecclésiast.* in 19 vols. 4to, down to A. D. 1600. *Prolegomena to the Bible*; *Notes on the Psalms and the Pentateuch*; *de Antiqua Ecclesia Disciplina*; *a Method of studying Divinity*; and edited the works of Optatus Milevit. and of Gerson. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Allatius or Allazzi, born at Scio in the Ægean sea, educated at Rome, teacher in the Greek college there, librarian of the Vatican, died at Rome, 1669, aged 83. Besides editing various Greek works, he wrote *de Perpetua Consensione Ecclesie Gr. et Lat.*, and some other works. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Zaccagni, keeper of the Vatican library, died at Rome in 1712. He published *Collectanea Monumentor. vet. Ecclesie, Gr. et Lat.* 1698. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Cotelier, born at Nismes, 1627, died at Paris, 1686, aged 59. He was professor of Greek at Paris, and published the *Patres Apostolici*, 1672, 2 vols. fol. and *Monumenta Eccles. Græcæ*, 3 vols. fol. *Tr.*]

¹ [Filesac, doctor of the Sorbonne, and dean of the Faculty of theology at Paris, died in 1638. His works were printed in 1621, 3 vols. 4to. The best is *Notes on Vincentius Lirinensis.* *Tr.*]

² [Visconti, or Vicecomes, professor of eccles. antiquities at Milan. He wrote *de Antiquis Baptismi Ritibus*; and *de Ritibus Confirmationis et Missæ.* *Tr.*]

³ Whoever wishes to know more of the merits of these writers, may consult, besides the common authors of literary history, Du Pin's volumes concerning the ecclesiastical writers, vols. 17, 18, 19.

lowered the dignity and utility of the Sacred Scriptures, extolled immoderately the power of man to do good, extenuated the efficacy and necessity of divine grace, detracted from the greatness of Christ's merits, almost equalled the Roman pontiff to our Saviour, and converted him into a terrestrial deity, and, in fine, brought the truth of Christianity itself into immense danger by their fallacious and sophistical reasonings. It is difficult to gainsay the abundant testimony by which the gravest men, particularly among the Jansenists, support these accusations. It is easy, however, to show that the Jesuits were not inventors of the doctrines which they inculcated, but in reality taught and explained that old form of the Romish religion, which was every where taught before *Luther's* time, and by which the authority, wealth, and power of the pontiffs and of the church had grown, during many centuries, to their immense height. The Jesuits would teach otherwise if the pontiffs wished them to use all their efforts to render the church more holy and more like Christ; but they cannot teach otherwise, so long as they are instructed to make it their first care that the pontiffs may hold what they have gotten, and recover what they have lost, and that the prelates and ministers of the church may continually become more rich and more powerful. If the Jesuits committed any error in this matter, it consisted wholly in this, that they explained more clearly and lucidly what the fathers at Trent either left imperfectly explained, or wholly passed over, lest they should shock the minds of the persons of better sentiments who attended that celebrated convention. Hence also the pontiffs, though pressed by the strongest arguments and exhortations, could never be persuaded to pass any severe censures upon the religious sentiments of the Jesuits; and, on the other hand, they have resisted, sometimes secretly, and sometimes openly, such as opposed their doctrines with more than ordinary spirit and energy; looking upon them as indiscreet persons, who either did not, or would not, know what the interests of the church required.

§ 34. That the Jesuits did not so much corrupt and vitiate the doctrine of morals in nearly all its parts as *destroy* morality altogether, is the public complaint of innumerable writers of every class and of societies of men in the Romish church. Nor does their complaint seem groundless, since they adduce from the books of the Jesuits, professedly treating of the right mode

of living, and especially from the writings of those called *Casualists*, many principles which are opposed to all virtue and honesty. In particular, they show that these men teach the following doctrines: That a bad man, who is an entire stranger to the love of God, provided he feels some fear of the divine wrath, and from dread of punishment avoids grosser crimes, is a fit candidate for eternal salvation: That men may sin, with safety, provided they have a probable reason for the sin; *i. e.* some argument or authority in favour of it: That actions in themselves wrong, and contrary to the divine law, are allowable, provided a person can control his own mind, and in his thoughts connect a good *end* with the criminal deed; or as they express it, knows how to *direct his intention aright*: That *philosophical sins*, that is, actions which are contrary to the law of nature and to right reason, in a person ignorant of the written law of God, or dubious as to its true meaning, are light offences, and do not deserve the punishments of hell: That the deeds which a man commits, when wholly blinded by his lusts and the paroxysms of passion, and destitute of all sense of religion, though they be of the vilest and most execrable character, can by no means be charged to his account in the judgment of God, because such a man is like a mad man: That it is right for a man when taking an oath, or forming a contract, in order to deceive the judge and subvert the validity of the covenant or oath, tacitly to add something to the words of the compact or the oath: and other sentiments of the like nature.⁴ These and

⁴ One might make up a whole library of books, exposing and censuring the corrupt moral principles of the Jesuits. The best work on the subject is the very elegant and ingenious production of Blaise Pascal, entitled: *Les Provinciales, ou Lettres écrites par Louis de Montalté à un Provincial de ses amis, et aux Jésuites, sur la Morale et la Politique de ces Pères*, 2 tom. 8vo. Peter Nicole, under the fictitious name of William Wendrock, added to it learned and judicious notes, in which he copiously demonstrates the truth of what Pascal had stated either summarily or without giving authorities. It was also translated into Latin, by Samuel Rachels. [An English translation of the *Provincial Letters* was published in 1828, by J. Leavitt, New York, and Crocker and Brewster, Boston, 319 pages, 12mo. *Tr.*] Against this terrible adversary, the Jesuits sent

forth their best geniuses, and among others, the very eloquent and acute Gabriel Daniel, the celebrated author of the History of France; and also caused Pascal's book to be publicly burnt at Paris. See Daniel's *Opuscula*, vol. i. p. 363; who himself admits, that most of the answers to the book, by the Jesuits, were unsatisfactory. But whether Pascal prevailed by the force and solidity of his arguments, or by the sweetness and elegance of his style and satire, it is certain that all these answers detracted very little from the reputation of his Letters; and edition after edition of them continued to be published. Less attractive in form, but more solid from the multitude of testimonies and citations from the approved Jesuitical writers, was *La Morale des Jésuites extraite fidèlement de leurs Livres imprimés avec la permission et l'approbation des Su-*

other doctrines, not only the Dominicans and Jansenists, but also the divines of Paris, Poitiers, Louvain, and others in great numbers so pointedly reprobated in public, that *Alexander VII.* thought it advisable to condemn a part of them in his decree of the 21st of August, 1659; and *Alexander VIII.*, on the 24th of August, 1690, condemned particularly the philosophical sin of the Jesuits.⁵ But these numerous and respectable decisions and decrees against the moral principles of the Jesuits, if we may believe the common voice of learned and pious men, were more efficacious in restraining the horrid licentiousness of the writers of this society, than in purging their schools of these abominable principles. Nor does general opinion assign any other reason, why kings, nobles, and so many people of every rank and sex, prefer Jesuits for the care of their souls, than because they hear precepts from them which extenuate sins, pamper wicked lusts, and open a most accommodating way to heaven.⁶

périeurs de leur Compagnie, par un Docteur de Sorbonne; in 3 vols. 8vo, Mons, 1702. This book also (which was written by Perault, brother of Charles Perault, who began the famous dispute, whether the moderns were inferior or superior to the ancients,) was burnt at Paris in 1670, through the instigation of the Jesuits. *Œuvres du P. Daniel*, tom. i. p. 356, &c. And there was good reason: for whoever shall read this book, will there see all the faults that were charged upon the Jesuitical writers on morals. That the Jesuits actually put their moral principles in practice, especially in foreign and remote countries, Anthony Arnauld, with his Jansenist associates, undertook to prove, in an elaborate work, entitled, *La Morale Pratique des Jésuites*; which gradually appeared, during the last century, in 8 volumes; and when copies of it became scarce, it was republished, Amsterdam, 1742, 8 vols. 8vo, with numerous additional proofs of the charges against the Jesuits. Respecting philosophical sin, in particular, and the commotions that arose from it, see James Hyacinth Serry, (or rather Augustus le Blanc,) in his *Addenda ad Historiam Congregationum de auxiliis*, p. 82, &c., and in his *Auctarium to these Addenda*, p. 289, &c.

⁵ The history of the commotions in France, and in other places, arising from these opinions of the Jesuits respecting

morality, was neatly drawn up by the writer of the *Catéchisme Historique et Dogmatique sur les Contestations qui divisent maintenant l'Eglise*; 1730, 8vo, vol. ii. p. 26, &c. The *Bulls* here mentioned are sought for in vain in the *Bullarium Pontificum*. But the care of the Dominicans and Jansenists to preserve every thing disreputable to Jesuits, would not suffer them to be lost.

⁶ What is here said of the very gross errors of the Jesuits, should not be understood to imply, that all the members of this society cherish these opinions, or that the public schools of the order echo with them. For this fraternity embraces very many persons, who are both learned and ingenuous, and by no means bad men. Nor would it be difficult to fill several volumes with citations from the writings of Jesuits, in which a much purer virtue and piety are taught, than that black and deformed system, which Pascal and the others present to us from the Casuists, Summists, and Moralists of this order. Those who accuse the Jesuits as a body, if candid, can mean only, that the leaders of the society both permit such impious sentiments to be publicly set forth by individuals, and give their approbation and countenance to the books in which such sentiments are taught; that the system of religion which is taught here and there in their schools, is so lax an

§ 35. The holy Scriptures were so far from receiving an increase of reverence and authority from the pontiffs, that on the contrary, in most countries, the friends of the papal cause, and especially the Jesuits, as appears from the best evidence, took great pains to prevent them from coming into the hands of the people, and from being interpreted otherwise than as the convenience of the church required. Among the French and the Belgians there were some who might not improperly be denominated learned and intelligent expositors: but the majority of those who pretended to expound the sacred writings, rather obscured and darkened the divine oracles by their comments, than elucidated them. And in this class must be placed even the Jansenists; who, though they treated the Bible with more respect than others of their church, yet strangely adulterated the word of God by the frigid allegories and recondite expositions of the ancient doctors.⁷ Yet we ought to except *Paschasius Quesnel*, one of the fathers of the Oratory, who published the *New Testament* illustrated with pious meditations and observations, which has in our day been the prolific cause of so many disputes, commotions, and divisions.⁸

disjointed, that it easily leads men to such pernicious conclusions; and, finally, that the small select number, who are initiated in the greater mysteries of the order, and who are employed in public stations and in guiding the minds of the great, commonly make use of such principles to advance the interests and augment the wealth of the society. I would also acknowledge, since ingenuousness is the prime virtue of a historian, that in exaggerating the turpitude of some Jesuitical opinions, some of their adversaries have been over-eloquent and vehement; as might easily be shown, if there were opportunity, in regard to the doctrines of *probability*, *mental reservation* in oaths, and some others. For in this, as in most other disputes and controversies respecting either sacred or secular subjects, the accused were charged with the consequences which their accusers deduced from their declarations, their words were made to express more than they intended, and the limitations they contemplated to their opinions, were overlooked.

⁷ Very well known, even among us, is the Bible of Isaac le Maitre, commonly called Sacy; which comprehends nearly

every thing with which the heated imaginations of the ancient doctors figured the simplest narrations and the clearest statements of the sacred volume. [It is also called the Translation of Mons, because it was first printed there in 1665. It was commenced by Sacy, a very zealous Jansenist, who died in 1664, and completed by Thomas du Fossé. It is founded on the Vulgate; yet here and there deviates from it. The archbishop of Paris, Perefex, soon after it appeared, in 1667, published a severe circular, forbidding it to be read. The same thing was done by Ge. Aubusson, bishop of Embrun: the Jesuits also did not remain idle: and at last, in 1668, Clement IX. condemned it, as a perverse and dangerous translation, that deviated from the Vulgate, and was a stone of stumbling to the simple. This censure it by no means merited: and even Mosheim's censure is applicable only to the notes, which are taken chiefly from the fathers, and are very mystical. *Schl.*]

⁸ The first part, containing notes on the four Gospels, was published in 1671; and being received with great applause, it was republished, enlarged, and amend-

§ 36. Nearly all the schools retained the old method of teaching theology; which was dry, thorny, and by no means suited to men of liberal minds. Not even the decrees of the pontiffs could bring *dogmatic* or *biblical theology* to be in equal estimation with *scholastic*. For in most of the chairs the *scholastic* doctors were fixed; and they perplexed and depressed the *biblical* divines, who were generally not well acquainted with the arts of wrangling. The *mystics* were wholly excluded from the schools; and, unless they were very cautious and submissive to the church, could scarcely escape the brand of heresy. Yet many of the French, and among them the followers of *Jansenius* especially, explained the principal doctrines of Christianity in a neat and lucid style. In like manner, nearly all that was written judiciously and elegantly, respecting piety and morality, came from the pens either of the *Messieurs de Port-Royal*, as the Jansenists were usually called, or from the French *Fathers of the Oratory*. Of the change in the manner of conducting theological controversies, we have already spoken. The Germans, the Belgians, and the French, having learned to their disadvantage that the angry, loose, and captious mode of disputing, which their fathers pursued, rather confirmed than weakened the faith and resolution of dissentients; and that the arguments on which their doctors formerly placed much reliance had lost nearly all their force; thought it necessary for them to look round for new methods of warfare, and such as had a greater appearance of wisdom.

§ 37. The minor controversies of the schools and of the religious orders which divide the Romish church we shall pass over: for the pontiffs, for the most part, disregard them; or if at any time they become too violent, they are easily suppressed with a nod or a mandate: neither are these skirmishes, which perpetually exist, of such a nature as seriously to endanger the welfare of the church. It will be sufficient to recite briefly those controversies which affected seriously the whole church. Among these, the first place is due to the contests between

ed, together with notes on the other books of the New Testament. See *Catéchisme Historique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. p. 150. Christ. Eberh. Weismann's *Historia Eccles. sæcul. xvii.* p. 588, &c. and numerous others. [Quessel, in his translation, followed that of

Sacy; though, to avoid all offence, he kept closer to the Vulgate. Most of the notes relate entirely to practical religion. The contests produced by the work belong to the history of the eighteenth century. *Schl.*]

the Dominicans and the Jesuits respecting the nature of divine grace and its necessity to salvation; the cognizance of which *Clement VIII.*, at the close of the preceding century, had committed to some select theologians.⁹ These after some years of consultation and attention to the arguments of the parties, signified to the pontiff, not obscurely, that the doctrines of the Dominicans respecting grace, predestination, man's ability to do good, and the inherent corruption of our nature, were nearer to the sense of holy Scripture, and of the ancient doctors, than the opinions of *Molina*, whom the Jesuits supported: that the tendency of the former was towards the principles laid down by *Augustine*, that of the latter towards the reprobated positions of *Pelagius*. Wherefore, in the year 1601, *Clement* seemed ready to pronounce sentence against the Jesuits, and in favour of the Dominicans. The Jesuits, however, perceiving their cause to be in such imminent peril, so besieged the aged pontiff, sometimes with threats, sometimes with complaints, and at others with arguments, that in the year 1602 he resolved to give the whole of this knotty controversy a rehearing, and to assume to himself the office of presiding judge. The pontiff accordingly presided over this trial during three years, or from the 20th of March, 1602, till the 22nd of January, 1605, having for assessors fifteen cardinals, nine theologians, and five bishops; and he held seventy-eight sessions, or *Congregations*, as they are denominated at Rome¹; in which he patiently listened to the arguments of the Jesuits and the Dominicans, and caused their arguments to be carefully weighed and examined. To what results he came is uncertain; for he was cut off by death on the 4th of March 1605, when just ready to pronounce sentence. If we may believe the Dominicans, he was prepared to condemn *Molina* in a public decree; but if we believe the Jesuits, he would have acquitted him of all error. Which of them is to be believed, no one can determine, without inspecting the records of the trial, which are kept carefully concealed at Rome.

§ 38. *Paul V.*, the successor of *Clement*, ordered the judges, in the month of September, 1605, to resume their inquiries and deliberations, which had been suspended. They obeyed

⁹ [See the preceding century, sect. iii. ch. i. § 40, 41, p. 284, 285, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ [*Congregationes de Auxiliis, sc. gratia* in the Romish style. *Tr.*]

his mandate, and had frequent discussions, until the month of March in the next year; debating, not so much on the merits of the question, which had been sufficiently examined, as on the mode of terminating the contest. For it was debated whether it would be for the interests of the church to have this dispute decided by a public decree of the pontiff: and if it were, then what should be the form and phraseology of the decree. The issue of this protracted business was, that the whole contest came to nothing, as is frequent at Rome, or, that it was decided neither way, but each party was left free to retain its own sentiments. The Dominicans maintain that *Paul V.*, and the theologians to whom he committed the investigation, equally with *Clement* before him, perceived the holiness and justice of *their* cause; and they tell us, a severe decree against the doctrines of the Jesuits was actually drawn up, and sealed by his order; but that the unhappy war with the Venetians, which broke out at that time, and of which we have already given an account, prevented the publication of the decree. On the contrary, the Jesuits contend, that all this is false; and that the pontiff, with the wisest of the theologians, after examining the whole cause, judged the sentiments of *Molina* to contain nothing which much needed correction. It is far more probable that *Paul* was deterred from passing sentence by fear of the kings of France and Spain; of whom the former patronized the cause of the Jesuits, and the latter that of the Dominicans. And if he had published a decision, it would undoubtedly have been not unlike those usually promulgated at Rome, that is, ambiguous, and not wholly adverse to either of the contending parties.²

² The writers already quoted on this subject, may be consulted here. Also Jo. le Clerc, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Controverses dans l'Eglise Romaine sur la Prédestination et sur la Grâce*; in the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*, tom. xiv. p. 234, &c. The conduct both of the Jesuits and the Dominicans, after this controversy was put to rest, affords grounds for a suspicion, that both parties were privately admonished by the pontiff, to temper and regulate in some measure their respective doctrines, so that the former might no longer be taxed with Pelagianism, nor the latter with coinciding with the

Calvinists. For Claudius Aquaviva, the general of the order of Jesuits, in a circular letter addressed to the whole fraternity, Dec. 14th, 1613, very cautiously modifies the doctrine of *Molina*, and commands his brethren to teach every where, that God gratuitously, and without any regard to their merits, from all eternity, elected those to salvation whom He wished to be partakers of it; yet they must so teach this, as by no means to give up what the Jesuits had maintained in their disputes with the Dominicans, respecting the nature of divine grace: and these two things, which seem to clash with each other, he

§ 39. The wounds which seemed thus healed, were again torn open, to the great damage of the Roman catholic interest, when the book of *Cornelius Jansenius*, bishop of Ypres in the Netherlands, was published after his death, in 1640, under the title of *Augustinus*.³ In this book, (the author of which is allowed even by the Jesuits to have been a learned and grave man, and apparently at least devout,) the opinions of *Augustine* respecting the native depravity of man and the nature and influence of that grace, by which alone this depravity can be cured, are stated and explained; and, for the most part, in the very words of *Augustine*. For it was not the object of *Jansenius*, as

thinks may be conveniently reconciled, by means of that divine knowledge, which is called *scientia media*, [foreknowledge of the free actions of men.] See *Catéchisme Historique sur les Dissensions de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 207. On the contrary, the Dominicans, though holding substantially the same sentiments as before this controversy arose, yet greatly obscure and disfigure their sentiments, by using words and distinctions borrowed from the schools of the Jesuits; so that not even a Jesuit can now tax them with having the mark of Calvinism. They are also much more slow to oppose the Jesuits; recollecting, doubtless, their former perils, and their immense labours undertaken in vain. This change of conduct, the Jansenists severely charge upon them, as being a manifest and great defection from divine truth. See Blaise Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales*, tom. i. letr. ii. p. 27, &c. Yet their ill-will against the Jesuits is by no means laid aside: nor can the Dominicans (among whom many are greatly dissatisfied with the cautious prudence of their order,) easily keep themselves quiet, whenever a good opportunity occurs for exercising their resentments. With the Dominicans, in this cause at least, the Augustinians are in harmony: (for the opinions of St. Thomas, in respect to grace, do not much differ from those of Augustine:] and the most learned man they have, Henry Noris, (in his *Vindicie Augustiniane*, cap. iv. *Opp.* tom. i. p. 1175,) laments that he is not at liberty, in consequence of the pope's decree, to let the world know what was transacted in the *Congregationes de Auxiliis*, against Molina and the Jesuits, and in favour of Augustine. He says: "Quando, recentiori Romano decreto id vetitum est,

cum dispendio causæ, quam defendo, necessariam defensionem omitto."

³ For an account of this famous man, see Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tom. ii. p. 1529. Melchior Leydecker, *de Vita et Morte Jansenii*, libri iii. constituting the first part of his *Historia Jansenismi*, published at Utrecht, 1695, 8vo. *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*, tom. i. p. 120, &c. and many others. This celebrated work, which gave a mortal wound to the Romish community, which all the power and all the sagacity of the vicar of Jesus Christ were unable to heal, is divided into three parts. The first is historical, and narrates the origination of the Pelagian contests in the fifth century: the second investigates and explains the doctrine of Augustine, concerning the state and powers of human nature, before the fall, as fallen, and as renewed. The third traces out his opinions concerning the assistance of Christ by his renewing grace, and the predestination of men and angels. The language is sufficiently clear and perspicuous, but not so correct as it should be. [Jansenius was born at a village near Leerdam, in Flanders, A.D. 1585, educated at Louvain, where he became principal of the college of St. Pulcheria, doctor of theology in 1617, and professor in ordinary. He was twice sent by the university of Louvain to the Spanish court, to manage their affairs. His political work against France, entitled *Mars Gallicus*, procured him favour at the court of Spain, and he was appointed bishop of Ypres in 1635. He died in 1638, of a contagion, taken by visiting his flock labouring under it. His *Augustinus*, in 3 vols. fol. cost him 20 years' labour. He also wrote against the protestants. *Tr.*]

he tells us himself, to show what ought to be believed on these subjects, but merely what *Augustine* believed.⁴ But, as the doctrine of *Augustine* (which differed little from that of *St. Thomas* [*Aquinas*], which was embraced by the Dominicans,) was accounted almost sacred and divine, in the Romish church, on account of the high character and merits of the author of it; and, at the same time, was almost diametrically opposite to the common sentiments of the Jesuits; this work of *Jansenius* could not but appear to them as a silent although a most effectual confutation of their sentiments. Hence, they not only attacked it with their own writings, but also instigated the pontiff, *Urban VIII.*, to condemn it. Nor were their efforts unsuccessful. First, the inquisitors at Rome, in 1641, prohibited the reading of it; and then, in 1642, *Urban* himself, in a public decree, pronounced it contaminated with several errors long since rejected by the church.

§ 40. The Jesuits and the Romish edicts were opposed by the doctors of Louvain, and by the other admirers of *Augustine*, who were always very numerous in the Low Countries. Hence there arose an extremely embarrassing, and, to the Belgic provinces, a most mischievous controversy.⁵ It had scarcely commenced when it spread into the neighbouring France; where *John du Verger de Hauranne*, abbot of *St. Cyran* or *Sigeran*, an intimate friend of *Jansenius*, a man of an accomplished and elegant mind, and no less respected for the purity of his morals and the sanctity of his life than for his erudition, had already inspired great numbers with attachment to *Augustine* and hatred of the Jesuits.⁶ The greatest part of the learned in this most

⁴ [Thus *Jansenius*, in his *Augustinus*, tom. ii. Introductory Book, cap. xxix. p. 65, says: "Non ego hic de nova aliqua sententia reperienda disputo — sed de antiqua Augustini. — Queritur, non quid de naturæ humanæ statibus et viribus, vel de Dei gratia et prædestinatione sentiendum sit: sed quid Augustinus olim ecclesiæ nomine et applausu — tradiderit, prædicaverit, scriptoque multipliciter consignaverit."]

⁵ [The principal adherents to *Jansenius* in the Netherlands, were James Boonen, the archbishop of Mechlin; Libertus Fromond, a pupil, friend, and successor of *Jansenius*, in the professorial chair at Louvain; and Henry

Calen, a canon of Mechlin, and arch-priest of Brussels. *Schl.*]

⁶ He is esteemed by all the *Jansenists*, as highly as *Jansenius* himself; and he is said to have aided *Jansenius* in composing his *Augustinus*. The French especially, who are partial to the doctrines of *Augustine*, reverence him as a father and an oracle, and extol him above *Jansenius* himself. His life and history have been duly written by Claude Lancelot, *Mémoires touchant la Vie de M. S. Cyran*; published at Cologne, (or rather at Utrecht,) 1738, 2 vols. 8vo. Add the *Recueil de plusieurs Pièces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, p. 1—150. Utrecht, 1740, 8vo.

flourishing kingdom had connected themselves with the Jesuits : because their doctrines were more grateful to human nature, and better accorded with the nature of the Romish religion and the interests of that church, than the Augustinian principles. But the opposite party embraced, besides some bishops of high reputation for piety, the men of the best and most cultivated minds almost throughout France ; *Anthony Arnauld, Peter Nicole, Blaise Pascal, Pascal Quesnel*, and the numerous other famous and excellent men, who are denominated the *Port-Royal authors* ; likewise a great number of those who looked on the vulgar piety of the Romish church, which is confined to the confession of sins, frequent attendance on the Lord's Supper, and some external works, as far short of what Christ requires of his followers ; and who believed that the soul of a Christian, who would be accounted truly pious, ought to be full of genuine faith and love to God. Thus, as the one party had the advantage of numbers and power, and the other that of talent and pious fervour, it is not difficult to understand why this controversy is still kept up, although it is now a whole century since its commencement.⁷

§ 41. The attentive reader of this protracted contest will be amused to see the artifices and stratagems with which the one party conducted their attack, and the other their defence. The Jesuits came forth, armed with decrees of the pontiff, mandates

Arnaud d'Andilly, *Mémoires au sujet de l'Abbé de S. Cyran* ; printed in the *Vies des Religieuses de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 15—44. Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. ii. [p. 531, artic. Garasse, note D. *Tr.*] *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*, tom. i. p. 133, &c. See also, respecting his early studies, Gabriel Liron, *Singularités Histor. et Littér.* tom. iv. p. 507, &c. [Jo. Verger de Hauranne was born at Bayonne, in 1581, became abbot of St. Cyran in 1620, was thrown into prison by Richelieu in 1638, released in 1643, and died the same year, aged 62. He held much the same sentiments with Jansenius and spread them extensively by conversation. His works are : *Somme des Fautes*, &c. de Garasse, (a Jesuit writer,) 3 vols. 4to : *Spiritual Letters*, 2 vols. 4to : *Apology for Roche-Posay*, &c., and *Question Royale*. *Tr.*]

⁷ The history of this controversy is to be found entire, or in part, in a great number of books. The following may

supersede all the rest : Gabriel Gerberon, *Histoire Générale du Jansénisme*, Amsterd. 1700, 3 vols. 8vo, and Lyons, 1708, 5 vols. 12mo. The Abbé du Mas, (a senator of Paris, who died 1722,) *Histoire des cinq Propositions de Jansenius*, Liege, 1694, 8vo. Du Mas favours the Jesuits ; Gerberon favours the Jansenists. Michael Leydecker, *Historia Jansenismi Libri vi.* Utrecht, 1695, 8vo. Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* tom. ii. p. 264, &c. Many books on this subject, by both parties, are mentioned in the *Bibliothèque Janséniste, ou Catalogue Alphabétique des principaux Livres Jansénistes*, published in 1735, 8vo, and said to be the work of Dominic Colonia, a learned Jesuit. See *Recueil des Pièces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, p. 325, &c. But as already remarked, this book, much enlarged, appeared under the title of *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*, Antw. 1752, 4 vols. 8vo.

of the king, the most odious comparisons, the support of great men, the good-will of most of the bishops, and, lastly, force and bayonets. The Jansenists enervated those decrees and mandates by the most subtle distinctions and interpretations, nay, by the same sophistry which they condemned in the Jesuits; odious comparisons they destroyed by other comparisons equally odious: to the menaces of great men and bishops they opposed the favour of the multitude; and physical force they vanquished by divine power, that is, by the miracles of which they boasted. Perceiving that their adversaries were not to be overcome by the soundest arguments and proofs, they endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the pontiffs, and of the people at large, by their meritorious and splendid deeds, and by their great industry. Hence they attacked spiritedly those enemies of the church, the protestants, and endeavoured to circumvent them with contrivances and sophisms that were entirely new: applied themselves to the education of youth of all classes, and imbued them with the elements of the liberal arts and sciences; they composed very neat and elegant treatises on grammar, philosophy, and the other branches of learning; they gained a hold upon the highest, the middle, the lowest walks of life, by devotional and practical treatises composed in the most elegant manner; they hit upon a style, pure, easy, agreeable, and translated with uncommon skill not a few of the ancient writers: and lastly, they sought to persuade, and actually did persuade, very many to believe that God himself espoused their cause, and had, by many prodigies and miracles, placed the truth of the Augustinian doctrine beyond all controversy.⁸ As all these things have great

⁸ That the Jansenists or Augustinians have long resorted to miracles, in support of their cause, is very well known. And they themselves confess, that they have been saved from ruin, when nearly in despair, by means of miracles. See *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 256, tom. ii. p. 107. The first of these miracles were those said to have been performed, in the convent of Port-Royal, from the year 1656, onwards, in the cure of several afflicted persons, by means of a thorn from that crown, which the Roman soldiers placed on the head of our most holy Saviour. See *Recueil de plusieurs Pièces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, p. 228. 448.

Fontaine, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, tom. ii. p. 131, &c. Other miracles followed in the year 1661. *Vies des Religieuses de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 192; and in the year 1664; *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tom. iii. p. 252. The fame of these miracles was great, and very useful to the Augustinians, in the seventeenth century; but at present, it is quite hushed. In our age, therefore, when hard pressed, they have resisted the fury of their enemies by new and more numerous prodigies. If we may believe them, the first occurred on the 31st of May, 1725, in the person of a certain woman named de la Fosse; who was suddenly cured of a bloody flux,

fluence with mankind, they often rendered the victory of the Jesuits quite dubious; and perhaps the Jansenists would have triumphed if the cause of the Jesuits had not been the cause of the church; the safety of which depends, in a great measure, on those opinions which the Jesuits approve.

§ 42. Various circumstances lead to the conclusion that *Urban VIII.*, and afterwards *Innocent X.*, were desirous of suppressing these dangerous commotions in their commencement; as the former pontiffs had wisely suppressed the contests between *Baius* and the Dominicans. But they were unable to do it in consequence of the highly excitable and fervid tempers of the French. The adversaries of the Augustinian doctrines extracted from the work of *Jansenius* five propositions which were thought to be the worst; and instigated especially by the Jesuits, they never ceased from urging *Innocent* to condemn them. A large part of the French clergy most earnestly resisted such a measure by representatives whom they sent to Rome, and wisely suggested that it was of the first importance to distinguish the different constructions that might be put upon those propositions, since they were ambiguous, and would admit of a true as well as a false interpretation. But *Innocent X.*, overcome by the incessant and importunate clamours of the Jesuits, without maturely considering the case, hastily condemned those propositions in a public edict, dated May 31st, 1653.

when she had supplicated relief, from a host carried by a priest of the Jansenist sect. Two years afterwards, in 1727, the tomb of Gerhard Rousse, a canon of Avignon, was ennobled by very splendid miracles. Lastly, in the year 1731, the bones of Francis de Paris [commonly called the Abbé de Paris], which were interred at St. Medard, were famed for numberless miracles: and what warm disputes there have been, and still are, respecting these, every one knows. It is also said, that Paschasius Quesnel, Levier, Desangins, and Tournus, those great ornaments of the sect, have often afforded relief to the sick, who relied on their merits and intercession. See, *Jésus Christ sous l'Anathème et sous l'Excommunication*; a celebrated Jansenist book, written against the *Bull Unigenitus*, art. xvii. p. 61, art. xviii. p. 66, ed. Utrecht. A great part of the Jansenists contend for the reality of these

miracles, with good faith: for this sect abounds with persons who are by no means corrupt, but whose piety is unenlightened, and to whom the truth and divinity of their cause appear so manifest, that they readily believe it cannot possibly be neglected by the Deity. But it is incredible that so many persons of distinguished penetration, as formerly were, and still are, followers of this sect, should not know that the powers of nature, or the operation of medicines, or the influence of the imagination, accomplished these cures, which deceivers, or men blinded by party zeal, have ascribed to the almighty power of God. Such persons, therefore, must be of the opinion, that it is lawful to promote a holy and righteous cause, by means of deceptions, and to take advantage of the misapprehensions of the multitude, in order to confirm the truth.

The substance of the *first* proposition was : That there are some commands of God, which righteous and good men are absolutely unable to obey, though disposed to do it ; and that God does not give them so much grace that they are able to observe them. — *Secondly* : That no person in this corrupt state of nature *can* resist divine grace operating upon the mind. — *Thirdly* : That in order to earn praise or blame before God, a man has no occasion to be exempt from *necessity*, but only from *coercion*. — *Fourthly* : That the Semi-Pelagians erred greatly by supposing that the human will has the power both of admitting and of rejecting the operations of internal preventing grace. — *Fifthly* : That whoever affirms that Jesus Christ made expiation by his sufferings and death for the sins of *all* mankind, is a Semi-Pelagian. — The first four of these propositions *Innocent* pronounced to be directly heretical ; but the fifth, he declared to be only rash, irreligious, and injurious to God.⁹

§ 43. This sentence of the supreme ecclesiastical judge was indeed painful and perplexing to the friends of *Jansenius*, and grateful and agreeable to their enemies ; yet it did not fully satisfy, the latter nor entirely dishearten the former. For *Jansenius* himself had escaped condemnation ; the pontiff not having declared that the heretical propositions were to be found in his *Augustinus* in that sense in which they were condemned. The *Augustinians*, therefore, under the guidance of the very acute *Anthony Arnauld*, distinguished in this controversy between the *point of law* and the *point of fact* ; (*questionem juris* and *questionem facti* ;) that is, they maintained that we ought to believe those propositions to be justly condemned by the pontiff ; but that it was not necessary to believe, nor

⁹ This Bull is extant, in the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. v. p. 486. It is also published, together with many public Acts relating to this subject, by Charles du Plessis d'Argentre, in his *Collectio Judiciorum de novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 261. &c. [Dr. Mosheim mistook, in regard to the sentence pronounced on the several propositions. The Bull says of the *first* : "Temerariam, impiam, blasphemam, anathemate damnatam, et hæreticam declaramus, et uti talem damnamus." Of the *second* and the *third*, it says simply : "Hæreti-

cam declaramus, et uti talem damnamus." Of the *fourth*, it says : "Falsam et hæreticam declaramus, et uti talem damnamus." And of the *fifth*, it says ; "Falsam, temerariam, scandalosam, et intellectum eo sensu, ut Christus pro salute dumtaxat prædestinatorum mortuus sit : Impiam, blasphemam, contumeliosam, divinæ pietati derogantem, et hæreticam declaramus, et uti talem damnamus." So that the sentence on the *fifth* proposition was the most severe ; and that on the *first*, next to it in severity. *Th.*]

and the pontiff required a belief, that those propositions were to be found in *Jansenius'* book in that sense in which they were condemned.¹ Yet they were not allowed to enjoy this consolation long, for the pertinacious hatred of the adverse party drove *Alexander VII.*, the successor of *Clement*, to such a height of imprudence, that he not only declared, in a new Bull of the 16th of October 1656, that the condemned propositions were those of *Jansenius*, and were to be found in his book; but he moreover, in the year 1665, sent into France the formula of an oath, which was to be subscribed by all who would enjoy any office in the church, and which affirmed that the five condemned propositions were actually to be found in *Jansenius'* book, in the very sense in which they had been condemned by the church.² This imprudent step, which appeared intolerable not only to the Jansenists, but likewise to the better part of the French clergy, was followed by immense commotions and contests. The Jansenists immediately contended, that the pontiff might err, especially when pronouncing an opinion without the presence of a council, in all questions of *fact*; and therefore that they were not under obligation to subscribe to that formula which required that they should swear to a matter of fact; the Jesuits, on the contrary, had the boldness publicly to maintain, in the city of Paris, that the pope's infallibility was equally certain and divine, in matters of fact, as in contested points of ecclesiastical law. Some of the Jansenists would not undertake either to condemn or approve the formula; but they promised, by observing silence, to show respect to the authority of the head of the church. Others appeared ready to subscribe with some explanation or distinction, oral or written, annexed; but by no means without qualification. Others attempted other modes of evasion.³ But none of these courses would satisfy the impassioned mind of the Jesuits; and therefore the recusants were miserably harassed with banishment, imprisonment, and other vexations, the

¹ *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*, tom. i. p. 249, tom. ii. p. 7, &c.

² This Bull also, together with various documents, is in Charles du Plessis d'Argentre's *Collectio Judiciorum de novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 281—288. 306. The *Formula* of the oath, by

Alexander VII., occurs *ibid.* p. 314, together with the ordinance of the king and other papers.

³ See Du Mas, *Histoire des cinq Propositions*, p. 158, &c. Gerberon, *Histoire Générale du Jansénisme*, pt. ii. p. 516, and many others.

Jesuits having the control and guidance of the measures of the court.

§ 44. The lenity or the prudence of *Clement IX.*, in the year 1669, gave some respite to the persecuted party, who defended *Augustine* to their own loss and injury. This was occasioned by four French bishops, those of Angers, Beauvais, Pamiers, and Alet, who courageously declared that they could not conscientiously subscribe to the prescribed oath, without adding some explanation. And when the Romish court threatened them with punishment, nineteen other bishops espoused their cause; and addressed letters in their behalf, both to the king and to the pontiff. These were also joined by *Anne Geneviève de Bourbon*, a lady of great heroism, and, after her renunciation of the allurements and pleasures of the world, a warm friend of the Jansenists, who very urgently besought *Clement IX.* to assume more moderation. Influenced by entreaties and arguments so numerous and of so much weight, *Clement* consented, that such as chose might subscribe the oath above mentioned, annexing an exposition of their own views. Upon this liberty being allowed, the former tranquillity returned; and the friends of *Jansenius*, now freed from all fear, lived securely in their own country. This celebrated event is usually called the *peace of Clement IX.* But it was not of long continuance.⁴ For the king of France, at the instigation of the Jesuits, disturbed it by his edict of 1676; in which he represented it as granted only for a time, in condescension to the

⁴ The transactions relative to this subject, under the pontificate of *Clement IX.* are fully narrated, by cardinal Rospigliosi, in the *Commentaries*; which Charles du Plessis d'Argentre has subjoined to his *Elementa Theologica*, Paris, 1716, 8vo, and which are also extant, in the *Collectio Judiciorum de novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 336, where likewise are the letters of *Clement IX.* Among the Jansenists, the history of the peace of *Clement IX.* has been expressly written by Varet, the vicar of the archbishop of Sens; (for the *Catéchisme Historique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 352, testifies that Varet wrote the anonymous history;) *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans l'affaire de la Paix de l'Eglise sous le Pape Clément IX.* 1706, 12mo, and by Paschasius Quesnel, (whom Dominic Colonia, among others,

Biblioth. Janséniste, p. 314, declares to have been the author,) in his book, *La Paix de Clément IX., ou Démonstration des deux Faussetés capitales avancées dans l'Histoire des cinq Propositions contre la Foi des Disciples de S. Augustin*; Chambréry, or rather Brussels, 1701, 2 vols. 12mo. The following work, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans l'affaire de la Paix de l'Eglise sous la Pape Clément IX., avec les Lettres, Actes, Mémoires, et autres Pièces qui y ont rapport*; without mention of the place, 1706, 2 vols. 8vo, is an accurately written history. The part which Anne de Bourbon took in this business is elegantly narrated by Villefort, in his *Vie d'Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville*, tom. ii. livr. vi. p. 89, edit. Amsterd. 1739, 8vo, which is much fuller than the Paris edition.

weak consciences of certain persons ; and on the death of *Anne de Bourbon*, in 1679, it was wholly subverted. From this time the Augustinian party was harassed with the same injuries and persecutions as before ; which some avoided by a voluntary exile ; others endured with fortitude and magnanimity ; and others warded off by such means as they could. The head and leader of the sect, *Anthony Arnauld*⁵, to avoid the fury of his enemies, fled in the year 1679 into the Low Countries ; to the great injury of the Jesuits. For this man possessing extraordinary eloquence and acuteness of mind, instilled his doctrines into the minds of the greatest part of the Belgians ; and also induced that portion of the Romish church which is situated among the Dutch to join the Jansenist party, by the influence of *John Neercassel*, bishop of Castoria, and *Peter Codde*, archbishop of Sebaste.⁶ This Dutch church remains to the present day firmly fixed in its purpose, and being safe under the powerful protection of the Dutch government, it despises the indignation of the pontiffs, which it incurs in a very high degree.

§ 45. The Jansenists, or as they wish to be called, *Augustinians*, were so very odious to the Jesuits, not merely on account of their doctrine respecting divine grace, (which was in reality the Augustinian doctrine, and almost identical with that of the followers of *Calvin*, only differently coloured and displayed,) but there were many other things in them, which the defenders of the Romish church cannot approve and tolerate. For it was under Jansenist leaders that all those contests in the Romish church, which we have mentioned above, originated, and have been continued down to our times, in numberless publications printed in the Low Countries and in France.⁷ But there is hardly any thing in them which the Jesuits and the loyal subjects of the Roman pontiffs regard as more intolerable than the system of morals and of practical piety which they inculcate. For in the view of the Jansenists

⁵ For an account of this great man see Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, [art. Arnauld,] tom. i. p. 337, and *Histoire Abrégée de la Vie et des Ouvrages de M. Arnaud* ; Cologne, 1695, 8vo. On the transition of the Dutch church to the Jansenist party, see Lafitau, *Vie de Clément IX.* tom. i. p. 123, &c. Respecting Codde, Neercas-

sel, Varlet, and other defenders of the Jansenist cause in Holland, see *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansenistes*, tom. i. p. 48. 121. 353. tom. ii. p. 406, tom. iv. p. 119, &c. and in many other places.

⁶ [Both sees in *partibus*. Ed.]

⁷ See above, century xvi. History of the Romish church, § 31, &c.

there is nothing entirely sound and uncorrupted in the practice and institutions of the Romish church. In the first place, they complain that the whole body of the clergy have forsaken altogether the duties of their office. They moreover assert, that the monks are really apostates; and they would have them be brought back to their pristine sanctity, and to that strict course of life which the founders of the several orders prescribed. They would also have the people well instructed in the knowledge of religion and Christian piety. They contend that the sacred volume, and the books containing the forms of public worship, should be put into the hands of the people in the vernacular tongue of each nation, and should be diligently read and studied by all. And lastly, they assert that all the people should be carefully taught that true piety towards God does not consist in external acts and rites, but in purity of heart and divine love. These things considered in a general view, no one can censure, unless he is himself vicious, or a stranger to the principles of Christianity. But if we descend to particulars, and inquire how they trained their people for heaven, it will appear that Jansenian piety leaned greatly towards insupportable superstition and the harsh and fanatical opinions of the so-called mystics; and therefore, that it is not entirely without reason they were branded by their adversaries with the title of *Rigorists*.⁸ Their doctrine respecting penitence especially was

⁸ Those who wish for a fuller knowledge of that gloomy piety, which the Jansenists commonly prescribed to their people, and which was indeed coincident with the pattern set by those that anciently inhabited the desert parts of Egypt, Libya, and Syria, but was equally remote from the prescriptions of Christ and of right reason, may read only the *Letters*, and the other writings of the abbot of St. Cyran, whom the Jansenists regard almost as an oracle. He may be called a frank, ingenuous man, sincere in his intercourse with God, superior to most teachers of piety among the Romanists; he may also be called a learned man, and very well acquainted with the opinions and the affairs of the ancients: but, with the Jansenists, to pronounce him the greatest and best, the perfect pattern of holiness, and the most correct teacher of true piety, is what no one can do, unless he affix new meanings to these terms, and meanings

unknown in the sacred writings. That we may not seem to do injustice to so great a man, we will confirm these remarks by some specimens of his wisdom and virtue. This honest man undertook, in a long work, to confute the *heretics*, that is, the protestants. And for this purpose, it was necessary for him to examine the books written by this wicked class of men. But before he proceeded to read any of them, with Martin de Barcos, his nephew, a man very like to his uncle, he was accustomed to expel the devil out of them by the sign of the cross. What weakness did this manifest? This very holy man, forsooth, was persuaded, that the enemy of mankind had taken up his residence in these writings of the heretics: but it is difficult to tell where he supposed the arch-fiend to lie concealed, whether in the paper or in the letters, or between the leaves, or lastly, in the sentiments themselves. Let us hear Claude Lance-

injurious both to church and state. They made penitence to consist principally in voluntary punishments, which a sinner should inflict on himself in proportion to his offences. For they maintained, that since man is by nature most corrupt and most wretched, he ought to retire from the world and from business, and to expiate, as it were, his inherent corruption by continual hardships and tortures of the body, by fasting, by hard labour, by prayer, and by meditation; and the more depravity any one has, either by nature, or contracted by habit, the more distress and anguish of body he should impose on himself. And in this matter they were so extravagant, that they did not

lot, in his *Mémoires touchant la Vie de M. l'Abbé de S. Cyran*, tom. i. p. 226. He says: "il lisoit ces livres avec tant de piété, qu'en les prenant il les exorcisoit toujours en faisant le signe de la croix dessus, ne doutant point que le Démon n'y résidoit actuellement." He was so charmed with Augustine, as to receive for divine all his sentiments, without discrimination; and even those which all good men, among the papists themselves, regard as faults in that father. Among others, may be mentioned that dangerous doctrine, that the saints are the legitimate proprietors of the whole world, and that the wicked unjustly possess, according to the divine law, those things of which they are lawful proprietors, according to human laws. Thus, in Nicholas Fontaine's *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 201, he says: "Jésus Christ n'est encore entré dans la possession de son Royaume temporel et des biens du monde, qui luy appartiennent, que par cette *petite portion* qu'en tient l'Eglise par les bénéfices de ses Cleres, qui ne sont que les fermiers et les dépositaires de Jésus Christ." So then, if we believe him, a golden age is coming, in which Jesus Christ will dethrone all kings and princes, and, seizing upon the whole world, will transfer it entire to his church, of which the leaders are the priests and monks. Will the Jansenists now come forth and proclaim that they make it their greatest care to secure civil governments against the machinations of the Roman pontiffs? Respecting prayer, he philosophizes entirely in the spirit of those who are called mystics. For he denies that those who would pray, should consider beforehand

what they would ask of God; because prayer does not consist in the thoughts and conceptions of the mind, but in a sort of blind impulse of divine love. Lancelot, *Mémoires touchant la Vie de l'Abbé de S. Cyran*, tom. ii. p. 44, says: "Il ne croyoit pas, que l'on dut faire quelque effort pour s'appliquer à quelque point ou à quelque pensée particulière—parce que la véritable prière est plutôt un attrait de son amour qui emporte notre cœur vers lui et nous enlève comme hors de nous-mêmes, que non pas une occupation de notre esprit qui se remplit de l'idée de quelque objet quoique divin." He, therefore, prays best, who asks for nothing, and excludes all thoughts from his mind. Jesus Christ and his disciples knew nothing of this sublime philosophy: for he directs us to pray in a set form of words; and they, the apostles, frequently acquaint us with the subject matter of their prayers. But of all his errors, this undoubtedly was the worst, that he had no doubts but that he was an instrument of God, by which the Divine Being operates and works; and that he held, generally, that a pious man should follow the impulses of his mind, suspending all exercise of his judgment. And the opinion was most deeply fixed in the minds of all the Jansenists, that God himself acts and operates on the mind, and reveals to it his pleasure, when all movements of the understanding and the will are restrained and hushed. Hence, whatever thoughts, opinions, or purposes occur to them, in that state of quietude, they unhesitatingly regard as oracular manifestations and instructions from God. See *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tom. iii. p. 246, &c.

hesitate to call those the greatest saints, and the *sacred victims of penitence*, consumed by the fire of divine love, who intentionally pined away and died under these various kinds of sufferings and hardships; nay, they taught that this class of *suicides* were able to appease the wrath of God, and to merit much for the church and for their friends, with God, by means of their pains and sufferings. This appears from numerous examples, but especially from that of *Francis de Paris*⁹, the worker of so many miracles in the Jansenist school, who brought on himself a most cruel death, in order to appease the wrath of God.¹⁰

§ 46. A striking example of this gloomy and extravagant devotion was exhibited in the celebrated female convent, called *Port-Royal in the Fields*¹, situated in a deep and narrow valley not far from Paris. *Henry IV.*, in the very commencement of this century, gave the superintendence of it to *Jaqueline*, (one of the daughters of the celebrated jurist *Anthony Arnauld*,) who afterwards bore the name of *Maria Angelica de S. Magdalena*. She at first lived a very dissolute life, such as was common at that time in the French nunneries; but in the year 1609 the fear of God came upon her, and she entered upon habits of a very different kind; and afterwards becoming intimate, first with *Francis de Sales*, and then, in 1623, with the abbot of *St. Cyran*, she conformed both herself and her convent to their views and prescriptions. The consequence was, that this religious house, for nearly a century, excited in the Jesuits the highest disgust, and in the Jansenists the highest admiration; and its fame spread over all Europe. The consecrated virgins inhabiting it, followed with the utmost strictness the ancient, severe, and almost every where abrogated, rule of the Cistercians; nay, they imposed on themselves more rigours and burdens than even that rule prescribed.² A great proportion of the *Jansenist peni-*

⁹ [Or the Abbé de Paris. *Tr.*]

¹⁰ See John Morin's *Comment. de Penitentia*, Præf. p. 3. &c. in which there is a tacit censure of the Jansenian notions of penitence. On the other hand, see the Abbé de S. Cyran, in the *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tom. iii. p. 483. The Jansenists reckon the restoration of true penitence among the principal merits of St. Cyran; and they call him the second father of the doctrine of penitence. See *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tom. iii. p. 445. 504, &c. Yet this very penitence of his

was not the least of the causes for which he was thrown into prison, by order of cardinal Richelieu. See *ibid.* tom. i. p. 233, &c. 452, &c.

¹ [Port-Royal des Champs. *Tr.*]

² There is extant, a multitude of books of various kinds, in which the Jansenists describe and deplore the fortunes, the holiness, the regulations, and the destruction of this celebrated seat. We shall mention only those that are at hand, and more recent, as well as more full than the others. First, the Bene-

tents, of both sexes and all ranks, built for themselves cottages, without the precincts of this cloister; and there led a life, not unlike that which we read of in the fourth and fifth centuries, among those austere recluses called *Fathers of the desert*, who dwelt in the desert parts of Egypt and Syria. For it was the object of them all to efface the stains upon their souls, which were either innate, or acquired by habits of sinning, by means of voluntary pains and sufferings inflicted on themselves, by silence, by hunger and thirst, by praying, labouring, watching, and enduring pain.³ Yet they did not all pursue the same species of labour. The more learned applied themselves to the

dictines of St. Maur, present a correct but dry history of the convent, *Gallia Christiana*, tom. viii. p. 910, &c. A much neater, and more pleasing history, though imperfect, and somewhat chargeable with partiality, is that of the noted French poet John Racine, *Abrégé de l'Histoire de Port-Royal*; which is printed among the works of his son, Lewis Racine, Amsterd. 1750, 6 vols. 8vo. and is in vol. ii. p. 275—366. The external state and form of this convent, are formally described by Molcon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 234. To these add Nicholas Fontaine's *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, Cologne (that is Utrecht), 1738, 2 vols. 8vo. Peter Thomas du Fossé's *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, Cologne, 1739, 8vo. *Recueil de plusieurs Pièces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, Utrecht, 1740, 8vo. The editor of these papers promises in his preface more collections of the same nature; and he affords no slight indication, that, from these and other documents, some one may compose a perfect history of Port-Royal, which so many Jansenists regarded as the gate of heaven. Claude Lancelot has also much that relates to this subject, in his *History of the Abbot St. Cyran*. These and other works describe only the external state, and the various fortunes of this celebrated convent. The internal state, the mode of life, and numberless events that occurred among the nuns themselves, and among their neighbours, are described in the *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal, et à la Vie de Marie Angélique d'Arnaud*, Utrecht, 1742, 5 tom. 8vo. *Vies intéressantes et édifiantes des Religieuses de Port-Royal et de plusieurs Personnes qui leur étoient attachés*. Of this work, four volumes have

already been published: the first appeared, Utrecht, 1750, 8vo. They all contain various documents, of no inconsiderable value. The last fortunes and overthrow of the convent are described, especially in the *Mémoires sur la Destruction de l'Abbaye de Port-Royal des Champs*; without place, 1711, 8vo. If I do not wholly mistake, these writers add much less to the reputation and glory of this noted convent, than the Jansenists suppose. When I read their writings, Anthony Arnauld, Tillemont, Nicole, Isaac le Maître, and the many others who are known by the name of the authors of Port-Royal, appear to me great and extraordinary men. But when I lay aside their books, and turn to those just mentioned, in which the private lives of these great men are described, they appear to me small men, fanatics, and unworthy of their high reputation. I readily give to Isaac le Maître, commonly called Sacy, the praise of a most polished genius, while reading his orations, or his other lucubrations; but when I meet him at Port-Royal, with a sickle in his hand, in company with rustics cutting down the corn, he makes a comical figure, and seems not altogether in his right mind.

³ The first that retired to Port-Royal, in 1637, in order to purge away his sins, was the very eloquent and highly celebrated Parisian advocate, Isaac le Maître; whose retirement brought much odium upon the abbot St. Cyran. See *Mémoires pour l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 233, &c. He was followed by many others of various classes and ranks, among whom were men of the noblest birth. See *Vies des Religieuses de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 141, &c.

writing of books ; and not a few of them did great service to the cause of both sacred and profane learning. Others instructed youth in the elements of languages and the arts. But most of them, amidst rustic and servile labours, exhausted the powers of both mind and body, and wore themselves out, as it were, by a slow and lingering death. Yet many of these were illustrious personages and noblemen, who had before obtained the highest honours, both in the cabinet and in the field, and who were not ashamed now to assume the place, and perform the duties of the lowest servants. This celebrated retreat of *Jansenian penitence* experienced vicissitudes throughout this century ; at one time it flourished very highly, at another it was nearly broken up. At last, as the nuns pertinaciously refused to subscribe the oath proposed by *Alexander VII.*, which has been mentioned, and as considerable injury to the commonwealth, and much disgrace to distinguished families, were supposed to arise from this convent and its regulations, *Lewis XIV.*, in the year 1709, by the instigation of the Jesuits, ordered the edifice to be pulled down and entirely demolished, and the nuns to be transferred to Paris ; and two years after, that nothing might remain to nourish superstition, he ordered the bodies that were buried there to be disinterred, and removed to other places.

§ 47. The other commotions which disturbed the tranquillity of the Romish church were but light clouds compared with this tempest. The old quarrel between the Dominicans and the Franciscans, whether the mother of Jesus Christ was conceived without sin or depravity, (which the Dominicans denied, and the Franciscans affirmed,) gave considerable trouble to *Paul V.*, *Gregory XV.*, and *Alexander VII.* Not long after the commencement of the century, it began to disturb Spain very considerably, and to produce parties. Therefore the kings of Spain, *Philip III.* and *IV.*, sent some envoys to Rome, urgently soliciting the pontiffs to decide the question by a public decree. But the pontiffs deemed it more important to follow prudence than to gratify requests from an authority so high. For they were alarmed, on the one hand, by the splendour of the Spanish throne, which inclined to the opinion of the Franciscans, and, on the other, by the credit and influence of the Dominican family. Nothing, therefore, could be obtained by repeated supplications, except that the pontiffs, by words and by ordinances, pronounced the cause of the Franciscans to be

very probable, and forbade the Dominicans to assail it in public; while at the same time they would not allow the Franciscans and others to charge error upon the opinion of the Dominicans.⁴ In a king or magistrate such reluctance to pass judgment would be commendable: but whether it was suitable in a man, who claims to be the divinely-constituted judge of all religious causes, and to be placed beyond all danger of erring, by the immediate power and guidance of the Holy Spirit, those may answer, who support the reputation and honour of the pontiffs.

§ 48. Towards the close of this century, the mystics, whose reputation and influence were formerly so great, were exposed to very severe treatment. The first sufferer was *Michael de Molinos*, a Spanish priest, resident at Rome, in high reputation for sanctity, and therefore attended by numerous disciples of both sexes. In the year 1681 he published, at Rome, his *Way or Guide* to what the mystics call a *spiritual* or *contemplative life*⁵; that is, *Institutes of Mystic Theology*: in which he was thought to recall from the shades below the capital errors of the old *Begards* and *Beguins*, and to open the door for all iniquity and wickedness. The substance of his system, which his friends interpret in one way, and his enemies

⁴ See Fred. Ulrich Calixtus, *Historia Immaculate Conceptionis B. Virginis Mariæ*, Helmst. 1696, 4to. Add Jo. Hornbeck's *Comment. ad Bullam Urbani VIII. de Diebus Festis*, p. 250. Jo. Launoï, *Præscriptiones de Conceptu Virginis Mariæ Opp.* tom. i. pt. i. p. 9, &c. Clement XI., a long time after this, namely, in the year 1708, proceeded something further, and by a special bull, commanded all his people to observe a festival in memory of the conception of St. Mary, the sinless. See *Mémoires de Trevoux*, for the year 1709, A. xxxviii. p. 514. But the Dominicans most firmly deny, that the obligations of this law extend to them; and they persevere in defending their old opinion, though with more modesty than formerly. And when we consider, that this opinion is by no means condemned by the pontiff, and that the Dominicans are not molested, though they do not celebrate that festival; it is evident, that the language of the Romish edict is to be construed in the most liberal manner, and that the decree does not contradict the earlier decrees of the

pontiffs. See Lamindus Britanici, or Muratori, *de Ingeniorum Moderatione in Religionis Negotio*, p. 254, &c.

⁵ This book was written in Spanish, and first published in 1675, supported by the recommendations of the greatest and most respectable men. In 1681, it was published at Rome, in Italian, though it had appeared in this language, some time before, in other places. Afterwards, it was translated into the Dutch, French, and Latin languages; and was very often printed in Holland, France, and Italy. The Latin translation, under the title of *Manuductio Spiritualis*, was published by Aug. Herm. Francke Halle, 1687, 8vo. In Italian, it bore the title of *Guida Spirituale*. Annexed to it is another tract of Molinos, *de Comunione Quotidiana*; which was also condemned. See *Recueil de diverses Pièces concernant le Quêtisme et les Quêtistes, ou Molinos, ses Sentimens et ses Disciples*, Amsterd. 1688, 8vo. In this work, the first piece is Molinos' book in the French translation; and then various epistles, relating to his affairs and his sentiments.

in another, amounted to this: that all religion consists in a certain quietude of the soul, when it is withdrawn from external and finite objects, and turned towards God, and loves Him sincerely, and without any hope of reward; or, what amounts to the same thing, if I mistake not, that the mind of a man, in pursuit of the supreme good, must be entirely withdrawn from the intercourse of the senses, and from corporeal objects; and the efforts of the understanding and the will being all hushed, the mind must be merged wholly in God, from whom it originated. Hence his followers were called *Quietists*; though the common appellation of *mystics* would have been more proper. For the doctrine of *Molinos* was accounted new, only because he expressed himself in new phraseology, which was not become trite by common use, and had arranged and digested in a better form what the ancients stated confusedly. The Jesuits, and others who watched for the interests of the Romish cause, readily perceived that he had broached a system which tacitly accused the Romish church of a departure from true religion; for that church, as is well known, makes piety to consist chiefly in ceremonies and external works. But it was the French ambassador especially, and his friends, who prosecuted the man. And from this and other circumstances, it has been plausibly inferred that political considerations, as well as religious, had their influence in this controversy: and that this Spaniard had opposed the wishes and the projects of the French king in some difficult negotiations.⁶ However this may be, *Molinos* was thrown into prison in 1685; though he had a vast number of friends, and though the pontiff himself, *Innocent XI.*, was partial to him. In 1687, he publicly renounced the errors charged upon him, but notwithstanding he was delivered over to perpetual imprisonment, and he died a prisoner at an advanced age, in 1696.⁷ Every honest and impar-

⁶ [Yet, perhaps, the whole may be ascribed to the power of the Jesuits over the French court, who had father la Chaise, confessor to Lewis XIV., on their side; and he controlled madam Maintenon, and through her the superstitious Lewis. And a king, who, two years before, had been induced to sacrifice to his own bigotry some millions of his loyal and industrious subjects, might easily be persuaded, from a lust for spiritual conquests, to persecute a single

man, who was a stranger; and to oblige the pope also, to abandon for a time a man whom he loved and honoured, and to whom he had assigned a residence near his own palace; and especially, as the Inquisition were suspicious of the pontiff's own soundness in the faith. *Schl.*]

⁷ He was born in the vicinity of Saragossa, in 1627; according to the testimony of Domin. de Colonia, in the *Bibliothèque Janséniste*, p. 469. See, on this

tial man will be ready to grant that the opinions of *Molinos* were greatly distorted and misrepresented by his enemies, the Jesuits and the French, for whose interest it was that he should be put out of the way; and that he was charged with consequences from his principles, which he neither admitted, nor even thought of. On the other hand, I think it obvious that his system included most of the faults which are justly chargeable upon the mystics; and that it was well suited to the disposition of those who obtrude upon others, as divine and oracular communications, the suggestions of a heated imagination, withdrawn from the controul of reason.⁸

§ 49. It would have been very strange if a man of such a character had not found disciples and followers. It is said that a considerable portion of the inhabitants of Spain, France, and the Netherlands, eagerly entered upon the way of salvation which he pointed out. Nor will this appear incredible, if it be considered, that in all provinces of the Romish world there is a large number of persons who have discernment enough to see that outward ceremonies and bodily mortifications cannot be the whole of religion, and yet have not light enough to be able to arrive at the truth by their own efforts, and without a guide. But these nascent commotions were suppressed by the church in their commencement, in some places by threatenings and punishments, and in others by blandishments and promises: and *Molinos* himself being put out of the way, his disciples and friends did not appear formidable. Among the friends and avowers of Quietistic sentiments, the following persons especially have been often mentioned; namely, *Peter Matthew Petrucci*, a pious man and one of the Romish cardinals; *Francis de la Combe*, a Barnabite, and instructor of *Madam Guyon*, who is soon to be mentioned; *Francis Malavalle*; *Berniere de Louvigni*; and some others of less note. These

whole subject, the *Narrative respecting Quietism*, which is subjoined to the German translation of Gilbert Burnet's *Travels*. Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, pt. iii. ch. xvii. p. 176. Jo. Wolfg. Jaeger's *Historia Eccles. et Polit.* sæcul. xvii. decenn. ix. p. 26, &c. Charles Plessis d'Argentre's *Collectio Judiciorum de novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 357, where the papal bulls are given. [The documents of the whole

proceedings of the Inquisition, and of the pontiff against *Molinos*, are given us by Nicholas Terzagus, bishop of Narni in Italy, in his *Theologia Historico-mystica adv. vet. et novos Pseudo-mysticos, quorum Historia texitur, et Errores confutantur*, Venice, 1764, folio, p. 8, &c. *Tr.*]

⁸ What can be said in defence of *Molinos*, has been collected by Christ. Eberh. Weismann, *Historia Eccles. sæcul. xvii.* p. 555.

differed from each other, and from *Molinos*, in many particulars, as is common with mystics, who are governed more by the visions of their own minds than by fixed rules and principles. Yet if we disregard words, and look only at their import, we shall find that they all set out from the same principles, and tended to the same results.⁹

§ 50. In France the Quietistic doctrine was supposed to be disseminated by the writings of *Jane Maria Bouvieres de la Mothe Guyon*, a lady of distinction, of no bad intentions, and exemplary in her life, but of a fickle temper, and one whose feelings measured and controlled her religious belief; than which nothing can be more fallacious.¹ As her religious opinions gave offence to many, in the year 1687, they were submitted to the examination of several great and dignified men, and were finally pronounced erroneous and unsound; and in 1697 they were formally confuted by *Jas. Benign Bossuet*,

⁹ The writings of these persons are enumerated, with remarks upon them, by Domin. de Colonia, in his *Bibliotheca Quietistica*, subjoined to his *Biblioth. Janseniana*, p. 455. 488. Godfr. Arnold, *Historia et Descriptio Theol. Mystice*, p. 364, and Peter Poret, *Bibliotheca Mystica*, Amsterd. 1708, 8vo. [Cardinal Petrucci, born in 1636, at Ancona, cardinal 1686, died 1701; wrote *Theologia Contemplativa; Spiritual Letters and Tracts; On the Government of the Passions; Mystic Riddle; Apology for the Quietists*, &c., printed collectively, Venice, 1684.—La Combe was a native of Savoy, and a zealous propagator of Quietism in France. He wrote *Analysis Orationis Mentalis*; and was committed to the Bastille in 1687, where he ended his days.—Malavalle was born at Marseilles, 1627, became blind in infancy; yet he composed *Pratique facile pour élever l'âme à la Contemplation; Poésies Sacrées*, &c., and died at Marseilles, in 1719.—De Louvigni was king's counsellor, and treasurer at Caen, and died 1659. He wrote, *Chrétien Intérieur*; and *Œuvres Spirituelles, ou Conduite assurée pour ceux qui tendent à la perfection. Tr.*]

¹ This lady wrote the *History of her own Life*, which was published in French, at Cologne, (as the title-page falsely states,) 1720, 12mo. Her writings, full of allegories, and of not very solid mystic phrases, have been translated into Ger-

man. There is extant also, her Bible with annotations; *La Bible de Mad. Guyon, avec des Explications et Reflexions, qui regardent la Vie intérieure*, Cologne (or rather, Amsterdam), 1715, 20 vols. 8vo. From these notes especially, the genius of this lady may be learned; which was indeed fecund, but not very vigorous. See also, concerning her, *Lettres de Mad. Maintenon*, tom. i. p. 249; tom. ii. p. 45. 47. 49. 51, &c. [She was born in 1648, married at the age of 16, became a widow, with three children, at 28. Always charitable to the poor, and very devotional, she now devoted her whole time to religion. She spent several years with the bishop of Geneva, and then travelled with La Combe, in different parts of France, conversing every where upon religion. Returning to Paris in 1687, she propagated her religious views, not only by conversation, but by a tract on prayer, and another on the Canticles. Her persecutions soon commenced; and she was confined in monasteries and prisons much of the time till 1702, when she retired to Blois, and lived in obscurity, till her death, 1719.—The poet Cowper caused a selection of her poems to be translated and published in English; and her life, with her short and easy method of prayer, and a poem on the Nativity, were published, Baltimore, 1812, 12mo. *Tr.*]

bishop of Meaux. From this contest a greater one arose, between the two men, who at that time, as all are agreed, stood first among the French for genius and eloquence; that is, the above-named *Bossuet* and *Francis Salignac de Fenelon*, the prelate of Cambray, who was highly renowned throughout Europe. *Bossuet* asked *Fenelon* to approve and recommend his book against the errors of Madam *Guyon*. *Fenelon*, on the contrary, not only maintained that this pious lady was groundlessly taxed by her adversary with many faults, but also in a book which he published in 1697², himself adopted some of her opinions, and especially that mystical precept, that we ought to love God purely³, and without the expectation of any reward; and he confirmed the principle by the suffrages of the most eminent saints. Provoked by this dissent from him, *Bossuet*, in whose view glory was the highest good, did not cease from importuning *Lewis XIV.* and *Innocent XII.*, till the pontiff, in 1699, by a public decree branded as erroneous the book of *Fenelon*, but without mentioning his name; and in particular, twenty-three propositions extracted out of it. *Fenelon* was induced, either by his timidity or prudence, to approve the sentence pronounced against himself, without any exceptions, and to recommend it himself to the churches under his care.⁴ Many contend that this was the magnanimous deed of a great mind, docile and disposed to prefer the peace of the church to personal honour: but others say it was the mark of either a pusillanimous or a treacherous man, who deems it lawful to profess with his lips what he disbelieves in his heart. There is, however, scarcely any one who doubts, that *Fenelon* continued

² *Explication des Maximes des Saints sur la Vie intérieure*, Paris, 1697, 12mo. It is also extant in a Latin translation.

³ [Or simply for what he is. *Tr.*]

⁴ The history of this controversy is given at large, and with sufficient fairness, by *Toussaints du Plessis*, a Benedictine, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise de Meaux*, livr. v. tom. i. p. 485—523. There is more partiality in *Ramsay's Histoire de la Vie de Messire F. S. de la Mothe Fénelon*, Hague, 1723, 12mo, yet it is worth reading. See also *Voltaire*, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, tom. ii. p. 301. The public acts are given by *Charles du Plessis d'Argentre*, *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 402, &c. [also in *Nich. Terzagus*, *Theologia*

Historico-mystica, diss. iii. p. 26, &c. It is the object of this bitter polemic, to confute all the Quietists, and especially *Molinos* and *Fenelon*. *Andrew Michael Ramsay*, commonly called the Chevalier Ramsay, was a Scotchman, educated at Edinburgh, who went to Holland, there imbibed some notions of Quietism, went to Cambray to consult *Fenelon*, and was by him converted to the Roman catholic faith. After spending much of his life in France, he returned to Scotland in 1725, and died in 1743. He wrote much, chiefly on history, and altogether in French. His Life of *Fenelon* betrays the partiality of a particular friend and admirer. *Tr.*]

to the end of life in those sentiments which, at the command of the pontiff, he had publicly rejected and condemned.

§ 51. Besides these authors of great commotions, there were others, who more slightly disturbed the public tranquillity of the Romish church by their novel and singular opinions. Of this description were the following. *Isaac la Peyrere* (*Peyrerius*), who published two small works in 1655, in which he maintained that *Moses* has not recorded the origin of the human race, but only that of the Jewish nation; and that other races of men inhabited our world long before *Adam*, the father of the Jews. Although he was not a Roman catholic when he promulged this opinion, yet the Romish church deemed it its duty to punish an offence against religion in general; and therefore, in the year 1656, put him into prison at Brussels. And he would, perhaps, have been burnt at the stake, had he not embraced the Romish religion, and renounced that of the Reformed, in which he had been educated, and also publicly confessed his error.⁵ *Thomas Albuis* [*White*], or *Blacklo*, better known by the name of *Thomas Anglus*, from his native country, about the middle of the century published numerous tracts, by which he acquired much notoriety in the Netherlands, France, Portugal, and England, and not a little hatred in his own church. He undoubtedly was acute and ingenious: but relying on the principles of the Peripatetic philosophy, to which he was extravagantly devoted, he ventured to explain and elucidate by them certain articles of the Romish faith. This confidence in *Aristotle* betrayed him into opinions that were novel and strange to Romish ears; and his books were prohibited and condemned by the congregation of the *Index* at Rome, and in some other places. He is said to have died in England, and to have founded a sect among his countrymen, which time has destroyed.⁶ *Joseph Francis Burrhi*, or

⁵ Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. iii. p. 2215. [Art. Peirere, Isaac.] Godfr. Arnold, *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, vol. iii. ch. vii. p. 70. *Menagiana*, published by Bernh. Monnoye, tom. ii. p. 40. [The writings of Peyrere were, *Præadamitæ sive Exercitatio super versibus* 12, 13, 14, cap. V. *Epist. D. Pauli ad Rom.* 1655, 12mo, and *Systema Theolog. ex Præadamitarum Hypothesi*, pars i. His recantation was contained in *Is. Peyrerei Epistola ad Philotimum, qua exponit rationes,*

propter quas ejuraverit Sectam Calvinii, quam profitebatur, et librum de Præadamitis, quem ediderat, Francf. 1658, 12mo. He afterwards lived retired at Paris, among the Fathers of the Oratory, and was supported by the prince of Condé. *Schl.*]

⁶ Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. i. p. 236. [art. Anglus.] Andrew Baillet, *Vie de M. des Cartes*, tom. ii. p. 245. [His real name was Thomas White; and he was born of a respectable family of

Borrhus, a Milanese gentleman, and deeply read in chemistry and medicine; if what is reported of him be true, was not so much mistaken as insane. For the pratings attributed to him concerning the Virgin Mary, the Holy Spirit, the new celestial city, which he was to found, and the destruction of the Roman pontiff, are so absurd and ridiculous, that no one can suppose him to have been of a sane mind, without showing himself not to be so. His conduct in one place and another, shows abundantly that he had a great deal of vanity, levity, and deception, but very little of sound reason and good sense. He once escaped from the snares of the *Inquisition*, and roamed as an exile over a considerable part of Europe, pretending to be a second *Esculapius*, and an adept in the great mysteries of the chemists. But in the year 1672 he again imprudently fell into the hands of the papists, who condemned him to perpetual imprisonment.⁷ A book of *Cælestine Sfondrati*, in which he attempted to explain and settle, in a new way, the controversies respecting predestination, disturbed, in 1696, a large part of the Romish church; for it did not entirely please either the Jesuits or their adversaries. Five French bishops of the highest respectability⁸ accused him, (notwithstanding he had been made a cardinal in 1646, on account of his erudition,) before *Innocent XII.*, of several errors, among which was contempt for the opinions of *St. Augustine*. But this rising contest was cropped in the bud. The pontiff, indeed, promised the French that he would submit the cause to the examination of eminent theologians, and then would decide it. But, as was the Romish custom, he violated his promise, and did not venture to decide the cause.⁹

English Roman catholics; but to disguise himself, he assumed various names, as *Albius*, *Candidus*, *Bianchi*, *Richworth*, &c. He was best known, however, by the name of *Anglus*, i. e. English. Being a man of genius, and an enthusiastic Peripatetic, but possessing little solidity of judgment, he was perpetually advancing new and singular opinions, which would not bear examination. He resided in nearly every Romish country of Europe, found reason often to change his residence, passed through various scenes, and finally died in England. He was much opposed to the philosophy of *des Cartes*. See *Bayle*, loc. cit. *Tr.*]

⁷ *Bayle*, *Dictionnaire*, tom. i. p. 609.

[*Art. Borri.*] *Godfr. Arnold*, *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, pt. iii. ch. xviii. p. 193, and others.

⁸ [They were *Pellier*, archbishop of Rheims, *Noailles*, archbishop of Paris, *Bossuet*, bishop of Meaux, *Guy de Seve*, bishop of Arras, and *Feydeau*, bishop of Amiens. *Tr.*]

⁹ The book was entitled, *Nodus Prædestinationis dissolutus*, Rome, 1696, 4to. The letter of the French bishops, and the answer of the pontiff, are given by *Charles du Plessis d'Argentre*, *Collectio Judiciorum de novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 394, &c. and by *Natalis Alexander*, *Theologia Dogmatica et Moralis*, p. 877, &c. The letter of the

§ 52. As there is little to be said of the changes or enlargement of the Romish ceremonies in this century, except that *Urban VIII.* published a Bull, in 1643, for diminishing the number of feast days¹, I shall conclude the chapter with a list of those who were canonized and enrolled among the saints by the pontiffs during the century. *Clement VIII.* pronounced worthy of this highest honour, in 1601, *Raymond of Pennafort*, the noted collector of the *Decretals*; in 1608, *Francisca de Pontianis*, a Benedictine nun; and in 1610, *Charles Borromeo*, one of the most illustrious among the prelates of Milan. *Gregory XV.*, in the year 1622, gave *Theresia*, a Carmelite nun of Avila, in Spain, a place in this society. By the authority of *Urban VIII.*, in 1623, *Philip Neri*, founder of the Fathers of the Oratory in Italy, *Ignatius Loyola*, the father of the Jesuits, and *Francis Xavier*, one of Loyola's first disciples, and the apostle of the Indies, were elevated to this high rank. *Alexander VII.*, in 1658, added *Thomas de Villanueva*, a Spanish Augustinian, and in 1665, *Francis de Sales*, bishop of Geneva, to the intercessors with God. *Clement X.* joined with them, in 1670, *Peter de Alcantara*, a Franciscan, and *Maria Magdalena de Pactis*, a Florentine Carmelite nun; and the next year, 1671, *Rose*, an American nun of the third order of Dominicans, and *Lewis Bertrand*, a Spanish Dominican, who had been a missionary in America; and death alone prevented him from adding to these *Cajetan Thienæus*, a Regular Clerk of Vicenza. He was therefore enrolled among the saints, in 1691, by *Innocent XII.*, who also, in the same year, publicly decreed saintship to *John of Leon*, in Spain, an Eremite of St. Augustine, *Paschal Baylonias*, a Franciscan friar of Aragon, and *John de Dieu (de Deo)*, a

bishops is remarkable, as containing censures of the Jesuits and their doctrines; and not merely of their doctrine of philosophical sin, but also of their procedure in China: indeed, they say, that Sfondratus had taught worse doctrine than even the Molinists. The opinions of Sfondratus are neatly stated, and compared with those of Augustine, by Jac. Basnage, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, livr. xii. cap. iii. § 11, p. 713, &c.—[He taught, 1. That God sincerely and strongly desires the salvation of all men.—2. That he gives to all men gracious aid, not only sufficient, but even

more than sufficient for its attainment.—3. That God does not withhold his grace from the worst and most obstinate sinners; but sets before them incipient aid, by using which they might easily obtain the more powerful grace of God.—4. That still there remains something dark and unfathomable in the doctrine of election. *Schl.*]

¹ This memorable bull of Urban, is extant in the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque*, tom. xv. p. 88, &c. [and in the *Magnum Bullarium Cherubini*, tom. v. p. 378, dated on the Ides of September, 1642. *Tr.*]

Portuguese, of the order of the Brethren *Hospitaliers*; for all of whom this honour had been designed before by *Alexander VIII.*²

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE GREEK AND ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

§ 1. State of the Greek church.—§ 2. Cyrillus Lucaris. Hope of a union of the Greeks and Latins disappointed.—§ 3. Whether the latter corrupted the religion of the former.—§ 4. The Russian church. The Roskolski.—§ 5. Revolution in it.—§ 6. State of the Monophysites.—§ 7. The Armenians.—§ 8. The Nestorians.

§ 1. MANY things perhaps occurred among the Greek and other Oriental Christians which are neither uninteresting nor unimportant; but what happens in those countries reaches us but rarely, and more rarely still undisguised by party spirit, or popular credulity. We have, therefore, not much to say here. The Greek church, in this century, as in the preceding, was in a miserable state, afflicted, uncultivated, and destitute of the means of acquiring a sound knowledge of religious subjects. This, however, is true only of the Greeks in general, or as a body. For who will have the folly to deny, that among an immense multitude of people, some of whom often visit Sicily, Venice, Rome, England, Holland, and Germany, and many carry on a successful commerce, and some are advanced to the highest employments in the Turkish court, there can be found

² The bulls of the pontiffs, by which these men and women were enrolled in the class of saints, are mentioned and retailed in their order, by Justus Fontaninus, in the *Coder Constitutionum, quas summi Pontifices ediderunt in solemnibus Canonizatione Sanctorum*, p. 260, &c. Rome, 1729, fol. [And all of them, except that of Alexander VII. for the canonization of Francis de Sales, are given at large, in the *Magnum Bullarium Cherubini*, tom. iii. p. 126. 262. 287. 465; tom. iv. p. 12, and append.

p. 1; tom. vi. p. 76. 288. 347, and append. p. 3. 17; tom. vii. p. 115. 120. 125; tom. xi. p. 1; tom. xii. p. 78. *Tr.*] As they recite the ground on which the persons were judged worthy of canonization, these bulls afford very ample matter for the discussion of a sagacious person. Nor would it be a vain or useless labour for such a one to examine, without superstition, yet with candour, into the justice, the piety, and the truth of those grounds.

individuals here and there who are neither poor nor unintelligent, nor wholly illiterate, nor destitute of refinement, nor, in short, overwhelmed with superstition, vice, and profligacy?¹ Their inveterate hatred of the Latins could by no contrivance or pains be dislodged from the minds of the people, nor even moderated, although the Roman pontiffs, and their numerous missionaries to the Greeks, spared neither ingenuity nor treasure to gain that nation's confidence and affections.² Latin teachers have, indeed, collected some small and poor congregations in certain islands of the Archipelago; but neither Greeks nor Turks, the masters of the Greeks, allow them the power of attempting any thing more.

§ 2. In the pontificate of *Urban VIII.* the Latins conceived great hopes that they should find the Greek and Oriental Christians more tractable in future.³ The pontiff made it one of his most assiduous cares to effect the difficult design of subjecting the Oriental Christians, and especially the Greeks, to

¹ This remark is made, on account of Alexander Helladius, and others who think with him. There is extant, a book of Helladius, entitled the *Present State of the Greek Church*, printed in 1714, 8vo, in which he bitterly declaims against the most meritorious and learned writers on Grecian affairs; and maintains, that his countrymen are much more pious, learned, wise, and happy, than is commonly supposed. We by no means envy the Greeks the portion of happiness they may enjoy; nay, we wish them far more than they possess. Yet we could show, if it were necessary, from the very statements which Helladius gives us, that the condition of the Greeks is no better than it is generally supposed to be; although all persons and places are not equally sunk in barbarism, superstition, and knavery. See the remarks above, on the History of the Oriental church, in the sixteenth century.

² What number of missions there are in Greece, and the other countries subject to the Turkish government, and what is their present condition, is fully stated by the Jesuit Tarrillon, in his letter to Ponchartrain, *sur l'Etat présent des Missions des Pères Jésuites dans la Grèce*; which is extant in the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tom. i. p. 1125. On the state of

the Romish religion in the islands of the Archipelago, see Jac. Xavier Portier, in a letter printed in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des Missions étrangères*, tom. x. p. 328. The high colouring of these statements may be easily corrected by the many accounts of Romish and other writers, in our own age, respecting the affairs of the Greeks. See, above all others, Richard Simon, or Sainiore's *Bibliothèque Critique*, tom. i. cap. xxiii. p. 340, who, in p. 346, well confirms, among other things, that which we have observed from Urban Cerri; namely, that none oppose and resist the Latins, with more vehemence, than the Greeks who have been educated at Rome, or trained in other schools of the Latins. He says: "Ils sont les premiers à crier contre et à médire du Pape et des Latins. Ces pèlerins Orientaux, qui viennent chez nous, fourbent et abusent de notre crédulité pour acheter un bénéfice et tourmenter les Missionnaires Latins," &c. The most recent and most full testimony to the invincible hatred of the Greeks against the Latins, is given by John Cowell, *Account of the Present Greek Church*, preface, p. 9, &c. Cambridge, 1722, folio.

³ See Jo. Morin's *Life*, prefixed to his *Antiquitates Ecclesiæ Orientalis*, p. 37—46.

the dominion of the Romish see; and he called in the aid of men, who were best acquainted with the opinions of the Greeks and the eastern Christians, to point out to him the plainest and shortest method of accomplishing the object. The wisest of these were of opinion, that those Christians should be allowed to retain nearly all their long-established peculiarities both of rites and usages, and of doctrine; which the Latin doctors had formerly deemed insufferable: for rites and usages, they said, do not pertain to the essence of religion; and their doctrines should be explained and understood, so as to appear to differ as little as possible from the opinions and institutions of the Latins; because those Christians would feel less repugnance to union, if they could be persuaded that they had long been Romanists, and that the pontiffs did not require them to abandon the principles of their fathers, but only to understand them correctly. Hence arose those erudite works, composed however with little ingenuousness, published by *Leo Allatius*, *John Morin*, *Clement Galanus*, *Lucas Holstenius*, *Abraham Echellensis*⁴, and others, in which they undertook to prove that there was little or no difference between the religion of the Greeks, Armenians, and Nestorians, and that of the Romans, provided we set aside a few rites and certain unusual words and phrases adopted by those foreign Christians. This project of uniting the Greeks with the Latins was by no one more firmly resisted than by *Cyrillus Lucaris*, patriarch of Constantinople, a learned man, who had travelled over a great part of

⁴ The work of Leo Allatius, *de Concordia Ecclesiæ Orientalis et Occidentalis*, is well known; and the most learned men, among both the Lutherans and the reformed, with the greatest justice, charge it with bad faith. He also published his *Græcia Orthodoxa*, Rome, 1652 and 1659, 4to, which contains the tracts of the Greeks that favoured the Latins. From the pen of Lucas Holstenius, who was far superior to Allatius in learning and ingenuousness, we have only two dissertations, *de Ministro et Forma Sacramenti Confirmationis apud Græcos*; which were published after his death, Rome, 1666, 8vo. The very learned works of John Morin, *de Pœnitentia*, and *de Ordinationibus*, are well known by the learned; and every one that peruses them can see, that the author aims to evince that there is a wonderful

agreement on these subjects, between the Christians of the east and the Latins, provided the thorny subtilties of the scholastics are kept out of sight. Clemens Galanus, in a prolix and elaborate work, published at Rome, 1650, [1690, 2 vols.] folio, laboured to prove, that the Armenians differ but little from the Latins. Abraham Echellensis, both elsewhere, and in his notes to Hebed Jesu, *Catalogus Librorum Chaldaicorum*, maintains, that all the Christians throughout Asia and Africa, coincide with the Latin church. Other writers on this subject are passed over. [Among these were Fred. Spanheim's *Diss. de Ecclesiæ Græcæ et Orientalis à Romana Papali perpetua dissensione*, in his *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 485, &c. and Ja. Elsner's *Latest Account of the Greek Christians in Turkey*, ch. v. (in German.) *Schl.*]

Europe. For he signified clearly, indeed more clearly than was prudent, that his mind was inclined towards the religious opinions of the English and the Dutch, and that he contemplated a reformation of the ancient religion of the Greeks. The Jesuits, aided by the influence of the French ambassador, and by the knavery of certain perfidious Greeks, vigorously opposed this powerful adversary for a long time, and in various ways, and at length vanquished him. For they caused him to be accused before the Turkish emperor of the crimes of treason and rebellion: on which charge he was strangled in the year 1638.⁵ He was succeeded by the Greek who had been the

⁵ There is extant a confession of faith, drawn up by Cyrillus Lucaris, and repeatedly published, particularly in Holland, 1645, 8vo, from which it clearly appears, that he favoured the reformed religion more than that of his countrymen. It was published among Jac. Aymon's *Monumens authentiques de la Religion des Grecs*, p. 237. Yet he was not averse from the Lutherans: for he addressed letters about this time to the Swedes, whose friendship he endeavoured to conciliate. See Arkenholtz's *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. i. p. 486, and tom. ii. append. Documents, 113, &c. The same Aymon has published twenty-seven letters of this prelate, addressed to the Genevans, and to others professing the reformed religion; *ubi supra*, p. 1—199, which more fully exhibit his disposition and his religious opinions. The life and the unhappy death of this, in various respects, extraordinary man, are described by Thomas Smith, an Englishman, in his *Narratio de Vita, Studiis, Gestis et Martyrio Cyrilli Lucaris*, which is inserted in his *Miscellanea*, Lond. 1686, 8vo, p. 49—130, also by Jo. Henry Hottinger, *Analecta Historico-Theol.* append. Diss. viii. p. 550, and by others, whom Jo. Alb. Fabricius has enumerated, *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. x. p. 499. [Cyrillus Lucaris was born in 1572, in Candia, the ancient Crete, then subject to the Venetians. Possessing fine native talents, he first studied at Venice and Padua, and then travelled over Italy and other countries. Disgusted with the Romish religion, and charmed with that of the reformed, he resided a while at Geneva. On his return to Greece, he connected himself with his countryman Meletius Piga, bishop of

Alexandria, who resided much at Constantinople, and was often legate to the patriarch. Cyril became his chaplain, and then his Archimandrite. The efforts of the Romanists, in 1595, to gain the Russian and Polish Greek churches, were resisted at Constantinople, and Cyril was active in opposing the defection. His efforts in this cause exposed him to the resentments of the Polish government; and in 1660 he had to quit that country. He went to Alexandria, was there highly respected, and on the death of Meletius, in 1602, he succeeded him in that see. He now kept up a correspondence with several reformed divines; and among them, with Geo. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury. It was at this time that he sent to England the celebrated Alexandrine codex of the Bible, containing St. Clement's epistle to the Corinthians. His aversion to the Romish church drew on him the hatred and persecution of the Jesuits, and of all in the East who favoured the Romish cause. In 1612, he was at Constantinople, and the Romish interest alone prevented his election to the patriarchal chair. He retired to Alexandria; but in 1621 he was elected to the see of Constantinople, in spite of the Romish opposition. But his persecutors never ceased to traduce him, and to plot against him. He was, besides, too far in advance of the Greeks to be popular with the multitude; and the Turkish government would at any time depose a patriarch, and admit a new one, for a few thousand dollars. In 1622 he was banished to Rhodes, and Gregory of Amasa purchased the office for 20,000 dollars; but not having the money on hand, he also was sent away, and Anthimus, bishop of

principal assistant to the Jesuits in the destruction of this great man, namely, *Cyril* of Berrhœa, a man of a malignant and violent temper; and as he apostatized to the Romish religion, the union of the Greeks and Latins now seemed no longer dubious.⁶ But the unhappy fate of the man suddenly dissipated this hope. For this great friend of the Roman pontiff, in a little more than a year, was put to death in the same manner as his enemy before had been; and *Parthenius*, who had the hereditary hostility of his nation to the Latins, was placed at the head of the Greek church. From this time onward, no good opportunity has been found by the Romans for assailing the Greek patriarchs, or for drawing them over to their interests.

§ 3. Yet very many complain, and none more than the Reformed, that the flatteries, the sophistry, and the gold, both of the French ambassadors in Turkey and of the Jesuits, have had so much effect of late upon the ignorance and the poverty of the Greek bishops, that they have departed from the religion of their fathers in several respects, and especially on the doc-

Adrianople, having money, purchased the office. But the Greeks would not submit to him, and he was obliged to resign to Cyril, who was restored, on paying a large sum for the privilege. The Romanists still plotted against him. He sent a Greek to London, to learn the art of printing, and to procure a printing press. On its arrival, his enemies charged him with employing it for political purposes, and caused him great trouble, though the English and Dutch ambassadors interposed in his behalf. In 1629, having a little respite, he called a council of Greeks, to reform that church: and here he proposed his confession of faith, which was adopted. In 1633, Cyrillus Contari, bishop of Berrhœa, the personal enemy of Cyril Lucaris, and supported by the Romish party, bargained with the Turks for the patriarchal chair; but being unable to pay the money down, he was exiled to Tenedos, and Lucaris retained the office. The next year Athanasius of Thessalonica paid the Turks 60,000 dollars for the office, and Lucaris was again banished; but at the end of a month he was recalled and reinstated, on his paying 10,000 dollars. But now Cyril Contari had raised his 50,000 dollars, and Cyril

Lucaris was banished to Rhodes to make way for him. After six months, his friends purchased his restoration. But in 1638, he was falsely accused of treason, in the absence of the emperor, who, upon the representation of his vizier, gave orders for his death. He was seized, conveyed on board a ship as if for banishment; and as soon as the vessel was at sea, he was strangled, and thrown overboard. His body drifted ashore, and was buried by his friends. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. v. p. 394, &c., and *Unpartheyische Kirchenhistorie*, Jena, 1735, vol. ii. p. 255, &c. *Tr.*]

⁶ See Elias Veiel's *Defensio Exercitationis de Ecclesia Græca*, p. 100, &c. in which, p. 103, is a letter of Urban VIII., to this Cyril of Berrhœa, highly commending him for having successfully averted from the Greeks the pernicious errors of Lucaris, and exhorting him to depose the bishops that were opposed to the Latins, with the promise of aid both from Rome and from the Spanish government. This Cyril died a member of the Romish church. Henry Hilarius, *Notes to Phil. Cuprii Chronicon Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, p. 470.

trine of the eucharist; and have adopted, among other errors of the Latins, the inexplicable doctrine of transubstantiation. And this, they say, was especially done in the celebrated council of Jerusalem which *Dositheus* assembled in the year 1672.⁷ This charge, whether it be true or false, was first advanced upon occasion of a dispute between the papists and the Reformed in France. The latter, at the head of whom was the very eloquent and erudite *John Claude*, maintained that many opinions of the Romanists, and especially that which asserts that the bread and the wine in the eucharist are so changed into the body and blood of Christ, as still to leave the external appearance of bread and wine, were wholly unknown in ancient times, and were not found among the Latins themselves before the ninth century: the former, on the contrary, *Anthony Arnaud*, and his associates in managing the cause, contended that the Romish belief respecting the Lord's Supper, had been the received opinion among Christians in every age; and that it was approved by all the sects of Christians in the East, in particular by the Greeks.⁸ This controversy required authorities and testimonies. Hence the French envoys at Constantinople, with the Jesuits on the one part, and the Dutch and English ministers on the other, laboured indefatigably to collect opinions of the Greeks in favour of their respective sides. It so happened that the Romanists got the advantage in their testimonies, both as to number and weight. The Reformed, however, contended, that in the whole of them there was really no weight at all, since they were either squeezed by money out of the starving Greeks, or came from people, who were ignorant and knew nothing of such matters, or who were deceived by insidious language.⁹ Whoever shall bring to the

⁷ The proceedings of this council were published, after an edition by a French Benedictine, by Jac. Aymon, *Monumens Authentiques de la Religion des Grecs*, tom. i. p. 263. See Gisbert Cuper's *Epistolæ*, p. 404. 407. Notes illustrative of it may be seen, besides other places, in Jas. Basnage's *Histoire de la Religion des Eglises Réformées*, period iv. pt. i. cap. xxxii. &c. p. 452, and in Jo. Cowell's *Account of the Present Greek Church*, book i. ch. v. p. 136, &c. [See also Thom. Ittig's *Heptad.* Dissertat. No. v. de *Synodo Hierosol.*

Schl.—The Acts of this council, Gr. and Lat., are in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. xii. p. 179, &c. *Tr.*]

⁸ The names and works of the principal writers on this controversy, may be learned from Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. x. p. 444, &c., and Christopher Matth. Pfaff, *Dissertatio contra Ludor. Royeri Opus Eucharisticum*, Tübing. 1718, 4to.

⁹ Here should be consulted above all others, John Cowell, who was resident at Constantinople when this drama was acted, and himself saw by what artifices

decision of this controversy a good acquaintance with Grecian affairs, and a mind unbiassed by prejudice, will judge, I apprehend, that no small part of the Greek church had for many ages possessed some obscure idea of *transubstantiation*, but received more clear and explicit views of it, in modern times, from the Romans.¹

§ 4. Of the independent Greek churches, or those not subject to the Byzantine patriarch, the Russian is the only one that affords any matter for history; the others lie buried in prodigious ignorance and darkness. Among the Russians about the year 1666, a certain sect showed itself, and produced no little commotion, which called itself *Isbraniki*, or the *company of the elect*, but by its adversaries it was called *Roskolskika*, that is, the *seditionous faction*.² What it finds to censure in the modern Greek church, and what opinions and rites it holds, is not yet fully known. Its adherents, however, appear in general to distinguish themselves by a great show of piety, and to represent the ancient religion of the Russians as much marred, partly by the negligence and partly by the licentiousness of the bishops.³

the Greeks were induced to give testimony in favour of the Latins: *Account of the Present Greek Church*, pref. p. ii. &c. and book i. ch. v. p. 136, &c.

¹ Maturin Vieusse la Croze, who is well known to have been by no means partial to the Jesuits and to Romish opinions, supposes that the Greeks had long been infected with the doctrine of transubstantiation. See Gisb. Cuper's *Epistola*, edited by Beyer, p. 37. 44. 48. 51. 65.

² Perhaps these are the very persons whom the celebrated Gmelin, in his *Travels in Siberia*, in German, vol. iv. p. 404, calls Sterowerzi. [They doubtless come under this denomination; for Rob. Pinkerton (*Present State of the Greek Church in Russia*, Appendix, p. 227,) tells us, "The national church in Russia gives the general name of Raskolniks, or Schismatics, to all the sects which have at different periods renounced her communion; but these separatists uniformly style themselves Staroversti, or Believers of the old faith." *Tr.*]

³ See Nic. Bergius, *de Statu Ecclesiae et Religionis Moscoviticæ*, sect. xi. cap. vii. p. 69. Add sect. ii. cap. xvi. p. 218, and in the Append. p. 270. Jo. Mich. Heineccius on the Greek church, (writ-

ten in German,) pt. iii. p. 30, &c. Peter Van Haven's *Travels in Russia*, p. 316 of the German translation. Some Lutheran writers have supposed or suspected, that these Isbraniki were a progeny of the ancient Bogomils. [Dr. Mosheim's account of the Russian dissenters is very lame. See the whole Appendix to Rob. Pinkerton's *Present State of the Greek Church in Russia*, ed. New York, 1815, p. 227—276. He tells us, it is common to date the origin of sectarians in the Russian church, about the middle of the 17th century, in the time of the patriarch Nikon. But according to the Russian annals, there existed schismatics in the Russian church 200 years before the days of Nikon; and the disturbances which took place in his time, only proved the means of augmenting their numbers, and of bringing them forward into public view. The earliest of these schismatics first appeared in Novogorod, early in the 15th century, under the name of Strigolniks. A Jew named Horie preached a mixture of Judaism and Christianity, and proselyted two priests, Denis and Alexie, who gained a vast number of followers. This sect was so numerous that a national council was called, towards the close of

The Russians long assailed this factious throng with councils, confutations, very harsh punishments, military force, and flatteries; but the effect of all these remedies was to drive them to more remote regions, and, as is usual, to render them more pertinacious in consequence of their calamities and sufferings. A milder treatment began to be shown them from the time that *Peter I.*, whose achievements procured him the surname of *Great*, introduced a great change in both the civil and ecclesiastical government of the Russian empire. But the schism is so far from being healed, that this revolution in the Russian affairs is said rather to have added firmness and stability to it.

§ 5. It will not be improper here to subjoin a few remarks respecting that reformation of the Russian church, by *Peter I.*, which we have just mentioned; for though it belongs to the following century, yet the foundations for it were laid in the close of this. That immortal prince suffered the Greek religion, as professed by the Russians, to remain entire: but he took very great pains to have it explained according to sound reason and the Holy Scriptures; to destroy that superstition which was diffused greatly over the whole nation; and to dispel the amazing ignorance both of the priests and the common people. These were great and noble designs, but exceedingly difficult, and such as often require ages for their accomplishment. To

the 15th century, to oppose it. Soon afterwards, one Karp, an excommunicated deacon, joined the Strigolniks, and accused the higher clergy of selling the office of priesthood, and of so far corrupting the church, that the Holy Ghost was withdrawn from it. He was a very successful propagator of this sect. But numerous as the Strigolniks were, they were few compared with the vast number and variety of sectarians, produced by the attempts to correct the copies of the Russian liturgy, or books used in the churches, which amount to twenty folio volumes. These having long been preserved by transcription, were found to contain numerous mistakes of transcribers, and to differ greatly from each other. The higher clergy and the princes, as early as 1518, attempted to correct these books, and bring them all to an agreement. And the object was pursued for more than a century, amidst great opposition, before it was fully accomplished. The great body of the

Raskolniks, or dissenters, though divided into various sects, yet all agree with one another, and with the national church, in articles of faith, and generally in rites and modes of worship; but they consider the national church as corrupt, as having falsified the sacred books, and thus subverted religion. There are, however, some minor sects, which differ from the establishment both in faith and worship. Pinkerton divides them into two grand classes, the Popopfschins, or those who admit the national priests that apostatize to them, to officiate still as priests, without reordination; and the Bezpopofschins, or those who either have no priests, or have only such as they themselves ordain. Of the former class he enumerates *five* sects, and the latter *fifteen*. But the history of these sects more properly belongs to the following century. See also Staudlin's *Kirchliche Geographie*, vol. i. p. 289, &c. *Tr.*]

effect them the more readily, Peter became the patron of all the arts and sciences, invited learned men from every quarter into the country, established new schools, and purged the old ones of their barbarism, laboured to enkindle in his subjects a thirst for earning of all kinds and for literature, abolished the iniquitous practice of persecuting and punishing those who were in error, and finally granted to all Christian sects dissenting from the Greeks entire liberty to worship according to their own views. Yet in the last particular he was careful to restrain the eagerness of the Romanists for extending the dominion of their pontiff. They had certain places assigned them, in which, if they chose to reside among the Russians, they might worship in their own way. But the Jesuits were prohibited from teaching among the Russians; and the council that controls all matters of religion, was directed to see that Romish opinions were not propagated among the people. All ecclesiastical affairs are managed quite otherwise than formerly. For the emperor suppressed the splendid office of patriarch, because it seemed incompatible with his own dignity, and made himself supreme pontiff and head of the Russian church.⁴ The patriarchal functions are vested in a council established at St. Petersburg, called the *Holy Synod*, over which some *archbishop* of distinguished prudence and fidelity presides.⁵ The first that filled this office was the celebrated *Stephen Javorski*, well known by his work in the Russian language against heretics.⁶ The other ecclesiastical offices remain as before; but they are deprived of

⁴ [Dr. Maclaine very justly criticises the language here used by Dr. Mosheim, which implies that the emperor assumed a *spiritual office* and *spiritual power*. He only claimed the right as *emperor*, to receive appeals from the ecclesiastical courts, and to give law to priests as well as to the rest of his subjects. He was head of the church, in much the same sense as the kings of England and the German princes are; none of whom ever presumed to administer the sacraments, or to perform any appropriate functions of a clergyman or priest. *Tr.*]

⁵ [This is not perfectly correct. In the year 1700, Peter abolished the patriarchal office, and appointed an *Exarch*, with limited powers, who could do nothing without the consent of the other bishops, and was obliged to refer all

affairs of moment to the decision of the Tzar himself. Such was Stephen Javorski, mentioned in the next sentence. But in 1720 Peter abolished the Exarchy also, and in place of it instituted the *Holy Legislative Synod*, consisting first of twelve, and afterwards of an indefinite number of the higher clergy, selected by the emperor. At the head of this Synod there is always a layman, who is the representative of the Tzar, and has a negative upon all its resolutions, till they are laid before the emperor. This nobleman is the minister of the crown for the department of religion. See Pinkerton, *loc. cit.* p. 26, &c., and Staudlin's *Kirchliche Geographie*, vol. i. p. 269, &c. *Tr.*]

⁶ See Mich. le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1295.

much of the authority formerly annexed to them, and of no small part of their revenues and privileges. At first it was intended to suppress all monasteries, whether for men or for women. But from this design the emperor so far departed afterwards, that he himself dedicated a magnificent house of this kind to *Alexander Newsky*, whom the Russians number among their saints.⁷

§ 6. A part of the *Asiatic Monophysites*, for a time, left the religion of their fathers, and united themselves with the Romanists. Their prompter to this measure was one *Andrew Achigian*, who had been educated at Rome, was appointed *patriarch* by the Roman pontiff, and assumed the name of *Ignatius XXIV.*⁸ At his death, one *Peter*, who took the name of *Ignatius XXV.*, assumed the office; but at the instigation of the legitimate primate of the sect, he was banished by the Turks, and the little flock of which he was the head was soon dispersed.⁹ Of the *African Monophysites*, the *Copts*, notwithstanding their wretchedness, ignorance, and poverty, firmly resisted the persons who so often solicited them, with very advantageous offers, to become united with the Romans. In what manner the *Abyssinians* freed themselves from the yoke of the Romish bishop, which they had indiscreetly taken upon themselves, and asserted their ancient independence, has already been stated. And it will now be proper to add, that in some of the Lutherans a holy desire arose to deliver the Abyssinian nation from the darkness of ignorance and superstition, and to bring them to a better knowledge of religion. Prompted by such motives, *Peter Heyling* of Lubec, a very pious and learned man, visited them in the year 1634; who, after spending many years in Ethiopia, where he gained so much upon the emperor, as to be made his prime minister, and having accomplished much for the advantage of the people, on his return to Europe, lost his life by means unknown.¹ Afterwards, *Ernest*, duke of Saxe-Gotha, whose

⁷ On these subjects much information may be obtained from Peter van Haven's *Travels in Russia*; which are extant in a German translation from the Danish.

⁸ From the 15th century onward, all the primates of the Monophysite sect have chosen to bear the name of Ignatius; for no other reason, if I do not mistake, than to indicate by their name, that they are successors to Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch in the first century,

and the legitimate *patriarchs* of that see. A similar motive has induced the Maronite primates, who also claim the title of patriarchs of Antioch, to assume the name of Peter. For St. Peter is said to have governed the church of Antioch before Ignatius.

⁹ See Jc. Simon Asseman's *Biblioth. Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, tom. ii. p. 482, and in *Diss. de Monophysitis*, § iii. p. 6, 7.

¹ A valuable life of this man was pub-

exemplary virtue procured him the surname of *Pious*, at the suggestion and recommendation of that extraordinary man, *Job Ludolf*, attempted to explore a way for teachers of the reformed religion to go among those distant Christians, by means of *Gregory*, an Abyssinian, who was then in Europe.² But *Gregory* perishing by shipwreck in 1657, *Ernest* sent *Jo. Mich. Wansleben*, of Erfurth, in 1663, with very wise instructions, to conciliate, if possible, the good will of the Abyssinians towards the Germans. *Wansleben*, however, lingered in Egypt; and upon his return, not being able to account for the money that he had received, he went over to the Romish religion in 1667, and became a Dominican friar.³ Thus the designs of this excellent

lished in German, by Jo. Henry Michaelis, Halle, 1724, 8vo. Add Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. i. p. 253, &c. [His father was a jeweller of Lubec. After a good education in his native city, he went to Paris in 1627, having charge of four noble youths. There he became intimate with Hugo Grotius. From Paris he went to Italy, and thence to Malta, where he disputed with the catholic priests. He now assumed the garb of a pilgrim, intending to travel into the East, and acquaint himself with oriental literature. He proceeded to Constantinople, and thence to Palestine and Egypt. He arrived in Egypt in 1634, and so recommended himself to the Copts, by his learning and his piety, that they esteemed him highly, and gave him the title of Moollah. Meeting with the new primate of Ethiopia, who had come to Alexandria for ordination, he joined him; and on their way to Abyssinia, they met Mendez, the Portuguese Jesuit, just banished from that country, whom Heyling encountered and confuted, in a public dispute. Mendez wrote to the pope, that if this Lutheran should go into Abyssinia, he would involve that whole nation in extreme heresy. He arrived there in 1634, and was very popular and useful; but how long he lived, and where he died, is very uncertain. A letter of his to H. Grotius, dated at Memphis, Aug. 28, 1634, respecting the disputes between the Melchites and the Jacobites, is extant in Ludolf's *Comment. ad Hist. Æthiop.* lib. iii. c. viii. See Möller, *loc. cit.* Tr.]

² See Job Ludolf's Preface to his *Comment. ad Hist. Æthiopicam*, p. 31, &c. Christ. Juncker's *Vita Jobi Ludolfi*, p. 68,

&c. [Ludolf became acquainted with this Gregory during his tour to Rome, and invited him into Germany. He resided awhile at the court of Gotha, but afterwards was desirous of returning to his country; and on his way, at Alexandretta in Syria, lost his life by shipwreck. *Schl.*]

³ Concerning this unstable and vicious, but learned man, much may be collected from Jerome Lobo's *Voyage de l'Abyssinie*, tom. i. p. 198. 227. 233. 248. Ern. Solom. Cyprian's *Catalogus MSS. Bibliothecæ Gothanæ*, p. 64. Euseb. Renaudot, *Præf. ad Historiam Patriarchar. Alexandrinorum*. Jac. Echard and Quetif, *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicat.* tom. ii. p. 693. We have his *Historia Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ*, and other works, which are not without merit. [The patriarch of Alexandria persuaded him not to prosecute his journey into Abyssinia. After changing his religion at Rome, he went to Paris, whence Colbert, in the year 1672, sent him again to Egypt, to procure a fuller account of the state of that country, and to purchase rare manuscripts for the king's library. But Colbert seemed dissatisfied with his proceedings; for Wansleben was not in the least respected at Paris; and, from vexation, he assumed, in 1678, the vicarage of a village not far from Fontainebleau; and died in 1679, in the curacy of Bouron, where he was also vicar. Before his journey to Egypt, at Ludolf's request, he went to London, to superintend there the printing of the first edition of his *Æthiopic Grammar and Lexicon*, in 1661; and there he aided Edm. Castell in the preparation of his *Lexicon Heptaglosson*. After his return from the East,

duke were frustrated: yet they were attended with this advantage, that *Job. Ludolf*, by his very learned and elaborate works, threw much light upon the history, the sentiments, and the literature of the Abyssinians, which before had been but little known among the Europeans.

§ 7. A considerable change in the affairs of the Armenians took place not long after the commencement of this century, originating from *Abbas I.*, the king of Persia, who for his achievements was surnamed the *Great*; for he laid waste all that part of Armenia which was contiguous to Persia, with a view to prevent the Turks from invading his territories; and caused most of its inhabitants to migrate and settle in Persia. For what the Europeans endeavour to accomplish by erecting castles and fortresses along their borders, the kings of the East prefer to effect by depopulating the frontier parts and provinces of their kingdoms. The richest and best of these Armenians removed to *Ispahan*, the capital of the kingdom, and took up their abode in the splendid suburb which the king called *Julfa*, where they have their own bishop. So long as *Abbas* lived, as he was a magnanimous prince and much attached to his people, these exiles enjoyed great prosperity; but after his death, they were involved in calamities and persecutions.⁴ And hence, not a few of them have apostatized to Mahomedism; and it is to be feared that this portion of the Armenian church will become wholly extinct. On the other hand, the Asiatic Armenians have, undoubtedly, derived no little advantage from the permanent settlement of very many of their nation, during this century, for commercial purposes, in most of the countries of Europe, as at Marseilles in France, and in London, Amsterdam, and Venice.⁵ For not to mention other things, this has afforded them an opportunity to print the Bible, and many other books,

he wrote his *Relatione dello Stato presente dell' Egitto*; and in 1677, his *Nouvelle Relation, en forme de Journal de son Voyage fait en Egypte*. His history of the church of Alexandria, was also published in French. *Schl.*]

⁴ See Jo. Chardin, *Voyage en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 106, &c. Gabr. du Chignon, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, p. 206, &c.

⁵ Of the Armenians residing at Marseilles, and the books they have printed there, see Rich. Simon's *Lettres Choisies*,

tom. ii. p. 137. Of their Bible, printed in Holland, he likewise treats, *ibid.* tom. iv. p. 160. So also does Jo. Joach. Schroeder, in his *Thesaurus Lingue Armenicæ*; or rather in the *Diss. de Lingua Armenica*, which is prefixed to this *Thesaurus*, cap. iv. p. 60. The other Armenian books printed at Venice, Lemburg, and especially at Amsterdam, are enumerated by this very learned man, *loc. cit.* cap. ii. § xxv. &c. p. 38, &c.

especially those of a religious kind, in the Armenian character, in Holland chiefly and England; which books, being sent to the Armenians living under the Persians and Turks, undoubtedly keep that race, which is rude and inclined to superstition, from losing all knowledge of the Christian religion.

§ 8. The disunion among the Nestorians, which rent that church in the preceding century, could not be healed at all in this. Among the patriarchs of Mosul, *Elias II.* sent his envoy to Rome, in the year 1607, and again in the year 1610, to obtain the friendship of the pontiff; and in a letter to *Paul V.*, he avowed himself ready to sanction a union between the Nestorians and the Romans.⁶ *Elias III.*, though at first extremely averse from the Romish rites, yet in the year 1657, addressed a letter to the Congregation *de propaganda fide*, signifying his willingness to join the Romish church, provided the pontiffs would grant to the Nestorians a place of worship at Rome, and would not corrupt or disturb at all the tenets of the sect.⁷ But the Romans doubtless perceived that a union formed on the terms here stated, would be of no use or advantage to their cause; for we have no information, that the Nestorians were at that time received into the Romish communion, or that the prelates of Mosul afterwards were again solicitous to conciliate the Roman pontiff. The Nestorian patriarchs of Ormus, who all bore the name of Simeon, likewise made two proposals, in 1619 and 1653, for renewing their former alliance with the Roman pontiffs, and sent to Rome a tract explanatory of their religious sentiments. But either these prelates did not offer satisfactory terms to the Romans⁸, or, on account of their poverty and very slender power, they were despised at Rome: for it appears, that from the year 1617, the prelates at Ormus were in a very low state, and no longer excited the envy of those at Mosul.⁹ There was, however, a little poor congregation of Roman catholics formed among the Nestorians about the middle of this century, whose bishops or patriarchs reside in the city of Amida or Diarbekir, and all bear the name of

⁶ Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vaticana*, tom. i. p. 543, tom. ii. p. 457, tom. iii. pt. i. p. 650.

⁷ Asseman, *loc. cit.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. cml.

⁸ Asseman, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 531, tom. ii. p. 457, tom. iii. pt. i. p. 622.

⁹ Peter Strozza, *Præfatio ad Librum de Chaldaeorum Dogmatibus*.

Joseph.¹ The Nestorians inhabiting the coast of Malabar, and who are called Christians of St. Thomas, so long as the Portuguese possessed those regions, were miserably harassed by the Romish priests, especially by the Jesuits; and yet no vexations, nor menaces, nor artifices, could bring the whole of them to prefer Roman sacred rites to those of their fathers.² But when Cochin was conquered by the Dutch, in 1663, and the Portuguese were expelled from those regions³, their former liberty of worshipping God in the manner of their ancestors was restored to that oppressed people; and they continue to enjoy it to the present time. At the same time, the Dutch give no trouble to those among them who choose to continue in the Romish religion, provided they will treat kindly and peacefully those who differ from them.

¹ See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1078.

² Of these, Matur. Veisse la Croze treats largely, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, liv. v. p. 344, &c.

³ Gautier Schouten, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, tom. i. p. 319, &c. p. 466, &c.

PART II.

THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

§ 1. Adverse events in the Lutheran church. Hesse becomes reformed.—§ 2. Brandenburg reformed.—§ 3. Attempted union between the Lutherans and Reformed.—§ 4. Decree of Charenton. Conference at Leipsic.—§ 5. Conferences at Thorn and Cassel.—§ 6. Pacific acts of John Duraeus.—§ 7. John Matthiæ and George Calixtus.—§ 8. External advantages of the Lutherans.—§ 9. Literature every where cultivated.—§ 10. State of Philosophy. Aristotelians every where reign.—§ 11. Liberty in philosophizing gradually increases.—§ 12. Excellences and defects of the teachers.—§ 13. The faults of the times, often, rather than of the persons.—§ 14. Ecclesiastical government : divine right.—§ 15. The more distinguished Lutheran writers.—§ 16, 17. History of the Lutheran religion.—§ 18. Dogmatic Theology.—§ 19, 20. Commotions in the Lutheran church.—§ 21. Commencement of the Calixtine controversies.—§ 22. Continuation and issue.—§ 23. The doctrines of Calixtus.—§ 24. Contests with the divines of Rinteln and Königsberg.—§ 25. With those of Jena.—§ 26. Origin of the Pietists.—§ 27. Commotions at Leipsic.—§ 28. Their progress.—§ 29. Rise of the controversies with Spener and the divines of Halle.—§ 30, 31. Their increase.—§ 32. Some sought to advance piety at the expense of truth : Godfrey Arnold.—§ 33. John Conrad Dippel.—§ 34. Fictions of Jo. Will. Petersen.—§ 35. Jo. Casp. Schade, and Jo. Geo. Boesius.—§ 36. Contests on the omnipresence of Christ's body, between the divines of Tübingen and Giessen.—§ 37. Herman Rathlunann.—§ 38. Private controversies.—§ 39. Those of Prætorius and Arndt.—§ 40. Jac. Boehmen.—§ 41. Prophets of this age.—§ 42. Ezek. Meth. Esaias Stiefel, and Paul Nagel.—§ 43. Christ. Hoburg, Fred. Breckling, and Seidenbecher.—§ 44. Martin Seidelius.

§ 1. THE evils and calamities which the Roman pontiffs, or the Austrians, (often too obsequious to the pleasure of the pontiffs in things pertaining to religion,) either brought or endeavoured to bring upon the Lutherans, in various ways, during this century, have been already mentioned, in the history of the Romish church. We shall therefore now mention only certain other things, by which the Lutheran church lost some-

thing of its splendour and amplitude. *Maurice*, landgrave of Hesse, of the Cassel family, a very learned prince, seceded from the Lutheran church: and he not only himself went over to the Reformed, but also, in the year 1604, and subsequently, both at the university of Marburg, and throughout his province, he displaced the Lutheran teachers who firmly resisted his purpose, and commanded the people to be thoroughly taught the reformed doctrines, and public worship to be conducted in the Genevan manner. This design was prosecuted with the greatest firmness, in the year 1619, when he ordered select theologians to proceed to the Dutch council of Dort, and commanded the decrees there made to be publicly assented to by his church. The Reformed maintained, formerly, that nothing was done in this affair, which was inconsistent with equity and the highest moderation. But perhaps all impartial men, in our day, will admit without difficulty, that many things would have been ordered somewhat differently, if that excellent prince had been less disposed to gratify his own will and pleasure, and more attentive to those precepts, which the wisest of the Reformed themselves inculcate, respecting our duty towards those who differ from us in matters of religion.¹

¹ See Helv. Garth's *Historischer Bericht von dem Religionswesen im Fürstenthum Hessen*, 1606, 4to. Ern. Solom. Cyprian's *Unterricht von kirchlicher Vereinigung der Protestanten*, p. 263, and in the *Appendix of Documents*, p. 103, and the public Acts, which were published in the *Unschuldigen Nachrichten*, A.D. 1749, p. 25, &c. Here should be consulted, especially the writings that passed between the divines of Cassel and Darmstadt, which have a public character, Cassel, 1632, fol. Marburg, 1636, fol. Giess. 1647, fol. of which Christ. Aug. Salig treats in his *Historie der Augsburg. Confession*, vol. i. book iv. ch. ii. p. 756, &c. [Even from the time of the reformation onwards, there were individuals in Hesse, who were inclined towards the doctrines of the Reformed; but the outward tranquillity was not thereby destroyed. Philip the Magnanimous, and his successors, some of whom were not obscurely favourable to the Reformed opinions, used all care to preserve this harmony. When the *Formula of Concord* produced so much disturbance in Saxony and Upper Ger-

many, and threatened to destroy the peace which Hesse had hitherto enjoyed, the Hessian princes published an edict in 1572, by which they endeavoured to preserve the union. Also in the general synods of Treysa, in 1577, of Marburg in 1578, and of Cassel in 1579, the Hessian clergy were required to subscribe certain articles, designed to preserve the union. But under the Landgrave Maurice, the state of things changed. He had been drawn over to the side of the Reformed, by some French Reformed noblemen's sons, whom his father had procured through Beza to be his son's associates; and after the death of his father's brother, the Landgrave Lewis, at Marburg in 1604, he endeavoured to introduce the Reformed religion, by means of a Catechism: and in the year 1605, he dismissed all the teachers at Marburg, and in half the upper principality of Hesse, (which had fallen to the house of Cassel,) because they would not subscribe the result of the Synod without some limitation; and he established Reformed teachers in their place. The dismissed teachers, among

§ 2. Not long after, in the year 1614, John Sigismund also, the elector of Brandenburg, left the communion of the Lutherans, and went over to the Reformed: yet with different views from those of Maurice, and with different results. For he did not embrace all the doctrines by which the followers of Calvin are distinguished from the Lutherans; but, in addition to the Genevan form of worship, he only considered the Reformed doctrines respecting the person of Christ, and the presence of his body and blood in the eucharist, as more correct and tenable than the Lutheran views: but what they inculcate respecting the nature and order of divine grace, and the decrees of God, he did not adopt. And hence, he did not send deputies to the synod of Dort, nor would he have their decrees respecting these difficult points to be received. The same sentiments were so far retained by the sovereign princes of Brandenburg who reigned after him, that they never required Calvin's doctrine of absolute decrees to be taught in the Reformed churches of their dominions, as the public and received doctrine. It is also justly accounted an honour to *John Sigismund*, that he gave his subjects full liberty, either to follow the example of their prince or to deviate from it; nor did he exclude from posts of honour and power, those who deemed it wrong to abandon the religion of their fathers. Yet this moderation was not satisfactory to the violent temper of that age, which was in many respects too rigid: for not a few thought it intolerable and improper in the prince to order that the professors of both religions should enjoy equal rank and rights; that odious terms and comparisons should be abstained from in disputation; that religious controversies should be either wholly omitted, or explained very modestly, in public discourses to the people; and lastly, that those who disagreed should live together as friends and interchange kind offices. And from these views originated not

whom the famous Balthazar Manzer was the most distinguished, were afterwards received by the Landgrave of Darmstadt, Lewis; and a part of them were established in the newly-erected university of Giessen, and the rest were benefited elsewhere. As is generally the case when human passions become enlisted in religious contests, there were faults on both sides, which no impartial man, at the present day, will approve.

The Lutherans adhered too strenuously and too wilfully to certain subtle doctrines of the schools, and to external rites which are not of the essence of Christianity: and the Reformed, who had the court on their side, misused the power which was in their hands, to the injury of the ancient rights of a community, whose brethren they pretended to be. *Schl.*]

only bitter contests, but also at times rash and seditious commotions in the state; in allaying which, many years were consumed in vain. The neighbouring divines of Saxony, and particularly those of Wittemberg, undertook to defend the side of the Lutherans in these tumults; and undoubtedly with sincere and upright intentions, but, according to the custom of the times, in a style too coarse, and not sufficiently temperate. And hence, not only was the Formula of Concord excluded from a place among the books by which the public religion of the Lutherans is regulated, in the Brandenburg territories, but likewise the citizens of Brandenburg were forbidden to study theology in the university of Wittemberg.²

§ 3. So many evils resulting from the discords of those who with equal sincerity and fortitude had renounced papal servitude, that is, of the Lutherans and Reformed, might suggest to some of the principal men, and the most famous theologians of both parties, to look about them, anxiously, for some means of uniting in bonds of mutual affection the communities rent asunder and severed by their religious sentiments. No wise man could be so ignorant of human nature as to expect that all difference of opinion between them could be removed, or that either party would adopt the sentiments of the other. And therefore those who undertook this business agreed that their only aim should be, to persuade the disputants, that there was little or nothing of any importance to true religion and piety, in all the points controverted between the parties; that the fundamental truths, on which the plan of salvation rests, are safe on both sides; and that their controversies related, partly, to things recondite and inexplicable, and partly to things indif-

² The laws and edicts both of John Sigismund and his successors, in relation to this famous affair, have been sometimes printed together. There is likewise extant a great number of books and pamphlets, from which a knowledge of these proceedings may be derived; and of which I would rather refer to others for a full catalogue, than give an imperfect one myself. Such a catalogue is extant in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. D. 1745, p. 34, &c. and A. D. 1746, p. 326. See also, Jo. Charles Köcher, *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolica*, p. 312, &c. Those who wish to understand and form an estimate of the whole transaction, may consult Godf. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-*

historie, pt. ii. book xvii. ch. vii. p. 965. Ern. Solom. Cyprian's *Unterricht von der Vereinigung der Protestanten*, p. 75, and the *Appendix of Documents*, p. 225. The *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. D. 1727, p. 1069, and A. D. 1732, p. 715. Those who would persuade us, that the hope of extending his power and influence was not the least motive with the prince for this change, conjecture, rather than demonstrate and prove; for they do not support their opinion with valid arguments. Yet it must be confessed, by such as carefully inspect the history of those times, that they do not conjecture altogether irrationally and without plausibility.

ferent and far removed from the supreme object of a Christian. Those who could admit these things to be true, must also admit, that the existing difference of sentiment was no just impediment to fraternal intercourse between the dissentients. And most of the Reformed were readily brought to concede that the Lutherans erred but moderately and lightly, or did not greatly corrupt any one of the primary doctrines of Christianity: but most of the Lutherans perseveringly maintained, that they had the most weighty reasons for not judging in the same manner of the Reformed, and that a great part of the dispute related to the groundwork of all religion and piety. It is not strange, that this perseverance of the Lutherans was branded by the opposite party with the odious names of moroseness, superciliousness, arrogance, and the like. But those who were taxed with these crimes, brought as many charges against their accusers. For they complained, that they were not treated ingenuously; that the real character of the Reformed principles was disguised, under ambiguous phraseology; and that their adversaries, though cautious and guarded, yet gave much proof that the chief ground of their great inclination for peace, was not so much a desire of the public good, as of their private advantage.

§ 4. Among the public transactions relative to this business of a union, we may justly give the first place to the project of *James I.*, the king of Great Britain; who attempted, in the year 1615, a reconciliation of the Lutherans and Reformed, through the instrumentality of *Peter du Moulin*, a very celebrated divine among the French Reformed.³ The next place is due to the celebrated decree of the Reformed church of France, passed in the synod of Charenton, A.D. 1631; by which the Lutheran religion was declared harmless, holy, and free from all gross errors; and a way was opened for the professors of it to hold sacred and civil communion with the Reformed.⁴

³ See Mich. le Vassor's *Histoire de Louis XIII.* tom. ii. pt. ii. p. 21, &c. [and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. v. p. 198. *Tr.*]

⁴ Elias Benoit's *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, tom. ii. p. 524. Jac. Aymon's *Actes des Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Réformées de France*, tom. ii. p. 500, &c. Thomas Ittig's *Diss. de Synodi Carentoniensis Indulgentia erga Lutheranos*, Lips. 1705, 4to. [Quick's *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, vol. ii. p. 297. The

words of the decree were these: "The province of Burgundy demanding, whether the faithful of the Augustane (Augsburg) Confession might be permitted to contract marriages in our churches, and to present children in our churches unto baptism, without a precedaneous abjuration of those opinions held by them, contrary to the belief of our churches? This Synod declareth, that inasmuch as the churches of the confession of Augsburg do agree with the other re-

Whatever may have been the motives for this decree, its effects were unimportant, for few of the Lutherans were disposed to use the liberty thus generously offered them. In the same year, certain Saxon theologians, *Matthias Hoe*, *Polycarp Lyser*, and *Henry Höpfner*, were ordered to hold a conference at Leipsic, with certain Hessian and Brandenburg doctors of the first class; so that the sentiments of both parties being properly explained and compared, it might be better understood, what and how great difficulties were in the way of the much desired union. This deliberation was conducted without any intemperate heat, or lust for disputation and controversy; but, at the same time, not with that mutual confidence and freedom from jealousy, which would secure harmony in the result. For though the speakers on the side of the Reformed explained in the best manner the views of their church, and cheerfully conceded not a few things which the Lutherans hardly expected, yet the suspicions of the latter, lest they should be entrapped, so intimidated them, that they would not acknowledge themselves satisfied. Hence the disputants separated without accomplishing any thing.⁵ Whoever wishes to learn the causes of these deliberations for peace must inspect and examine the civil history of those times.

§ 5. The conference at Thorn, in 1645, appointed by *Uladislaus IV.*, king of Poland, for the purpose of uniting, if possible, not only the Reformed with the Lutherans, but also both with the Papists, was likewise unsuccessful; for those who were called together to make efforts, if not to terminate, yet to lessen the

formed churches, in the principal and fundamental points of the true religion, and that there is neither superstition nor idolatry in their worship, the faithful of the said Confession, who with a spirit of love and peaceableness do join themselves to the communion of our churches in this kingdom, may be, without any abjuration at all made by them, admitted unto the Lord's table with us; and as sureties, may present children unto baptism, they promising the Consistory, that they will never solicit them, either directly or indirectly, to transgress the doctrine believed and professed in our churches, but will be content to instruct and educate them in those points and articles which are in common between us and them, and wherein

both the Lutherans and we are unanimously agreed." *Tr.*]

⁵ See Timann Gesselius, *Historia Sacra et Ecclesiastica*, pt. ii. the Addenda, p. 597—613, where the Acts themselves are given. Jo. Wölg. Jaeger's *Hist. Saculi XVII.* decenn. iv. p. 497, &c. [The Reformed divines were John Bergius, court preacher at Berlin, John Crocius, professor at Marburg, and Theophilus Neuberger, superintendent at Cassel. They discussed all the articles of the Augsburg Confession, which the Reformed were ready to subscribe to, and also set forth a *Formula* of union, or rather an exposition of the articles in controversy, which was not expected from them. *Schl.*]

existing enmities, separated more enraged than when they came together. With more success, by order of *William VI.*, the landgrave of Hesse, *Peter Musæus* and *John Henichius*, of the university of Rinteln, and *Sebastian Curtius* and *John Heinius*, doctors of Marburg, the two former Lutherans, and the latter Reformed, whom *William*, landgrave of Hesse, directed to enter into a friendly discussion, compared their sentiments at Cassel in the year 1661. For having examined the essential importance of those controversies which separated the two communities, they mutually shook hands, affirming that it was far less than was commonly supposed, and ought not to prevent fraternal affection and harmony. But the divines of Rinteln were so utterly unable to persuade their brethren to believe as they did, that, on the contrary, their only reward was almost universal hatred; and they were attacked with bitterness in numerous publications.⁶ How much labour and effort the Brandenburg heroes, *Frederic William* and his son *Frederic*, afterwards expended in reconciling the differences of protestants in general, and particularly in Prussia⁷ and their other provinces, and what difficulties opposed and withstood those efforts, is too well known to need a long rehearsal.

§ 6. Of those who, as private individuals, assumed the office of arbiters of the contests among the protestants, a vast number might be mentioned; but many more among the Reformed than among the Lutherans assumed this character. The most noted among the Reformed, as all agree, was *John Duræus*⁸, a Scotchman, who was certainly an honest man, pious, and learned; but more distinguished for genius and memory, than for the power of nice discrimination and sound judgment; as might be demonstrated by satisfactory proofs, if this were the proper place for them. For more than forty years, or from 1631 to 1674, he tried with incredible fortitude and patience, by writing, persuading, admonishing, in short, in every way that could be thought of, to

⁶ The writers who treat of the conferences at Thorn and Cassel, are enumerated by Casper Sagittarius, *Introduct. ad Historiam Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 1604. Add Jo. Wolff. Jaeger's *Historia Saculi XVII.* decenn. v. p. 689, where the Acts of the conference of Thorn,—and decenn. vii. p. 160, where those of the conference at Cassel, are extant. Jo. Alphonso Turretine, *Nubes Testium pro moderato in rebus Theologicis Judicio*, p.

178. Jo. Möller, in his *Life of Musæus*, in *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 566, &c. treats professedly of the conference at Cassel; and in p. 568, gives an accurate catalogue of all the writings published both by the friends and the enemies of that conference.

⁷ Christ. Hartknoch's *Preussische Kirchenhistorie*, p. 599. *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1731, p. 1010, &c.

⁸ [Or Dury. *Tr.*]

attain the happiness of putting an end to the contests among the protestants. Nor, like others, did he attempt this vast enterprise shut up in his study; but he travelled himself into nearly all the countries of Europe, in which a purer religion flourished, and personally addressed and conferred with all the theologians of both parties, who were of much note and influence, and made great exertions to engage in his enterprise kings, princes, and magistrates, and their friends, by displaying the importance and utility of his object. Most persons commended his designs, and treated him with kindness: yet very few were found willing to help forward his plans by their personal efforts and counsels. Some persons suspecting that so great eagerness as they perceived in *Dury* must proceed from sinister designs, and that he was secretly labouring to draw the Lutherans into a snare, assailed him in their writings, not without acrimony; nor did all of them abstain from direct invectives and reproaches. At last, neglected by his own party, and repelled and rejected by ours, and wearied out by a thousand hardships, insults, and troubles, he learned that this task exceeded the power of private efforts; and he consumed the remainder of his life in obscurity and neglect at Cassel.⁹ This man, honest, though sometimes not sufficiently explicit and ingenuous, laid for the foundation of his scheme certain principles, according to which, if they should

⁹ See Jo. Christopher Coler's *Historia Joh. Duræi*, Wittemb. 1716, 4to, to which, however, very much might be added, from documents both printed and manuscript. Some documents of this kind were published by Theodore Haseus, in the *Bibliotheca Bremens. Theologico-Philologica*, tom. i. p. 911, &c. and tom. iv. p. 683. A great number are given by Timann Gesselius, in the *Addenda Irenica*, in his *Historia Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 614. His transactions with the Marburgers, are in Tilemann von Schenck's *Vita Professorum Theol. Marburgensium*, p. 202, &c. What he attempted in Holstein, may be learned from the Epistles which Adam Henry Lackmann published along with the Epistles of Luke Lossius, p. 245. How he conducted himself in Prussia and Poland, we are informed by Dan. Ern. Jablonsky, *Historia Consensus Sandomiriensis*, p. 127. His proceedings in Denmark are stated by Jac. Herm. von Elswich, *Fasciculus i. Epistolar. Fami-*

liarum Theologicar. p. 147. His acts in the Palatinate, are in Jo. Henry von Seelen's *Deliciae Epistolicae*, p. 353. His proceedings in Switzerland are illustrated by the Acts and Epistles, published in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. iii. iv. v. p. 502, &c. Many things, also, on this subject, are brought forward by Jo. Wolfg. Jaeger's *Historia Saeculi xvii.* decenn. vii. p. 172, and elsewhere. In general, respecting Dureus, the reader may consult Anth. Willh. Böhm's *Englische Reformations-historie*, p. 944, and the Dissertation, derived very much from unpublished documents, which Charles Jasper Benzel exhibited at Helmstadt, under my auspices, in 1744, entitled: *de Joh. Duræo, maxime de Actis ejus Suecanis*. [See also Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. Dureus; Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, pt. ii. b. xvii. ch. xi. § 23, &c. p. 152, &c. and Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 369, &c. *Tr.*]

be approved, not only Lutherans and the Reformed, but Christians of all sects whatever might easily become associated. For first he contended that what is called the *Apostles' Creed* embraced all the doctrines necessary to be believed, and the ten commandments all the laws of conduct to be observed, and the Lord's prayer all the promises of God: and if this were true, then all Christians might unite in one family. In the next place, as appears from adequate proof, he endeavoured to attain his object by means of mystical or Quakerish sentiments. For he placed all religion in the elevation of the soul to God, or in eliciting that internal divine spark, or word, that dwells in the human mind; from which it would follow, that difference of opinion on divine subjects has no connexion with religion.

§ 7. The principal Lutherans who engaged in this business were *John Matthiæ*, a Swede, bishop of Strengnas, and formerly preceptor to queen *Christina*, whom *Dury* had warmed with zeal for a coalition; and *George Calixtus*, a divine of Helmstadt, who had few equals in that age, either in learning, genius, or probity: but neither of these met with the success that he had hoped for. The *Olive Branches* of the former (for such was the title of his pamphlets on the subject) were publicly condemned; and by a royal edict were excluded from the territories of Sweden. And he himself, at last, in order to make some sort of peace with his enemies, was compelled to relinquish his office, and retire to a private life.¹⁰ *Calixtus*, while he dissuaded others from contention, drew on himself an immense load of accusations and conflicts; and while he endeavoured to free the church from all sects, was thought by great numbers of his brethren to be the father and author of a new sect, that of the Syncretists, a kind of people who pursue peace and union at the expense of divine truth.¹ We shall find hereafter a more convenient place for speaking of the fortunes and the opinions of this great man; for he was charged with many other offences

¹⁰ See Jo. Scheffer's *Suecia Litterata*, p. 123, and Jo. Möller's *Hypomnemata* upon it, p. 387. Archenholz, *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. i. p. 320, p. 505, &c. tom. ii. p. 63. [Matthiæ published two works, which gave offence to the Swedes, namely, *Idea boni Ordinis in Ecclesia Christi*; and *Ramus Olivæ Septentrionalis*. The last were published in ten parts, Strengnas, 1661, 1662, 12mo,

and in the latter year was placed in the list of the forbidden books. *Tr.*]

¹ The views of this excellent man, which many have stated incorrectly, may be learned from his tract, often printed, with the title: *Judicium de Controversiis Theologicis inter Lutheranos et Reformatos, et de mutua partium fraternitate et tolerantia*.

besides that of being zealous for peace with the Reformed; and the attacks made upon him threw the whole Lutheran community into commotion.

§ 8. To say something of the external prosperity of the Lutheran church, the most important circumstance is, that although it was beset by its enemies with numberless machinations and oppressions, it could no where be entirely extirpated and obliterated. There are to this day, and it may justly excite our wonder, very many Lutherans even in those countries in which Lutheran worship is prohibited: nay, (as appears from the recent emigration of the Saltsburghers², which deserves to be told to all future ages,) in those countries in which even a silent and most cautious dissent from the established religion is a capital crime, there lie concealed vast numbers who regard all superstition with abhorrence, and who observe in the best manner they can the great precepts of a purified religion. The countries which are inhabited by persons of different religions, yet are under the spiritual dominion of the Roman pontiff, afford us numerous examples of cruelty, inhumanity, and injustice, which the Romanists think perfectly justifiable against those who dissent from them, and whom they regard as seditious citizens: yet no where could either violence or fraud wrest from the Lutherans all their rights and liberties. It may be added that the Lutheran religion was transplanted by merchants and other emigrants into America, Asia, and Africa; and was introduced into various places of Europe, where it was before unknown.

§ 9. The internal condition of the Lutheran church in this century presents indeed many things to be commended, but not a few things also that deformed it. First, it was most honourable to the Lutherans that they cultivated every where with diligence not only sacred learning, but also every branch of human knowledge; and that they enlarged and illustrated both literature and theology with many and important accessions. Most people know this: nor does the nature of our undertaking allow us to give a long enumeration of revolutions and improvements in the several branches of learning. From the bulk of them religion derived some benefit, but some of

² [There was an emigration of over one thousand Saltsburghers, in the years 1684, 1685, 1686: but the great emigration was in the years 1731, and onwards, amounting to between 30,000 and 40,000 persons. *Tr.*]

them were abused by injudicious or ill-designing men, — such is the common lot of all human affairs, — to corrupt and to explain away that religion which the Bible reveals. In the first part of the century, those branches of learning in which intellect is chiefly concerned were the most taught in the schools; in a way and manner, too, but little attractive or intelligible: in the latter part of it more attention was paid to the branches which depend on genius and memory, and which afford more entertainment and pleasure, such as history, civil as well as literary and natural, antiquities, criticism, eloquence, and the like. Moreover, both kinds of learning were treated in a more convenient, neat, and elegant manner. Yet it was unhappily the fact, that while human knowledge was advanced and polished, the estimation in which learning and learned men were held was gradually lessened; which, among other causes that are better passed over in silence, may be ascribed to the multitude of those who applied themselves to literature, in spite of a cast of character and turn of mind fitted for a different way of life.

§ 10. During the greatest part of the century no other rule of philosophizing flourished in the schools except the Aristotelico-Scholastic: and for a long time those who thought that *Aristotle* should either be given up or amended, were considered as threatening as much danger to the church as if they had undertaken to falsify some portion of the Bible. In this zeal for the peripatetic philosophy, the doctors of Leipsic, Tübingen, Helmstadt, and Altdorf, went beyond almost all others. Many indeed envied Aristotle his high reputation. In the first place, there were certain wise and honest men among the theologians who admitted that it was proper to philosophize, though briefly, but who complained that the name of philosophy was attached to words and distinctions void of all meaning.³ Next came the disciples of *Peter Ramus*; who with great diligence inculcated the precepts of their master, which were of greater practical utility, in many both of the higher and inferior schools to the exclusion of the Aristotelians.⁴ Lastly, there were those who either condemned all philosophy as injurious to reli-

³ Such was Wenzel Schilling, with his associates; (concerning whom see Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, pt. ii. book xvii. ch. vi. p. 499,) and others of our best theologians.

⁴ See Jo. Herm. von Elswich, *de*

Varia Aristotelis in Protestant. scholis Fortuna, § xxi. p. 54, &c., and Jo. Geo. Walch's *Historia Logices*, lib. ii. cap. i. sect. iii. § 5, in his *Parerga Academica*, p. 613, &c.

gion and to the community, (which *Daniel Hoffmann* did no less unskilfully than contentiously at Helmstadt,) or who, with *Robert Fludd* and *Jacob Böhmen*, (already mentioned⁵) boasted of having discovered, by the help of fire and heavenly light within, an admirable and celestial mode of philosophizing. But if there had been as much harmony among those sects as there was dissension and disagreement, they had far less power than was necessary to overthrow the empire of *Aristotle*, now confirmed by time, and strong in the multitude of its defenders.

§ 11. But more danger impended over *Aristotle* from *Des Cartes* and *Gassendi*, whose lucid and well-arranged treatises, as early as the middle of the century, better pleased many of our theologians than the numerous huge volumes of the Peripatetics, in which the stale and insipid wisdom of the schools was exhibited without taste or elegance. These new teachers of philosophy, the Aristotelians first endeavoured to repel by arguments of an invidious nature, copiously displaying the great danger which this new mode of philosophizing portended to religion and to true piety; and afterwards when they saw these weapons unsuccessful, by retreating a little, and defending only the citadel of their cause and abandoning the outworks. For some of them coupled elegance of diction and polite literature with their precepts; nor did they deny that there were in *Aristotle*, though he was the prince of philosophers, some blemishes and faults which a wise man might lawfully amend. But this very prudence made their adversaries more bold and daring: for they now contended that they had obliged them to confess guilt; and therefore opened all their batteries upon the whole school of the Stagirite, the need of a partial amendment in which had only been conceded by the other side. After *Hugo Grotius*, who was but a timid opponent of the Stagirite, *Samuel Puffendorf* first pointed out, freely and openly, a new and very different course from the Peripatetic on the law of nature and science of morals. He was followed, and with a spirit far above his own, in spite of the multifarious enmity that had nearly overwhelmed him, by *Christian Thomasius*, a jurist first of Leipsic, and then at Halle; who was not, indeed, a man to whose protection the interests of philosophy

⁵ See above, the general history of the church, § 30, &c. p. 44, &c.

might be entrusted with entire confidence ; but still one who had a fearless mind and a very superior genius. He attempted a reformation, not of a single science only, but of every branch of philosophy ; and both by words and by example continually urged his fellow citizens to burst asunder the bonds of *Aristotle* ; whom however he did not understand, nor had he even read him. The particular mode of philosophizing which he substituted in place of that which had prevailed was not very favourably received, and soon fell into neglect : but the spirit of innovation which he diffused, made so great a progress in a short time, that he may be justly accounted the subduer of philosophic tyranny, or of *sectarian philosophy*, especially among the Germans.⁶ The Frederician university founded at Halle in Saxony, where he taught, was the first to fall in with his views : afterwards the other schools in Germany adopted them one after another : and from these a liberty of thinking passed over to other countries that agreed with us in religion. Toward the end of the century, therefore, all among us became possessed, not by any law, but in the course of events, and as it were accidentally, of the liberty of philosophizing each according to his own judgment and not another man's : and of exhibiting in public those principles of philosophy which each one thought to be true and certain. This liberty was so used by the major part, that, in the manner of the ancient *Eclectics*, they selected and combined the better and more probable dogmas of the various schools : yet there were some, among whom *Godfrey William Leibnitz* was the greatest man, who endeavoured to search for the truth by their own efforts, and to elicit from fixed and immovable principles a new and imperishable philosophy.⁷ In this conflict

⁶ [Concerning Christian Thomasius, see Brucker's *Historia Crit. Philosophiæ*, tom. v. and his *Append. Hist. Crit. Philos.* p. 859, &c. Yet Mosheim judged more correctly of this memorable man than Brucker did, who unjustly accounted him a reformer of philosophy. Thomasius was not properly a reformer of philosophy, though he was the occasion of a reform in it ; for he improved the philosophical genius of the Germans, just as Holberg did that of the Danes, without being himself a great discoverer of philosophy. Thomasius introduced more freedom of thinking. And this freedom, under his guidance, spread itself not only over philosophy, but like-

wise over ecclesiastical law. He often went too far in this matter ; and his views were not always the best. The abuse he received from the divines of Leipsic, inflamed him with hatred against the whole clerical order. At the same time, he must have the credit of abolishing the punishment of heretics, trials for witchcraft, and certain false principles respecting marriage and divorce, &c. See Prof. Schroeckh's *Algem. Biographie*, vol. v. p. 266, &c. *Schl.*]

⁷ No one will better illustrate all these facts than Jac. Brucker, the man best informed on all these subjects, in his *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*.

with *Aristotle* and his friends so great was the odium against the routed foe, among the Lutherans, that the science of *metaphysics*, which he regarded as the primary science, and the source of all the rest, was degraded and nearly stripped of all its honours; nor could the otherwise great influence of *Des Cartes*, who like *Aristotle* commenced all his philosophy with it, afford to it any protection. But after the first commotions had a little subsided, principally at the recommendation of *Leibnitz*, it was not only recalled from exile, but was also again honoured with the splendid title and rank of the queen of sciences.

§ 12. Many persons, who have formed such an idea of the Christian church as no wise men will ever expect to see realized, are wonderfully copious in enumerating and exaggerating the defect of the Lutheran clergy of this age. In the higher class of them, they mention arrogance, a contentious spirit, disregard of Christian simplicity, lust of domination, a carping disposition, intolerable bigotry, extreme hatred of pious and good men who may honestly deviate at all from the established rule of faith; and I know not what other things no better than these. In the lower class of ministers they mention ignorance, an inept mode of teaching, and neglect of their most sacred duties; and in both classes, avarice, the want of piety, indolence, and habits unbecoming the character of ministers of Christ. One who has leisure and the means of examining the morals and the state of those times, will readily grant that there was not a small number of persons presiding over the Lutheran churches, deficient either in the ability or the disposition to point out the way of truth and of salvation wisely and well. But such as are acquainted with human affairs know this to have been the common evil of all ages. And on the other hand, no one will deny, — unless he is ignorant and ill-informed, or is affected by some disease of the mind, — that there were very many learned, grave, wise, and holy men, intermingled with such as cannot be defended. And, perhaps, if one should raise this question; Whether in the times of our fathers, or in our own times, (in which, as many think, the ancient sanctity of the clergy is revived in numerous places,) there were the most preachers in our churches unworthy of their office, a difficult controversy would come up, in which a person of any genius might easily find arguments on both sides. Besides, many of the faults so invidiously charged upon the clergy of this age, if

the subject be duly examined, will be found not so much the faults of the men as of the *times*; of those public calamities, in fact, which flowed from the thirty years' war, a most fruitful mother of a great many ills in Germany. Some of the blame too must be laid upon a faulty education, nor can the civil power be wholly acquitted of it.

§ 13. This last charge will be better understood if we notice some particulars. We do not deny, what many allege, that during a great part of the century the people were not well instructed and taught, either from the pulpit, or in the schools; nor shall we much resist those who maintain that the sacred eloquence of many places was the art of declaiming boisterously, by the hour, on subjects little understood or comprehended. For though the doctrines and precepts of religion were generally brought forward, yet by most preachers they were dressed out in puerile ornaments, very foreign from the spirit of divine wisdom; and thus were in a measure deprived of their native force and beauty. Yet who can greatly wonder that those men should have amplified their discourses with adventitious matter, who had but very few examples of good speaking before them, and who brought to the sacred office heads full of philosophical terms and distinctions and quibbles, but empty of those things which are of most use for moving the souls of men? We acknowledge, that in the universities more time was spent in the study of polemic theology, and in stating and clearing the doctrines of theology with subtilty and art, than in explaining the holy Scriptures, in unfolding the principles of morals, in imbuing the mind with pious emotions, and in other things necessary in a minister of religion. Yet this fault, I think, will be censured with less severity by one who has learned from the history of those times with what zeal and subtilty numerous adversaries attacked the Lutheran cause, and to what dangers it was exposed from those adversaries, especially from the papists. When war rages on every side, the art of war and of defending one's country, it is well known, is commonly regarded as the most valuable of all arts. I wish they had shown more mildness towards great numbers, who from excessive curiosity, or from ignorance, or the ardour of their imaginations, fell into errors, yet did not disturb the public peace with their opinions. But from education, and from their earliest impressions, (which are well known to have boundless influence,) our ancestors derived the sentiment

that corrupters of divine truth ought to be restrained. And the more simplicity and attachment to the divine glory they possessed, the more difficult was it for them to discard the maxim, transfused into their minds from the ecclesiastical law of the papists, that whoever is adjudged an enemy of God, should be adjudged an enemy of his country.

§ 14. In the form of church government, the mode of worship, and other external regulations of our church, little or no change was made in most places. Yet many and great changes would have been made, if the princes had deemed it for the public good to regulate ecclesiastical matters according to the prescriptions of certain great and excellent men, who, near the close of the century, led on by *Christian Thomasius*, attempted a reformation of our system of ecclesiastical law. These famous jurists, in the first place, set up a new fundamental principle of church polity, namely, the supreme authority and power of the civil magistrate: and then, after establishing with great care and subtilty this basis, they founded upon it a great mass of precepts, which, in the judgment of many, were considered, and not without reason, as tending to this point, that the sovereign of a country is also sovereign of the religion of its citizens, or is their supreme pontiff; and that the ministers of religion are not to be accounted ambassadors of God, but vicegerents of the chief magistrates. They also weakened, not a little, the few prerogatives and advantages of the clergy, which were left of the vast number formerly possessed; and maintained that many of the maxims and regulations of our church, which had come down from our fathers, were relics of popish superstition. This afforded matter for long and pernicious feuds and contests between our theologians and our jurists. I leave others to inquire with what temper and designs, and with what success, these contests were managed on both sides. It will be sufficient for us to observe, what is acknowledged on all hands, that they have every where largely taken from the respect for the sacred order, as also from the dignity of religion itself, and from the prosperity and security of the whole Lutheran church. Wherefore, most unfortunately, such is the state of things among us, that those of honourable birth, or who are distinguished for strength of genius, or for noble and ingenuous feelings, look upon the study of theology as beneath them, there being neither honour nor much emolument attached to it; and every day the

number of wise and erudite theologians is becoming less. This is lamented by those who see in what a perilous state the Lutheran cause now is: and perhaps those who come after us will have cause to lament it still more.

§ 15. With the names of celebrated men among the Lutherans, who have promoted their own reputations and the interests of the church by their writings, we might fill up several pages. It will be sufficient for the young theologian to acquaint himself well with the merits and the labours of the following. *Ægidius* and *Nicholas Hunnius*; *Leonard Hutter*; *John* and *John Ernest Gerhard*; *George* and *Frederic Ulric Calixtus*; the *Mentzers*; the *Oleariuses*; *Frederic Baldwin*; *Albrecht Grawer*; *Matthias Hoe*; the *Carpzovs*; *John* and *Paul Tarnovius*; *John Affelmann*; *Eilh. Lubin*; the *Lysers*; both the *Michael Walthers*; *Joachim Hildebrand*; *John Val. Andreae*; *Solomon Glassius*; *Abraham Calovius*; *Theodore Hackspan*; *John Hülsemann*; *James Weller*; the brothers, *Peter* and *John Musæus*; *John Conrad Danhauer*; *John George Dorschæus*; *John Arndt*; *Martin Geyer*; *John Adam Schertzer*; *Balthasar* and *John Meisner*; *Augustus Pfeiffer*; *Henry* and *John Müller*; *Justus Christopher Schomer*; *Sebastian Schmid*; *Christian Kortholt*; the *Osianders*; *Philip James Spener*; *Gebhard Theodore Meyer*; *Friedemann Bechmann*; and others.⁸

⁸ For the lives and writings of these men, see, besides the common writers of literary history, *Henry Witte*, in his *Memoriæ Theologorum*, and his *Diarium Biographicum*; *Henry Pipping*, and *George Henry Götze*, in their *Memoriæ Theologorum*; and others. [The following brief notices are abridged from *Schlegel* and *Von Einem*.—*Æg. Hunnius*, born 1550, prof. of theology at Marburg, 1576, and at Wittenberg, 1592, where he died 1603, was a great polemic divine. His Latin works, 5 vols. fol. were printed, 1607—1609.—His son of the same name, superintendent at Altenburg, died 1642.—*Nicholas Hunnius*, prof. at Wittenb., and superintendent at Lubec, died 1643. He wrote against the catholics; and a plan for terminating religious controversies.—*Hutter* died a prof. at Wittenb. in 1616. He was a bitter polemic against the Reformed.—*John Gerhard*, born 1582, prof. at Coburg and Jena, died 1637. His *Loci Communes* enlarged by *Cotta*, are

still in repute. His *Confessio Catholica* confutes the catholic theology, by the fathers, councils, and schoolmen.—His son, *Jo. Ernest Gerhard*, prof. of theology at Jena, died 1668, and his grandson of the same name, prof. of theology at Giessen, died 1707.—*Geo. Calixtus*, an elegant scholar, and a learned theologian, prof. at Helmstadt, died 1656. His conflicts are afterwards mentioned by *Dr. Mosheim*.—His son, *Geo. Ulric Calixtus*, trod in the steps of his father; but possessed less talent. *Balthazar Mentzer*, the father, prof. at Marburg and Giessen, famous as a violent polemic against the Reformed, died 1627.—*Balthazar Mentzer*, the son, was prof. at Marburg, Rinteln, and Giessen; and died 1679.—*John Olearius* (or *Olschläger*) who died 1628, prof. of Heb. at Helmst., and superintendent at Halle, was the parent of the others.—*Jo. Godf. Olearius*, his son, succeeded his father at Halle.—*Jo. Olearius*, the grandson of *John*, was prof. of Gr. at Leipsic, wrote

§ 16. No violence was publicly offered to the fundamental articles of religion, as professed by the Lutheran church : nor

De Stylo N. T., and died 1713.—Godfr. Olearius, son of the last, and great-grandson of the first John, was prof. of theology at Leipsic, and died 1715.—Fred. Baldwin was prof. of theology at Wittemb., wrote a *Comment. on Paul's Epistles; Cases of Conscience*, &c., and died 1627.—Grawer, prof. at Jena, and general superintendent at Weimar, an angry polemic, and denominated the shield and sword of Lutheranism, died 1617.—Hoe was nobly born at Vienna; was a court preacher, and a strenuous adversary of the Reformed; and died in 1645.—Jo. Bened. Carpzov, prof. of theology at Leipsic, wrote *Isagoge in Libros Symbol.*, and died 1657.—His son, Jo. Bened. Carpzov, also prof. of theology at Leipsic, and famed for his Rabbinic learning, died 1699. His brother, Sam. Bened. Carpzov, court preacher at Dresden, died 1707.—Jo. Tarnovius, prof. of theology at Rostock, a good interpreter, died 1629.—Paul Tarnovius, a kinsman of the former, and a prof. at Rostock, also a biblical interpreter, died in 1633.—Affelmann (or von Affeln) was an acute but angry disputant, prof. of theology at Rostock, and died 1624.—Lubin, professor, first of poetry, and then of theology, at Rostock, was an elegant scholar, and a good interpreter of Paul's Epistles; died 1621.—Polycarp Lyser, prof. of theology at Wittemberg, a zealous defender of Lutheranism, died 1610.—His son, Polycarp, prof. of theology at Leipsic, also an acute polemic, died 1633.—The brother of the last, William Lyser, was prof. of theol. at Wittemb., and died in 1649.—Walther, the father, prof. of theol. at Helmst., and then general superintendent of East Friesland, died at Zelle, 1662.—Walther the son, was prof. of mathematics, and then of theology at Wittemberg, and died 1692.—Hildebrand, prof. of theology and ecclesiastical antiquities at Helmstadt, and then upper superintendent at Luneburg, died 1671.—J. V. Andreæ, the son of John, and grandson of the famous chancellor James Andreæ of Tübingen, sustained various offices, court preacher, consistorial counsellor, &c. He was a great satirical genius, as well as profoundly learned; and was supposed to be the author of the Rosicrucian comedy; died 1654, aged 68.—Solomon

Glass, author of *Philologia Sacra*, was born 1593, became prof. of Hebrew and Greek, and then of theology, at Jena, and lastly, general superintendent at Gotha, where he died, 1656. He was very learned and pious.—Calovius, prof. at Königsberg, rector at Dantzic, and professor of theology at Wittemberg, died 1686, aged 74. He was a learned dogmatic theologian, and severe against dissentients from Lutheranism.—Hackspan, a learned orientalist, professor of the oriental languages, and then of theology, at Altorf, died 1659, aged 52.—Hülsemann, a scholastic divine, was prof. of theology, first at Wittemberg, and then at Leipsic, where he died, 1661, aged 59. He strenuously opposed all union with the Reformed.—Weller, author of a famous Gr. Grammar, was a good teacher of the oriental languages and theology at Wittemberg, and then court preacher at Dresden; died 1664, aged 62.—Peter Musæus, a learned and moderate man, prof. of theology at Rinteln, Helmstadt, and Kiel, where he died, 1674, aged 54.—John Musæus, a judicious divine, first a prof. of history and poetry, and then of theology, at Jena; died 1681, aged 68. Both these brothers were liberal-minded men.—Danhauer, a poet and professor of theology at Strasburg, died 1666, aged 63.—Dorschæus of Strasburg, a prof. of theology there, and at Rostock, where he died in 1659, aged 62; was very learned. Arndt, after various changes and persecutions, died general superintendent at Zelle, in 1621, aged 66; a very pious man, though mystical. See vol. iii. p. 319, note ⁸.—Geyer, a preacher and professor at Leipsic, and court preacher at Dresden; a devout man, a commentator on some books of the Old Testament, died 1680, aged 66.—Schertzer, professor of theology at Leipsic, a disciple of Hülsemann, author of a system of theology; died 1638, aged 55.—Balth. Meisner, of Dresden, prof. of theology at Wittemberg, a modest and liberal-minded man; died 1626, aged 39.—Jo. Meisner, prof. of theology at Wittemberg; much opposed by Calovius, for his liberal views; died 1681, aged 86.—Pfeiffer, a good orientalist and expositor, author of *Dubia vexata* and *Critica sacra*, was prof. of oriental languages and of theology, first

would any one easily have found toleration among the Lutheran doctors, if he had ventured to forsake, or to invalidate, the doctrines clearly defined and explained in what are called the *Symbolical* books. But in more modern times, from various causes, the high authority, once possessed by those rules of faith and doctrine, has, in many places, been much weakened and diminished. And hence arises the liberty, enjoyed by those who are not professed teachers in the church, of dissenting from the symbolical books; and of expressing that dissent at pleasure, both orally and in their writings. Formerly, such as opposed any article of the public religion, or disseminated new opinions among the people, were judicially arraigned; and could seldom escape without some loss of honour and emoluments, unless they would abjure their opinions. But no one feared any thing of this kind after the principle, which the Arminians first zealously propagated, had gradually made its way among the Lutheran churches in the latter part of the seventeenth century; namely, that every man is accountable to God only for his religious opinions; and that it is wrong for the state to punish any man for his erroneous faith, provided he does nothing to dis-

at Wittemberg, and then at Leipsic, and superintendent at Lubec, where he died, 1698, aged 58.—Henry Müller, a friend of Spener, preacher and prof. at Rostock, known by his practical writings, died 1675, aged 44.—Jo. Müller, a preacher at Hamburg, and bitter opposer of Henry Müller and Jac. Boehman, died 1672, aged 74.—Schomer of Lubec, professor of theology at Rostock, died 1693, aged 45; and was a man of general knowledge.—Schmid, a native of Alsace and prof. at Strasburg, was learned in the oriental languages, and distinguished as a biblical interpreter. His Lat. translation of the Bible, and comment. on several books, did him much credit: he died 1696, aged 79.—Kortholt was professor of theology at Rostock, and then at Kiel, where he was vice-chancellor, and died 1694, aged 61. He advanced church history, and promoted piety and religious knowledge in the country around him.—Lucas Osiander, senior, (son of Andrew Osiander senior,) was court preacher, and consistorial counsellor at Stutgard, and employed in promoting the reception of the Formula of Concord. He abridged and continued the Magdeburg centuries;

and died 1604, aged 73.—Andrew Osiander (son of the former) became chancellor at Tübingen, and died 1617, aged 55, leaving nine children. He published a Latin Bible with notes.—Lucas Osiander, junior, (son of Lucas Osiander, senior,) prof. of theology, and chancellor at Tübingen; a violent polemic, and particularly hostile to Menzer and Arndt; died 1638, aged 67.—John Adam Osiander, (son of Jo. Balthazar Osiander, superintendent of Vaihingen,) was court preacher at Stutgard, prof. of Greek, and then of theology, and finally chancellor at Tübingen; a polemic divine; died 1697, aged 75.—Phil. Jac. Spener, of Upper Alsace, preacher at Strasburg, Frankfurt, and at the court of Dresden, and provost of Berlin, where he died 1705, aged 76. He was learned and eloquent, and a great promoter of piety; and will be noticed hereafter.—Meyer, well read in ecclesiastical antiquities, was professor of theology at Helmstadt, where he died, 1693. He wrote *Commentar. de recondita Veteris Eccles. Theologia*; and published Justell's *Codex Canonum Ecclesie Universæ*.—Bechmann was professor at Jena, and died in 1703. *Tr.*]

turb the public tranquillity. It were to be wished that this liberty of opinion (which every one will approve in proportion to his equity and his confidence in his own virtue) had not degenerated into the unbridled licentiousness of treating every thing sacred and salutary with utter contempt, and of attacking, with amazing wantonness, the honour both of religion and its ministers.

§ 17. The study of the sacred Scriptures was never intermitted among the Lutherans; nor were they at any time without skilful interpreters of them, or trusty guides to the commentaries produced. To say nothing of *Tarnovius*, *Gerhard*, *Hackspan*, *Calixtus*, *Erasmus Schmid*, and the many other famous expounders of the divine books, there was published at the very time which some tax with the greatest neglect of this kind of studies, the immortal work of *Solomon Glassius*, entitled *Philologia Sacra*; than which no work can be a more useful help for understanding the language of the divine Scriptures. Still it must be confessed, that during a large part of the century, most of the doctors in the universities were more occupied in explaining and defending with subtilty the dogmas and tenets of the church, than in expounding that volume whence all solid knowledge of them must be derived. Yet if in this there was any thing reprehensible, the subsequent theologians caused the interests of the Lutheran religion to derive little injury from it. For as soon as the commotions produced by the wars and controversies, particularly with the papists, had begun to subside, great numbers applied themselves to the exposition of the Scriptures; to which they were excited and quickened very much, if I do not misjudge, by the industry of those Dutch theologians, who followed after *Cocceius*. At the head of these later interpreters may be placed, perhaps, *Sebastian Schmid*; whom, at least, no one has exceeded in the number of his productions. Next to him, *Abraham Calovius*, *Martin Geyer*, *Schomer*, and others, most deserve to be mentioned.⁹ The *Pietistic* controversies, though otherwise most lamentable, were at last attended with this among other consequences, that greater numbers than before applied themselves to the careful reading of the holy Scriptures, and to meditation on their con-

⁹ The reader may here consult Jo. Fran. Buddens, *Isagogue in Theologiam*, lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 1686, &c.

tents. The merits of these expositors, as must be the case, were unequal. Some investigated merely the import of the words and the sense of the text. Others, besides this, encountered adverse parties, and either confuted false expositions, or brought forth true ones for the subversion of erroneous opinions. Others, after exhibiting briefly the sense of the [inspired] writer, applied it to morals and to instruction in Christian duty. Some are represented, and perhaps not unjustly, as having, by assiduously reading the books of the Cocceians, fallen into certain faults of theirs; and as inconsiderately turning the sacred histories into allegories, by searching after recondite and remote senses rather than the obvious sense of the words.

§ 18. The principal divines of this century, at first, presented the doctrines of religion derived from the Scriptures, in a loose and disconnected form, after the manner of *Melancthon*; that is, arranged under general heads (*Loci Communes*): yet this did not prevent them from employing the terms, the distinctions, and the definitions of the then reigning and admired Peripatetic philosophy, in the explanation and statement of particular doctrines. Afterwards, *George Calixtus*, who was himself addicted to the Aristotelian philosophy, first clothed theology in a philosophic dress; that is, reduced it to the form of a science, or system of truths: but he was censured by many, not so much for doing such a thing, as because he did not give to this most sacred science a suitable form. For he divided the whole science into three parts, *the object, the subject, and the means*; which, though accordant with the precepts of *Aristotle*, to whom he was exclusively attached, was, in the opinion of some, an unsuitable distribution.¹ A number of the best teachers, however, eagerly adopted that arrangement; and even in our times there are some who commend it, and follow it in practice. Some arranged religious doctrines in a different manner: but they had not many imitators. In the mean time, there were many respectable and pious men, all through the

¹ [This distribution into the *object, subject, and means* in theology, may be understood, by considering what parts of theology he placed under each of these heads. Under the *first*, he considered man's supreme good, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection, the last judgment, eternal blessedness and damnation. Under the *second*, he considered

the doctrines concerning God, creation, man's state of innocency and apostasy, with its consequences. Under the *third*, he considered the doctrines concerning the grace of God, the merits of Christ, his person and offices, faith, and justification, the word of God, the sacraments, conversion, good works, &c. *Tr.*]

century, who were very much displeased with this mode of teaching theology philosophically, and of combining sacred truths with the dictates of philosophy: they earnestly desired to see all human subtleties and nice speculation laid aside, and theology exhibited just as God exhibits it in the holy Scriptures; that is, in a simple, perspicuous, popular form, cleared and freed wholly from any philosophical fetters. These persons were gratified to some extent, as the century drew to a close, when *Philip James Spener*, and not a few others, animated by his exhortations and example, began to treat on religious subjects with more freedom and clearness; and when the Eclectics drove the Peripatetic philosophy from the schools. *Spener* could not indeed persuade *all* to follow his method; yet he persuaded a great many. Nor can there be any doubt that from this time onward, theology acquired a more noble and agreeable aspect. Polemic theology experienced much the same fortunes as dogmatic. For it was, for the most part, destitute of all elegance and perspicuity, so long as *Aristotle* had dominion in the theological schools: but after his banishment, it gradually received some degree of light and polish. Yet we must acknowledge, with regret, that the common faults of disputants were not effaced even after those times. For if we turn over the pages of the earlier or the later religious controversialists of this century, we find few whom we can truly pronounce desirous of nothing but the advancement of truth, or not deceived and led away by their passions.

§ 19. Our theologians were tardy in cultivating moral theology. Nor, if we except a few eminent men, such as *John Arndt* and *John Gerhard*, and others who treated in a popular way upon the conformation of the soul to the true and internal worship of God, and upon the duties of men, was there a single excellent and accurate writer on the science of morals in all the first part of the century. And hence those who laboured to elucidate what are called *cases of conscience*, were held in estimation. Still, this is a class that could not help falling very often into mistakes, inasmuch as the first and fundamental principles of morals were not yet accurately laid down. *George Calixtus*, whose merits are so great in regard to all other branches of theology, first separated the science of morals from that of dogmatics, and gave it the form of an independent science. He was not indeed allowed to complete the design

which all admired in its commencement; but his disciples made use, with good success, of the materials which they got from him, to construct a proper system of moral theology. Scarcely any thing was more injurious to their labours, in process of time, than the Peripatetic dress, with which *Calixtus* chose to invest also this part of divine truth. Hence the moderns have torn off this dress, and calling in the aid of the law of nature, which *Puffendorf* and others had purified and illustrated, and collating it carefully with the sacred Scriptures, have not only more clearly laid open the sources of Christian duties, and more correctly ascertained the import of the divine laws, but have also digested and arranged this whole science in a much better manner.

§ 20. During this whole century the Lutheran church was greatly agitated; partly by controversies among the principal doctors, to the great injury of the whole community; and partly by the extravagant zeal and plans of certain persons who disseminated new and strange opinions, uttered prophecies and attempted to change all our doctrines and institutions. The controversies, which drew the doctors into parties, may be fitly divided into the greater and the less; the former such as disturbed the whole church, and the latter such as disquieted only some part of it. Of the first kind there were two, which occupied the greatest part of the century; the *Syncretistic*, which, from the place whence it arose, was called the *Helmstadian* controversy, and from the man chiefly concerned in it, the *Calixtine* controversy; and the *Pietistic*, which some call the *Hallensian* controversy, from the university with which it was waged. Both were occasioned by principles, than which nothing is more holy and lovely: the former, by the love of peace and Christian forbearance, so highly commended by our Saviour; and the latter, by the desire of restoring and advancing fallen piety, which every good man admits should be among the first cares of a Christian teacher. Against these two great virtues, *zeal* for maintaining the truth and for preserving it from all mixture of error, which is likewise an excellent and very useful virtue, engaged in open war. For so critical and hazardous is the condition of human nature, that wars and pests may flow from the very best of sources, if they be acted upon by the turbid movements of men's minds.

§ 21. *George Calixtus*, of Sleswick, a theologian who had few equals in this century, either for learning or for genius,

while teaching in that university which from its first establishment granted proper liberty of thought to its professors, early intimated that in his view there were some defects in the common opinions of theologians. Afterwards he went further, and showed in various ways that he had a strong desire, not so much to establish peace and harmony among disagreeing Christians as to diminish their anger and implacable *hatred* to each other. Nor did his colleagues differ much from him in this matter: which will the less surprise those who know that such as are created doctors of theology in the university of Helmstadt, are accustomed, all of them, to make oath that they will endeavour, according to their ability, to reconcile and settle the controversies among Christians. The first avowed attack upon them was made in 1639 by *Statius Buscher*, a minister of St. Giles' church in Hanover, an indiscreet man, of the Ramist school, and hostile to [the prevailing] philosophy; who was much displeased because *Calixtus* and his associates preferred the Peripatetic philosophy to that of the sect which he had embraced. The attack was made in a very malignant book, entitled, *Crypto-Papismus Novæ Theologiæ Helmstadiensis*²; in which he accused *Calixtus* especially of numerous errors. Though *Buscher* made some impression on the minds of individuals, he would perhaps have incurred the reproach of being a rash and unjust accuser, if he had only induced *Calixtus* to be more cautious. But the latter possessing a generous spirit that disdained all dissimulation, not only persevered with his colleague *Conrad Horneius*, in confidently asserting and defending the things which *Buscher* had brought many to regard as novelties and dangerous; but likewise, in the conference at Thorn, in 1645, he incurred the indignation and enmity of the Saxon divines, who were there present. *Frederic William*, elector of Brandenburg, had made him colleague and assistant to the divines whom he sent from Königsberg to that conference: and the Saxon deputies thought it horrible, that a Lutheran divine should afford any aid to the Reformed. This first cause of offence in that conference, was followed by others, which occasioned the Saxons to accuse *Calixtus* of being too friendly to the Reformed. The story is too long to be fully stated here. But after the conference broke up, the Saxon

² [i. e. The disguised popery of the new theology at Helmstadt. *Tr.*]

divines, *John Hülsemann, James Weller, John Scharf, Abraham Calovius*, and others, attacked *Calixtus* in their public writings, maintaining, that he had apostatized from the Lutheran doctrines to the sentiments of the Reformed and the papists. These their attacks he repelled, with great vigour and uncommon erudition, being profoundly versed in philosophy and all antiquity, until the year 1656, when he passed from these scenes of discord to heavenly rest.³

³ Whoever wishes to know merely the series of events in this controversy, the titles of the books published, the doctrines that were controverted, and similar things, may find writers enough to consult; such as Walch, *Introduction to the Controversies in our Church*, (in German,) Andr. Charles Weismann, [*Historia Eccles. sæcul. xvii. p. 1194.*] Arnold, [*Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*, pt. ii. book xvii. ch. xi. § 1, &c.] and many others; but especially Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. iii. p. 121, where he treats largely of the life, fortunes, and writings of Calixtus. But whoever wishes to understand the internal character of this controversy, the causes of the several events, the characters of the disputants, the arguments on both sides, in short, the things that are of the highest importance in the controversy, will find no writer to whose fidelity he can safely trust. This history requires a man of ingenuousness, of extensive knowledge of the world, well furnished with documents, which are in a great measure not yet published, and also not a novice in court policy. And I am not certain whether, even in this age, if a man could be found competent to do it, all that is important to the history of this controversy, could be published to the world, without exciting odium, and producing harm. [The translator (says Schlegel, who was a pupil of Mosheim,) may be allowed here to insert the judgment of Mosheim, which he brought forward in his Lectures; in which he communicated with his hearers, more freely than he usually does in his writings with his readers. — Calixtus, by his travels, became acquainted with people of various creeds, and particularly with Roman catholics and the Reformed; and by this intercourse, he acquired a kind of moderation in his judgments respecting persons of other denominations. In particular, he had resided long in

England, and contracted an intimacy with several bishops. Here he imbibed the fundamental principles of the English reformation, and his partiality for the ancient churches. And hence he assumed the consent of the church in the five first centuries, as a second source of a true knowledge of a Christian faith; and was of opinion that *we* had gone too far in the reformation, and that we should have done better, if we had regulated the church according to the pattern of the early churches. From this source, afterwards, followed all his peculiarities of sentiment. Hence his attachment to ecclesiastical antiquity: hence his desire for the union of all classes of Christians: hence his inclination towards the Romish church; which cannot be denied, though he acknowledged and exposed numerous faults and abuses in that church. And hence, also, it arose, that he had a particular respect for the English church, as retaining more of the usages of the ancient church: and that many of his pupils went over, some to the Romish, and others to the English church. Calixtus became renowned in early life. A young lord of Klenck had been prepossessed in favour of the catholic religion by the Jesuit, Augustine Turrianus of Hildesheim. The mother, wishing to prevent his apostasy, invited Cornelius Martini, a professor at Helmstadt, and the strongest metaphysician of his age, to come to her castle at Hildesheim, and dispute with the Jesuit, in the presence of her son. Martini denied himself this honour, and recommended to it his pupil, the young Calixtus. He, on the first day, drove the Jesuit into such straits that he could say nothing; and the next morning he secretly decamped. The history of this transaction may be found in the *Summa Colloquii Hemelschenburgensis*. This remarkable victory led the duke of Brunswick to raise him from a

§ 22. After the death of *Calixtus*, and the decease also of those by whom he had been most opposed, the flames of this

master in philosophy to the rank of professor in theology. While only a master, he had published 15 *Disputationes de Precipuis Religionis Christianæ capitibus*; in which he intimated pretty clearly, that he did not believe *all* that was generally believed in our church; and particularly, he explained the doctrine of the transfer of attributes (*Communicatio Idiomatum*) differently from the common explanation. Likewise to his *Epitome Theologia*, published in 1619, Balthasar Menzer of Giessen, and Henry Höpfner of Leipsic, made many exceptions. For he mixed his scholastic philosophy with theology; and taught, among other things, that God was the accidental cause of sin,—a proposition, which was liable to be very ill interpreted, and which he afterwards recalled, on account of its liability to misinterpretation. Thus he was involved in contentions from the commencement of his professorship; and they were increased in 1634, when he published the first part of his *Epitome Theologiæ Moralis*, and subjoined to it a Digression, *de Nova Arte*, in opposition to Barthold Nihusen. In particular, the Ramists were his mortal enemies, because he was an Aristotelian. One of these Ramists, Statius Buscher, (who had read lectures at Helmstadt as a master, before Calixtus did, being prompted to it by some enemies of Calixtus,) published his *Crypto-Papismus Novæ Theologiæ Helmstadiensis*; to which Calixtus and Hornesius made answer. The honest Buscher was summoned before the Consistory: but he chose not to appear personally, and therefore defended himself in writing. He gave up his office, retired to Stade, where he died of grief, in 1641. Thus this contest faded away. Buscher's accusations were ill founded; and his patrons were afraid to expose themselves. But four years after, a very different conflict arose, which lasted as long as Calixtus lived. The king of Poland, Ladislav IV., appointed the Charitable Conference (*Colloquium Charitativum*), at Thorn: in which all religious parties were to appear, and confer together on religion, and come to agreement. To this conference, on the side of the Lutherans, some Saxon divines of Wittenberg especially, were invited from

Germany; for they were regarded as standing at the head of all the German theologians. The great elector of Brandenburg, prince Frederic William, invited Calixtus of Brunswick to accompany and assist the Königsberg divines: and Calixtus not only complied, but also committed the error, of going previously to Berlin, and hence travelling in company with the Reformed divines to Thorn, lodging in the same house, eating at the same table, and in general having the greatest familiarity with them. As the Königsberg divines had not yet arrived, and so Calixtus had nothing to do in the Conference, the magistrates of Elbingen and Thorn invited him to assist *them*; which he engaged to do. But the Saxon and Dantzick divines, (among the latter of whom Calovius was the most violent,) threw in their remonstrance; alleging, that he could not be admitted as a speaker in behalf of the divines of these cities, because he belonged to a university which did not embrace the *Formula of Concord*, and because he had rendered himself suspected, by his intimacy with the Reformed. This remonstrance induced the senate of Elbingen to desist from the measure. As Calixtus could not in this way be brought to take an active part, another occurrence afforded him something to do. The Polish Reformed and the Bohemian Brethren, when they saw that the Dantzick divines would not tolerate him among the Lutheran speakers, invited him to be *their* speaker; which he consented to, yet with the restriction, that he should hold with them only in the points on which protestants were at issue with the catholics. He afterwards printed some notes on the Creed, which were laid before the Conference; in which he made it appear, that he did not, in all points, agree with the Reformed. But all this was insufficient to quiet the suspicion against him. The rumour spread every where, that Calixtus was an apostate. The disaffection towards him was increased as the Polish Roman catholic lords of Thorn treated him with more attention than they did the other divines, and associated more frequently with him. If Calixtus had possessed more prudence and foresight, and his opponents more

war raged far worse than before. The Saxons continued, and especially *Calovius*, most bitterly to insult the dead lion; nay, imprudently proceeded to pave the way, (as many of the best men, who were by no means Calixtinians, believed,) for an open schism in the Lutheran church. For a new book was drawn up, entitled, *Renewed Consent to the Faith truly Lutheran*⁴; which was to be added to those books called by us *Symbolical*, and to receive the confirmation of an oath from all public teachers; by which, *Calixtus*, with his followers and friends, was pronounced unworthy of the Lutheran community, and therefore also of the benefits of the peace granted to the Lutherans. The memory or reputation of *Calixtus* was modestly defended by *Gerhard Titius*, *Joachim Hildebrand*, and other theologians of a temperate character. And the most discerning men demonstrated, that the book called *Consensus*, &c., would be a firebrand, the cause of

candour and justice, things would not have come to such a pass. While these events were going on, the Königsberg divines arrived. But now a contest arose between them and the divines of Dantzik, respecting precedence. The former claimed precedence, as being envoys of the great electoral prince; and the latter, because they previously arrived, and had taken their seats. In such contests, the whole three months allotted to the Conference passed away; and the deputies returned home, having accomplished nothing. The contest with *Calixtus* now became warm. The Saxon divines were obliged to justify their conduct towards him at the Conference; and they found it necessary to charge him with being a corrupter of religion, a concealed Calvinist, and a wicked heretic. *Calixtus* himself gave occasion for increasing the strife, by a disputation on the mystery of the Trinity, which Dr. Jo. Latermann wrote and defended, under him, in 1645; in which it was maintained, that the doctrine of the Trinity was not made known to the fathers under the Old Testament, and that it was a created angel, and not the Son of God, who appeared to the patriarchs. On this point he was assailed, although he had so explained himself, as ought to have given satisfaction. Our whole church was, by this contest, wrought into a flame, which it was difficult to extinguish. Solomon Glasius, by order of Ernest, duke of Gotha,

published his *Thoughts*; which aimed to restore peace, and in many points did justice to *Calixtus*. But the effort was fruitless. Duke Ernest went further; he wrote to the electoral court of Saxony, and to the court of Brunswick, and urged them to lend aid to allay these angry disputes. But the minds of men were so embittered, that they could not think of peace. At length, as the Saxon divines, and particularly *Calovius*, (who had previously been invited to Wittemberg,) urged the setting forth a new symbolical book, the princes of electoral Saxony so vividly depicted the mischiefs which would thence result to our church, that, in view of these representations, the proposed introduction of what was called the *Consensus Repetitus*, was laid aside. Yet the conflicts went on, and were conducted with so much bitterness and acrimony, that one party commenced an action against the other for abuse; and *Calovius* wrote his bitter *Historia Syncretistica*, which was confiscated by the elector of Saxony. Finally, as the Pietistic contest commenced soon after this, so the Calixtine contest was dropped. For the Wittenbergers engaged in a new controversy with Dr. Spener, and as they were afraid that the Calixtians would all join with Spener, so they made a compromise with the divines of Helmstadt. *Schl.*]

⁴ *Consensus repetitus Fidei vere Lutheranæ.*

perpetual dissension, and ruinous to the Lutheran cause: and by their efforts, it was prevented from ever obtaining the least authority. It was opposed, besides others of less note, by *Frederic Ulric Calixtus*, the son of *George*, a man not unlearned, yet much inferior to his father, in genius, polish, and erudition. In favour of the *Consensus*, appeared and fought, especially *Abraham Calovius* and *Ægidius Strauchius*. An immense number of books and disputes was produced by the zeal of the two parties, in which, alas! are so many invectives, reproaches, and gross personalities, as to make it manifest, that the disputants contended less for the cause of truth and of Christ Jesus, than for personal glory and revenge. After long continued altercation, the enfeebled age of those who led the two parties, the abolition of the *Consensus repetitus*, (which would have afforded aliment for ruinous war,) the rise of new controversies among us, with some other causes, near the end of the century, silently put an end to the contest.

§ 23. The principal of all the charges so odiously alleged against *Calixtus*, was, his zeal for bringing those three more eminent families of European Christians, the Popish, the Lutheran, and the Reformed, not to *unite* together, or to form themselves into a *single body*, as his enemies made him mean, but to abstain from their mutual hatred and *enmity*, and to cultivate mutually love and good-will. And this it was, that was generally condemned under the name of *Syncretism*.⁵ The opinions which,

⁵ I do not espouse the cause of *Calixtus*; nor maintain, that all he wrote and taught, was faultless: but the love of truth admonishes me to say, that this excellent man fell into the hands of bad interpreters; and that even these, who thought they understood his meaning better than others, erred egregiously. He is commonly represented as advising to a *union* with the Romish pontiff and his adherents; but entirely without grounds. For he declared, publicly, that with the Romish church, such as it now is, we cannot possibly associate and be in harmony; and that if formerly there was any hope of healing the breach, that hope was wholly extinguished and annihilated, by the denunciations of the council of Trent. He is said, also, to have approved, or excused, all the errors and superstitions which deform the Romish church, or at least very many of them. But here, not only the numerous writings, in which he refutes the

doctrines and opinions of the papists, but also the papists themselves, clear him of fault; for they acknowledge that *Calixtus* assailed their church more learnedly and ingeniously, than all the other protestant doctors. Instead of all, hear *Jac. Benignus Bossuet*, in his *Traité de la Communion sous les Deux Espèces*, pt. i. § 2, p. 12, who writes thus of him: "Le fameux *George Calixte*, le plus habile des Lutheriens de notre tems, qui a écrit le plus doctement contre nous." *Calixtus* taught, indeed, that as to the *foundation* of the faith, there was no dissension between us and the papists: and I wish he had omitted this altogether, or had expressed it in more fit and suitable terms. But he most constantly maintained, that upon the foundation of religion, the pontiffs and their adherents had based very many things, which no wise and good man should receive. And how much this should deduct from the odium and turpitude of

in addition to this purpose, were charged upon him as faults, respected the less clear knowledge of the doctrine of the Trinity, in the times of the Old Testament; the necessity of good works to salvation; God's being, *accidentally*, the cause of sin; the visible appearances of the Son of God under the ancient dispensation; and some few others; which were such, that if he really held them, they were of no great consequence, according to the acknowledgment of those whom no one will pronounce unfit judges of such questions; and did not vitiate the marrow (so to speak) of divine truth. But in order to recommend that harmony among disagreeing Christians, which he had in view, this excellent man was under the necessity of assuming two things, that were thought even worse than the plan which induced him to bring them forward. The first was, that the groundwork of Christianity, or those first and elementary principles, from which all the other truths flow, remained sound and uncontaminated, in all the three families of Christians. This groundwork, he supposed, was contained in that ancient formula, called the *Apostles' Creed*. The second assumption was, that whatever is supported by the constant and uniform consent and authority of the ancient Christian fathers, who were ornaments to the first five centuries, must be regarded as no less true and certain, than those things which we find recorded in the holy Scriptures. The *first* of these was the pillar that sustained the whole project he had in view: the *second* was of use to excuse certain papal institutions and opinions which were very disagreeable to Lutherans, and to establish harmony among disagreeing Christians.

§ 24. In these commotions and contests were involved,

that opinion, is manifest. I omit other aspersions of the memory of this great man, by those who think they ought to listen rather to his accusers, than to the accused. What then, you will say, did he mean? — *First*, this: that if it could be, that the Romish church should be recovered to the state, in which it was in the first five centuries after Christ, the protestants could then have no just grounds for refusing communion with it: and *secondly*, this: that among the adherents to the Roman pontiff, though as a body they were polluted with many and intolerable errors, those individuals should not be excluded from all hope of salvation, nor be ranked with heretics,

who honestly have imbibed what their fathers and their teachers have taught them, and who are prevented from seeing the truth, either in consequence of their ignorance, or their education, or, lastly, by their early prepossessions; provided they believe with simplicity whatever is contained in the *Apostles' Creed*, and study to conform their lives to the precepts of Christ. As I have already said, I do not stand forth as the patron of these opinions: they have patrons enough, at the present day: but this, I suppose, all will concede, that these views are much more tolerable, than those with which he is commonly charged.

though in a different way, the divines of Rinteln, Königsberg, and Jena: to say nothing of some others. The divines of Rinteln, especially *John Henichius* and *Peter Musæus*, by many things, but most clearly in the conference at Cassel already mentioned, gave evidence that they approved of the plan of *Calixtus* for terminating the contests among Christians, and especially among protestants. And *they* too were attacked, in various publications, by the Saxon divines, and such as took sides with them.⁶ At Königsberg, *Christ. Dreyer*, a very learned man, and *John Latermann*, both pupils of *Calixtus*, with *Michael Behm*, signified pretty clearly that they favoured the opinions of their instructor. Against them hostility was declared not only by their colleagues, *John Behm* and *Celestine Mislenta*, but likewise by the whole body of ministers at Königsberg. And the contest was protracted many years in such a manner as brought honour to neither party in the view of posterity. This intestine war being extinguished, partly by the authority of the civil power, and partly by the death of *Behm* and *Mislenta*, *Dreyer* and his associates had to sustain another and a permanent one, with those foreign divines, who viewed the Calixtine opinions as pernicious, and the defenders of them as enemies to the church: nor can this foreign contest likewise be commended, either for its equity or its moderation.⁷

§ 25. In these commotions the divines of Jena manifested uncommon prudence and moderation. For while they ingenuously confessed that all the opinions of *Calixtus* could scarcely be tolerated, and could not be admitted entirely, without injury to the truth; they judged that most of his doctrines were not so very bad as the Saxons thought them; and that several of them might be tolerated without the least hazard. *Solomon Glassius*, a man of great mildness, by order of *Ernest the Pious*, duke of Saxe-Gotha, most equitably examined the importance of the several controverted points in a work expressly on the subject.⁸ *John Musæus*, a man of

⁶ See Abrah. Calovius, *Historia Syncretistica*, p. 618, &c. Jo. Geo. Walch, *Introduction to the contests in the Lutheran church*, [in German,] vol. i. p. 286, &c.

⁷ Christopher Hartknoch's *Preussische Kirchenhistorie*, book ii. ch. x. p. 602, &c. and others. Möller's *Cimbria Lit-*

terata, tom. iii. p. 150, &c. The Acts and Documents are in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1740, p. 144. A.D. 1742, p. 29. A.D. 1745, p. 91, and elsewhere.

⁸ This judgment, drawn up in German, was first published, after the death

superior learning and uncommon acuteness, first determined, that it was allowable to say, with *Calixtus* and *Horneius*, that, in a certain sense, good works are necessary to salvation; afterwards he maintained among his intimate friends, that little or no importance was attached to some of the other questions. These, therefore, the Calixtine divines would not, perhaps, have refused as arbiters. But this moderation was so offensive to the Saxon divines, that they arraigned the school of Jena as lying under suspicion of many errors, and declared, that *John Musæus*, in particular, had departed in not a few things from the sound faith.⁹

§ 26. These contests were succeeded, and extinguished, by what are called the *Pietistic* controversies. These originated from those who undertook, undoubtedly, with the best intentions, to aid the cause of languishing piety, and to cure the faults both of the public teachers and of the multitude. But, as often happens, these controversies were multiplied and aggravated by various sorts of persons, whose ill-informed understandings, or heated imaginations, or some wrong bias of mind, led them to excite horrible commotions in one place and another, by their singular opinions, their pretended visions, their harsh and unintelligible rules for Christian conduct, and their very imprudent clamours about a total change of the form and institutions of the Church. The slumbering Christians, and also such as bemoaned in secret the progress of irreligion, were first aroused by *Philip James Spener*, an excellent minister, and very highly esteemed both for his great piety and his extensive learning; when he set up private meetings at Frankfort, for the purpose of exhorting and training the people to piety, and afterwards set forth, in a special treatise, his *Pious Desires*¹, that is, his views of the evils existing in our church, and their remedies. Both met the approbation of very many, who had good and upright dispositions. But as many of them did not apply these remedies for diseased souls with sufficient caution

of Glassius, in 1662; and again, a few years ago, at Jena, in 8vo. It is an example of theological moderation, and most worthy of an attentive perusal.

⁹ With what faults the theologians of Jena, and especially Musæus, were charged, may be best learned from the grave and solid work of Musæus him-

self, entitled, *Der Jenischen Theologen ausführliche Erklärung über drey und neunzig vermeynte Religionsfragen*, Jena, 1677 and 1704, 4to. Add Jo. Geo. Walch's *Introduction to the Controversies in the Lutheran church*, [in German,] vol. i. p. 495, &c.

¹ *Pia Desideria*.

and skill, and as those religious meetings (or *Colleges of Piety*, as they were denominated in terms borrowed from the Dutch,) enkindled in the minds of the multitude, in several places, a wild and enthusiastic spirit, rather than a true love to God; complaints were soon heard from various quarters, that, under pretence of aiding and advancing piety, solid religious knowledge was neglected, and torches found for setting contentious and ill-balanced minds on fire.²

² [On these controversies, it is proper to go back to the first causes. The long thirty years' war produced, throughout the whole Lutheran church, very great prostration of order, neglect of discipline, and profligacy: and the preachers were incompetent to meet this disordered state of things, which continued to exist after the return of peace. Some preachers were wholly incompetent to it: for the people had to choose such preachers as they could get; and among these, many were of different talents and acquisitions. Others had no lack of native talent; but they had been ill instructed. For education was very differently conducted in the higher schools then from what it is now. The chief science then taught, was the dry and cloudy Aristotelian metaphysics; with which were connected scholastic dogmatics and polemics. Thus our theology was very dark and intricate, and such as was unfit for the pulpit and for common life: the heads of the preachers were full of technical terms and distinctions; and no one understood how to make the truths of Christianity intelligible to the common people. Besides, systematic and polemic theology were pursued; but moral theology, and biblical interpretation, were almost wholly laid aside. Of course the preaching was very poor, as is manifest from the postills of those times. The clergy preached from the lectures in the schools; and, therefore, explained and proved the doctrines of faith, artificially, which the people could not understand; or they ornamented their sermons with quotations from the fathers and from the heathen philosophers. They confuted errors and heresies, the very names of which, frequently, were unknown to their hearers, but said little or nothing that was calculated to amend the hearts of their hearers; and they could say the less on

such subjects, as they themselves, often, possessed unsanctified minds, hearts in which pride, contentiousness, obstinacy, and a persecuting spirit predominated. Other clergymen, who were competent to instruct the people in true godliness, had not power to correct the disorders that had broken in; because the bad habits had become too deeply rooted, and the evil too inveterate. Hence there were in our church various devout and upright persons, who sighed over this state of the church; and who wished to see godliness more cultivated, and the mode of teaching, both in the schools and from the pulpit, reformed. Among these persons, the first and the most famous was Spener. He must be ranked among the most learned and the most devout ministers of our church; and together with most of the branches of theological science, he was well versed in history, and the auxiliary sciences; and had, successively, as a preacher at Strasburg, an elder at Frankfurt, and first court preacher at Dresden, obtained, in all these offices, the reputation of a discreet, modest, and peaceable theologian. At Dresden he fell under the displeasure of the electoral prince, John George IV., who was much addicted to drunkenness, and to whom Spener, who was his confessor, as he was going to confession, addressed a very respectful letter, containing an earnest dissuasive from his bad habit. Spener now went to Berlin; and his migrations spread wider the Pietistic controversy. If any things are censurable in Spener, they are principally two things. *First*, he was not much of a philosopher, at least theoretically; and it is not much to be wondered at, that he should have little relish for the dry philosophy of those times. Besides, if he had possessed a taste for it, he would not have accomplished what he *did* accomplish. Still this deficiency led him, sometimes, to

§ 27. These first commotions would, undoubtedly, have gradually subsided, if still more violent ones had not supervened

reason inconclusively, and also not to see clearly the consequences of his propositions. *Secondly*, he was by nature too compliant and yielding. He could not say a hard thing to any man; and when he saw in a person any marks of piety, he at once recognized him as a brother, although he might hold erroneous doctrines. And this caused him much trouble, and led him to be often deceived by hypocrites. This was manifestly a consequence of his good-natured character, which judged other men by himself; yet it in some measure obscured the greatness of his talents. Still, this weakness will hinder no impartial man from acknowledging that Spener was really a great man; to whom we stand indebted for the improvement of our mode of preaching, for more freedom in the manner of handling theological subjects, for the introduction of toleration towards other religious sects, and towards individuals who deviate from the common creed, and for the advancement of true godliness in our church. This last object he endeavoured to effect, especially by his *Colleges of Piety*; which he set up by the advice of some friends at Frankfort, in 1670, first in his own house, and afterwards also in the church; partly to produce more cordial friendship among those who were seeking to edify their souls; and partly to render the public preaching of God's word more profitable, by explaining the sermons delivered, by catechising, by lectures on the holy Scriptures, with prayer and singing. The appellation, *Colleges of Piety*, was derived from Holland, where there is a party, who, from their meetings for worship, which they call *Collegia*, are denominated *Collegiants*. (See below, chap. vii. § 1.) From them the name was derived, though Spener's meetings had no resemblance to the institution of the Dutch Collegiants. To the establishment of these meetings, must be added a circumstance, which caused Spener much trouble. When Arndt's *Postills* were to be republished in 1675, Spener composed a long preface to them; in which, together with his favourite doctrines of better times to come, the previous general conversion of the Jews, and the great downfall of popery, he also described the defects in our

church, and proposed some means for their remedy. Among these were an improved mode of teaching in the higher schools, the better instruction of youth, the dispensing with metaphysics, and a zealous application to biblical interpretation and practical theology. This preface was afterwards printed separately, in 1678, and entitled *Pia Desideria*. [The whole title of the book, which was written in German, was, *Pia Desideria, or Earnest Desires for the godly improvement of the true Evangelical Church, with some Christian proposals for that object. Tr.*] It was well received by the majority, and was praised even by some who afterwards became his enemies. But after a while, propositions were drawn from it, which were charged upon him as errors. The first attack was made by Dilsfeld, a deacon at Nordhausen, who assailed the position that a true theologian must be a regenerate man. Greater disturbances arose from the meetings. Many imitated them; but they did not possess Spener's prudence. In some, there was no preacher to regulate the meeting; and there, all sorts of irregularity took place. In others, every one was allowed to speak; and of course speeches were often made, which contravened the standard evangelical doctrines, and ran into enthusiasm; and now visionaries and enthusiasts actually connected themselves with the followers of Spener. In small villages, they went on tolerably well; but in larger places, as Hamburg for example, there were frequent commotions. And there in particular, Jo. Fred. Mayer, a Hamburg doctor, distinguished himself in a very offensive manner by his carnal zeal against Spener's brother-in-law, Jo. Henry Horbius. See Köhler's *Hist. Münzbelustigungen*, vol. xvii. p. 363, &c. At Erfurt, Dantzic, Wolfenbüttel, Gotha, and even at Halle in Saxony, there were great commotions, which the magistrates had to still. Spener himself, when he saw the disorders that arose from these meetings, suppressed those he had set up. Others followed his example. But in many places, the people would not give them up: while yet they did not exercise sufficient prudence. The people frequently began to forsake the public worship, and to run only to the meetings: and the

in 1689, at Leipsic. Certain pious and learned men, especially *Augustus Herman Franck*, *John Caspar Schade*, and *Paul Antony*, who were disciples and friends of *Spener*, then sustaining the office of first preacher at the Saxon court, and who were teachers of philosophy, thought that candidates for the sacred office might be, and ought to be, better trained for their employment, than the practice of the universities allowed; and therefore they undertook themselves to expound certain books of the holy Bible, in such a manner as at the same time to infuse a spirit of solid piety into the minds of their hearers. This new and singular course allured a great number to their lectures: many of whom exhibited the benefits which they derived from these recitations in lives and conduct very remote from the vicious habits of that age. Whether this first fervour of both the teachers and the learners, laudable and excellent in itself, was always kept within due bounds, it is not easy for any one to say: but this is certain, many, and they men of great authority, maintain that it was not; and public fame reports, that some things were brought forward and transacted in those *Biblical Colleges*, as they were called, which were in themselves indeed easy to be excused and borne with, if referred to moderate and candid judges, yet not a little at variance with common usage and the laws of prudence. When great tumult arose, and the matter was brought to a judicial investigation, the learned men above named were pronounced innocent, or not guilty of the errors alleged against them; yet they were ordered to desist from the labours which they had commenced. In these commotions the invidious name of *Pietists* was first heard of, or at least first publicly used. Some light-minded people first imposed it on those who attended these *Biblical Colleges*, and whose lives accorded with the precepts there inculcated: afterwards it was extended to all such as were supposed, either to profess too rigid and austere principles of morals, or neglecting the truth, to refer all religion to mere piety. But, as is apt to be the fortune of names which designate particular sects, this name was not unfrequently applied, in familiar discourse, to the very best of men, to those who were as careful to advance truth as piety; and on the other hand,

blame was cast upon *Spener*; who was entirely innocent in this matter, and who by his preaching and his publications

explicitly opposed this wrong conduct. *Schl.*]

it was very often applied to persons who might more correctly be denominated flagitious, delirious, and fanatical.³

³ When Spener was called from Frankfort to Dresden, he had constantly with him a number of theological students, some of whom lodged in his house, and others boarded at his table, and whom he instructed how to discharge profitably the duties of preachers. Some of these went to Leipsic, to teach theology there, in accordance with Spener's prescriptions. Among these were Aug. Herm. Franck and Paul Antony, both afterwards professors at Halle, Jo. Casp. Schade, afterwards a famous preacher at Berlin, and Herm. van der Hart, afterwards professor at Helmstadt. These commenced the biblical lectures. In these there was something new; for the lectures were given in German, Luther's translation was here and there amended, and the explanation of the holy Scriptures was followed by religious exhortations. Concerning these biblical lectures, especially as the religious lectures of some of the professors were now more thinly attended, all sorts of rumours soon spread abroad, some of which were groundless, and others perhaps had some foundation. It was said, that not only students, but also labouring men and women, were admitted to them; and that every one present was allowed to teach and explain the Scriptures. Those who attended these lectures changed their manners and their dress, refrained from the customary amusements, and obtained the name of Pietists; (to which a severe funeral discourse of Dr. Carpsov, at the interment of a hearer of Mr. Franck, and the funeral ode of Lic. Feller, on the same occasion, wherein the import of the word, and the characteristics of a Pietist, were explained, are supposed principally to have contributed.) In the year 1689, the court of Dresden appointed a commission to investigate this affair: but the accused masters, (especially Franck,) obtained the famous Christ. Thomasius for their counsellor; who well defended them, in a published judicial argument, and showed palpably the nullity of the criminal process commenced against them; and they were acquitted of all criminality: though, at the same time, their biblical lectures were prohibited. But the thing shot like lightning, from

Leipsic through the whole church. All who loved holiness must have also such *Collegia* [or lectures: for the Germans use the words *collegia* in Latin, and *collegien* in German, both for the lectures of professors in a university, and for associate *bodies of learned men*: so that *Collegia Biblica* may here be best translated *Biblical Lectures*. Tr.] Thus the learned and the unlearned held meetings which were called seasons for prayer and for devotion. Into these meetings, fantastical persons and enthusiasts insinuated themselves, and talked of the millennial kingdom, and the downfall of Babylon; railed against the clergy, and brought forward prophecies, and dreams, and visions. Hence there arose, in almost all places, Pietistic commotions; which the magistrates endeavoured to still by severe laws. During these transactions, Spener was called from Dresden to Berlin; and Thomasius, of whom the Leipsic divines complained as being a heretic and a teacher of error, was obliged to flee to Halle. He it was who projected the establishment of the university of Halle; and Spener supported him. The university was established; and the very masters, who had held the biblical lectures at Leipsic, were, in part, appointed the professors of theology in this new university. These commenced reading, according to Spener's views; and abolished the old scholastic method of teaching. They spoke disparagingly of philosophy; and said that polemics made the people too disputatious; that the greatest *heretic* was the *old Adam*; and that *he* especially must be combated. In place of polemic theology, they recommended mystic: and nearly all the mystical writings of the French and Italians, were translated and printed at the Orphan House in Halle. Persons who, on account of their peculiar opinions, were not tolerated in other places, were received and provided for at Halle. While these things were going forward, the divines of Wittemberg, (for we pass over the attack of the Leipsic divines,) in the year 1695, brought a formal accusation against Spener, as a teacher of error: and against this attack Spener defended himself energetically. It is certain

§ 28. From Leipsic this controversy spread with incredible rapidity, throughout Lutheran Germany, nay, through our whole church. For from this time onward, every where in cities, villages, and hamlets, people suddenly started up, of all orders and classes, learned and illiterate, males and females; who pretended to be called by some divine impulse, to eradicate wickedness, to encourage and to propagate neglected piety, to regulate and govern the Church of Christ more wisely; and who showed, partly by oral declarations, partly by their writings, and partly by their institutions, what must be done in order to effect the great object. Nearly all who were animated with this zeal agreed that there was no more powerful and salutary means for imbuing the people with a thorough knowledge of divine things, and with a love of holiness, than those private discussions and conventicles, which they understood were first instituted by *Spener*, and afterwards held at Leipsic. Meetings, therefore, of this kind, but of a different character, some better and others worse regulated, were opened in numerous places. These unusual and unexpected movements gave the more trouble and perplexity to those who had the oversight of the church and the state, because upright and well-meaning persons who took part in these meetings, were joined by a number of mistaken and rash characters, whose cry was, that Babylon, (so they chose to call the Lutheran church,) was nodding to its fall. These men, besides, alarmed and stirred up the fickle populace by feigning visions and heavenly incitements; they arrogated to themselves the authority of prophets of God, and not only obscured religious subjects, by a gloomy jargon, of I know not whose coinage, but also recalled upon the stage opinions long since condemned; asserted, that the reign of a thousand years, mentioned by St. John, was at hand; in short, they were bent upon unsettling every thing that had been ordered best, and they claimed for all men promiscuously a right to act as teachers. Thus the Lutheran church was miserably rent into parties, to the joy of the papists; the most violent contests every where arose; and those who disagreed, more perhaps in terms, and in external and indifferent

that the court of Dresden, in whose eye the university of Halle was a thorn, looked upon this attack with pleasure. From this time onward, our divines were divided into the orthodox and

the Spenerian. The theologians of Halle joined the party of their teachers; and thence arose a disquietude, which scarcely has a parallel. *Schl.*]

things, than on doctrines of high moment, were arrayed against each other; and, finally, in most provinces, severe laws were enacted against those who were denominated *Pietists*.⁴

§ 29. These restorers of piety were of two classes. Some proposed to advance the cause, and yet leave in full force both the creed of the church, as contained in our public formulas, and also its discipline and form of government. But others judged, that holiness could not possibly flourish among us, unless both the received doctrines were modified, and the whole internal organization and the customs of our church were changed. *Philip James Spener*, who removed from Dresden to Berlin in 1691, is justly considered as standing at the head of the former class. With him agreed, especially, the theologians of the new university at Halle; among whom were *Augustus Herman Franck* and *Paul Antony*, who had previously fallen under suspicion at Leipsic. The object of this class no one much censured; nor could a man censure it, unless he wished to appear a bad man: yet many persons, and especially the theological faculty at Wittemberg, were of opinion, that in the prosecution of this object, some principles were adopted, and plans formed, which were injurious to the truth and adverse to the interests of the church. And this belief led them publicly to accuse of many false and dangerous opinions, first, *Spener*, in the year 1695, and afterwards his associates and friends who defended the reputation of this great man. The vestiges of these contests are still so recent, that whoever is disposed may easily learn with what degree of good faith, modesty, and equity, they were conducted on both sides.

§ 30. The subject matter of these controversies was manifold, and therefore cannot be reduced to one grand point, or com-

⁴ For the illustration of these facts, in place of all others, may be consulted, Jo. Geo. Walch, *Introduction to the Controversies in our Church*, [in German,] vol. ii. and iii. He concisely states the various acts of this tragedy, enumerates the principal disputes, subjoining his own opinion, and every where mentions the authorities. A full and complete history hardly any one man could compose, the transactions were so numerous and various. It is therefore to be wished, that some wise, considerate, and impartial men, well acquainted with human nature and civil affairs, and well

provided with the necessary documents, would undertake the composition of such a history. If certain persons were to collect from the public records and from various private papers the transactions in particular districts, and then deliver over the whole to an individual, who should arrange, combine, and impart to the whole; the business would thus, perhaps be accomplished in the best manner it can be. Such a history, written with moderation and discretion, would be exceedingly useful, in very many ways.

prehended under one term. Yet if we consider the aims of those from whom they originated, the principal questions may be brought under certain heads. Those who laboured to advance the cause of piety, in the first place, were of opinion that the most strenuous opponents of their object were the very persons whose office it was to promote piety ; namely, the teachers, and ministers of the church. Hence they would commence with them ; and would make it their special care that none might become pastors of the Christian congregations who were not properly educated, and also sanctified, or full of divine love. For this purpose ; I. They recommended the reformation of the theological schools. They would have the systematic theology of the age, which was confined to certain short and nice questions, and wrapped up in unusual phraseology, to be laid aside ; the controversies with other sects to be, indeed not wholly neglected, yet less attended to ; and the combination and intermixture of philosophy and human wisdom with the truths of revelation to be wholly abolished. On the contrary, they thought that young men designed for the ministry should be led to read and meditate upon the holy Scriptures ; a simple knowledge of the Christian religion, derived principally from the sacred volume, should be instilled into them ; and that their whole education should be directed more to practical utility and the edification of Christians, and not so much for display and personal glory. As some of them, perhaps, disputed on these subjects without using sufficient precision and prudence, a suspicion arose with many that these patrons of piety despised philosophy and other branches of learning altogether ; that they rejected all solid knowledge in theology ; that they disapproved of zeal in the defence of the truth against its corrupters ; and that they made theological learning to consist in a crude and vague power of declaiming about morals and practical duties. And hence arose the contest respecting the value of philosophy and human science in religion, the dignity and utility of what is called *systematic* theology, the necessity of controversial theology, the value of mystical theology, the best method of instructing the people, and other similar questions. II. They taught, that equal solicitude should be shown, that the future teachers in the churches might consecrate their hearts to God, and be living examples of piety, as that they might carry away from the universities minds well fraught with useful knowledge. From this opinion, to

which all good men readily assented, originated not only certain regulations suited to restrain the passions of studious youth, and to awaken in them holy emotions and resolutions, but likewise that doctrine which produced so much controversy, namely: that no one *can* teach others to be pious, and guide them to salvation, unless he is himself pious and a friend of God. Many thought that this doctrine both derogated from the efficacy of God's word, which cannot be frustrated by the imperfections of its ministers, and also led on to the long exploded errors of the Donatists; especially since it was not stated with equal caution and prudence by all. And here commenced those long and difficult controversies, which are not yet terminated: Whether the knowledge of religion, which a wicked man may acquire, can be called theology? Whether a vicious man can have a true knowledge of religion? How far may the ministrations of an irreligious minister be efficacious and salutary? Whether illumination is ever given to a bad man, whose heart is averse from God? and the like.

§ 31. These restorers of fallen piety, to render the people more obedient to their pious and properly educated teachers, and more resolute in opposing their native depravity, deemed it necessary, I. To suppress, in the public instruction, certain common expressions which the depravity of men leads them not unfrequently to construe in a way to favour their wickedness. Such were the following: that no person can attain, in the present life, that perfection which the law of God demands: that good works are not necessary to salvation: that in the act of justification faith only is concerned, and not also good works. But very many feared, lest, if these barriers were removed, the truth would be corrupted, or at least would be exposed naked and defenceless to its enemies. II. That stricter rules of conduct should be introduced than were generally followed; and that many things which foster the internal diseases of the mind, such as dancing, buffoonery, jocular discourse, games, dramatic exhibitions, the reading of amusing books, and certain kinds of pleasures, should be removed from the class of indifferent things, which are either good or bad, according to the spirit and temper of those who engage in them, and should be classed among sinful and unlawful things. But many thought this morality too rigorous. Hence that old controversy of the schools was revived; whether there are certain actions that

are neither good nor evil, but indifferent; or whether every thing men do, is either sinful or holy. And on each of the subjects enumerated, there were frequent and very warm debates, which were not always conducted with precision, temperance, and gravity. III. That, in addition to the public assemblies for religious worship, there should be frequent private meetings for prayer and other religious exercises. But very many judged, and experience confirmed the opinion, that these *Colleges of piety*, as they were called, were attended with more danger than profit. The minor contest, respecting certain terms or plans, which did not originate from these sources, need not be mentioned.⁵ But it is important to add, that the kindness of those who were so earnest to promote piety towards certain persons, who were not perhaps bad men, but whose understandings were not well informed and sound, or who were chargeable with no slight errors, exceedingly displeased many of the opposite party, and afforded them no little ground for suspicion, that they set a lower value upon truth and the theology contained in the symbolical books than upon practical holiness. Among so great a multitude of combatants, and they men of various classes and tempers, it is not strange that there should have been many indiscreet persons, some over-zealous, and others leaning towards the opposite faults to those which they wished to avoid.

§ 32. The other class of Pietists, or those who laboured to promote piety in a way that would lead to a change in the established doctrines of the Lutheran community, and to a modification of the whole form and constitution of the church, were men of various characters. Some of them, from want of a due control over their own minds, were not so much holders of erroneous opinions, as men whose reason and judgment were impaired: others combined the fictions, which they either derived from the works of others, or invented themselves, with a certain portion of sounder doctrine. We shall mention only some of the better sort of them, and such as acquired a distinguished reputation. — *Godfrey Arnold*, of Anneberg in Saxony, a man

⁵ All these controversies were first collected and arranged, though unduly multiplied, by Sam. Schelwig, in his *Synopsis Controversiarum sub Pietatis Prætextu motarum*: first published, Dantzic, 1701, 8vo. But they may be better learned, together with the arguments of

both parties, from Joachim Lange's *Antibarbarus*; and from his German work, entitled the *Middle Way* (*Die Mittelstrasse*); and also from Val. Ern. Löschner's *Timotheus Veterinus*, which is extant in two volumes.

of much reading, of a good understanding, and of natural eloquence, disturbed the close of the century by various writings, but especially by his History of the Church and of Heresies, which he, certainly without just grounds, entitled an *impartial* history.⁶ By nature melancholy, gloomy, and austere, he applied himself to the reading of the works of the *mystics*, who very much resembled himself, till his mind was so wrought up, that he regarded them as the wisest men in the world, made all religion to consist in certain indescribable internal sensations and emotions, had little regard for doctrinal theology, and expended all the powers of his genius in collecting and exaggerating the faults of our own and former times. If, as all admit, it is the first excellence of a historian to afford no ground for suspicion of either partial or unfriendly feelings, no man was ever more unfit to be a historian than *Godfrey Arnold*. The man must be unable to see at all, who can read his history, and yet say that he does not see and feel that it is throughout dictated by passion and strong hatred of the received doctrines and institutions [of our church]. *Arnold* assumes it as an undeniable fact, in his history, that all the evils which have crept into the Christian church, since the times of the apostles, have originated from the ministers and rulers of the church, who were wicked and ungodly men. On this assumption, he supposes that all who made opposition to the priests and ministers of religion, and suffered persecution from them, were pious and holy men: and on the other hand that such as pleased the clergy, were mistaken and averse from true piety. Hence he defends nearly all the *heretics*, even those whose doctrines he had not examined and did not well understand; which has caused his book to give the highest offence. But the longer he lived, the more he saw the errors into which he had been betrayed by his natural temperament and by bad examples; and, as respectable persons affirm, he at last became more friendly to the truth and to moderation.⁷

⁶ [Gottfried Arnold's *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*; first published 1699 and 1700, in 2 vols. folio, and then more full and complete, Schaffhausen, 1740, in three very thick vols. fol. Tr.]

⁷ See Cöler's *Life of Arnold*, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. Crit.* tom. i. p. 485,

&c. [Dr. Mosheim does not appear to me to do justice to Arnold as a historian. At least I have not discovered in his history that malignity and disregard for truth, which Dr. Mosheim thinks every man who has eyes must see. Arnold was born at Anneberg in 1665. After passing his childhood at school in his native

§ 33. A much worse man than he was *Jo. Conrad Dippel*, a Hessian, who assumed the fictitious name of *Christian Democritus*, and also disquieted the minds of the weak, and excited no inconsiderable commotions in the last part of this century. This man, in my view, arrogant, vain-glorious, and formed by nature to be a caviller and a buffoon, did not so much bring forward a new form of religion, as labour to overthrow all those that were established. For, during his whole life, he was more intent on nothing, than on running down every religious community, and especially that of the Lutherans in which he was born, with his sarcastic witticisms: and rendering whatever had long been viewed with reverence, as ridiculous as possible, by his malignant and low scurrility. If — what I very much doubt, (for invention and imagination were by far his most prominent characteristics,) if, I say, he had in his own mind clear and distinct conceptions, which he thought were true, he certainly was incompetent to unfold them clearly and to express them in words; for it is only by divination, that a man can draw from his various writings any coherent and uniform system of doctrine. Indeed it would seem, as if the fire of his laboratory, over which he spent so much time, had produced a fever in his brain. His writings, should they be handed down to posterity, notwithstanding their crude, bitter, and sarcastic style, will cause people to wonder, that so many of their fathers could

place, he spent three years in the gymnasium at Gera; and then, in 1685, entered the university of Wittenberg, where the next year he took his master's degree. Inclined to a retired and noiseless life, he removed to Dresden in 1686, where he became a private tutor, and was intimate with Spener. In 1693, he removed to Quedlingburg; and there acted as a private tutor in a family four years, declining repeated offers of a parish. In 1697, he was appointed professor of history at Giessen: but relinquished the office after two years; because, he said, "no man can serve two masters; and professors, at that day, were required to teach in a manner that did not suit his taste." He returned to Quedlingburg in 1698; where he was much admired and followed by the Pietists. In the year 1700, Sophia Charlotte, duchess of Isenach, by recommendation of professor

Franck, made him her court preacher. But opposition from the orthodox obliged him to quit the place, in 1705; and he was made pastor and inspector of Werben. Two years after, the king of Prussia made him pastor and inspector at Perleburg; where he died in 1713, aged 48. He was of a melancholy temperament, and drank deeply into the views of the mystics and the Pietists, and conceived high disgust with the reigning theology around him. But he appears to have been a perfectly ingenuous and upright man. As a historian, he doubtless had strong prejudices, which often warped his judgment. But he appears to me very far from being a *passionate* writer; or from attempting, designedly, to discolour or misrepresent facts. See the character of him drawn by C. W. F. Walch, in his elaborate preface to Von Einem's translation of Mosheim, vol. i. p. 88—201. *Tr.*]

admit for their religious teacher and guide, one who so audaciously violated every principle of good sense and piety.⁸

§ 34. Of a totally different character was *John William Petersen*, superintendent at Lüneburg; a man of a mild and quiet temper, but of a feeble mind, and very liable, from the luxuriance of his imagination, to deceive both himself and others. In the first place, he contended, in the year 1691, that a noble young lady *Rosamond Juliana* of Asseburg, whose disordered brain made her the subject of a sort of visions, actually saw God present, and reported commands which she received from Him; and about the same time, he publicly defended the obsolete doctrine of Christ's future reign, of a thousand years, on the earth: for that oracle had confirmed this, among other things, by *her* authority. This first error, as is usual with those who have no control over their own minds, afterwards produced others. For he, with his wife *Joanna Eleanora* of Merlau, who also professed to have very great spiritual knowledge, predicted a complete future restoration of all things, the liberation of both wicked men and devils from hell, their deliverance from all sin and from the punishment of sin; and assigned to Christ a two-fold human nature, the one celestial, and assumed before this world was created, and the other derived from his mother since the commencement of time. I pass over other opinions of this pair, equally groundless, and very wide of the common belief. Many gave assent to those opinions, especially among the laity: but *Petersen* was also opposed by great numbers; to whom he replied largely, as he had a fruitful genius and abundance of leisure. Being removed from his office, in the year 1692, he quietly passed the remainder of his life on his estate, near Magdeburg, amusing himself with writing letters and books.⁹

⁸ All his works were printed in 5 vols. 4to, in the year 1747, but without naming the place of publication. For he was respected by many after his death, and regarded as a great teacher of true wisdom. None more readily find readers and patrons, than those who abuse every body else, and immoderately extol themselves. Dippel also acquired numerous friends, by his attention to chemistry, in which he is said to have been well versed, and by his medical knowledge. For as all men are fond of riches and long life, they readily set a high value on those who professedly

show them a sure path to opulence and old age. The death of Dippel is related by numerous writers.

⁹ Petersen gave a history of his own life, in German, first published in 1717, 8vo, to which his wife added her life, in 1718. Those who wish to investigate the spirit, habits, and character of this well-matched pair, will find matter enough for their purpose, in these autobiographies. Concerning his movements at Lüneburg, see the documents in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. D. 1748, p. 974, A. D. 1749, p. 30. 200, and in many other places. Add Jo. Möller's

§ 35. I know not whether I ought to associate with these, *John Caspar Schade* and *John George Boesius*, good men, and earnest to promote the salvation of others, but ignorant of the way to effect it. The former, a minister at Berlin, among the other crude and ill-digested doctrines which he advanced, most strenuously opposed, in 1697, that confession of sins to priests, which is practised among the Lutherans. His zeal on this subject produced considerable commotion, both in the church and the state. The latter, a preacher at Sorau¹, in order more effectually to overcome the heedlessness and security of men, denied, that God continues to be propitious to those sinners, whose obstinacy he foresaw eternally to be incurable, to the end of their lives; or, what is the same thing, that beyond a

Cimbria Litterata, tom. ii. p. 639, &c. This pious and amiable enthusiast was born at Osnabruck, in 1649. Nature formed him for a poet; as appears from his *Urania*, on the mighty works of God, which Leibnitz published with his own amendments. He was made professor of poetry at Rostock, in 1677. Afterwards, he was superintendent at Lubec; then court preacher at Lutin, and in 1688, superintendent at Lüneburg. He early gave way to a belief in visions and special revelations; which brought him to hold to a literal reign of Christ on the earth, during the millenium, and to believe in a final restoration of all things. Becoming more and more confirmed in these sentiments, he openly avowed them, both orally and in printed works. In 1692, he was cited before the consistory at Zell; and as he could not conscientiously refrain from teaching doctrines, which he supposed immediately revealed to himself, and wife, and lady Juliana, he was deprived of his office; and purchasing an estate, not far from Magdeburg, he there led a retired and religious life, chiefly occupied in defending his principles, and in labouring to promote practical piety, till his death in 1727. He was undoubtedly a considerable scholar, and a very sincere and pious man. But his poetic imagination, and his belief in dreams and visions, led him to embrace very singular opinions. He supposed, that prior to the millenium, the Gospel would be preached over all the world, and that all nations would be converted. The Jews, after becoming Christians, would be restored to their own land. Now the first resurrec-

tion, that of the ancient saints and martyrs, would take place; Christ would appear in the clouds of heaven; and living saints would be caught up to meet the Lord in the air, and be changed. Thenceforth, Christ would reign a thousand years on the earth, over a twofold church; the celestial, composed of the risen saints and those changed at his coming, and the terrestrial, embracing all other Christians. Religion would prevail very generally, but not universally. At the end of a thousand years, Satan would be let loose; there would be great apostasy; Christ would come forth and destroy the wicked; a new heaven and a new earth would appear; and gradually all things would be restored to order, and holiness, and happiness. Though Petersen was first led into these doctrines by supposed revelations, and appears always to have founded his *own* belief chiefly on such grounds; yet he believed, that the scriptures rightly interpreted, that is, mystically explained, were full of these doctrines. And hence, in order to convince others, he argued much from the Bible, particularly from the Apocalypse, and also from the ancient Chiliasts, especially Origen. His writings were voluminous; consisting of mystic interpretations of scripture, defence of his peculiar sentiments, many letters, and history of his own life. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. viii. p. 302, &c. *Unpartheyische Kirchenhistorie*, Jena, 1730, vol. ii. p. 811, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ [In Lower Lusatia. *Tr.*]

certain limited time, fixed from eternity, he would afford them the grace necessary for the attainment of salvation. This opinion was thought by not a few divines to be injurious to the Divine mercy, which is boundless; and it was therefore combated in many publications. Yet it found a learned vindicator in *Adam Rechenberg*, a divine of Leipsic; not to mention others of less note.²

§ 36. Among the minor controversies in the Lutheran church, I shall assign the first place to that which existed between the divines of Tübingen and those of Giessen, from the year 1616. The grand point in debate related to the true nature and circumstances of that state of *Christ*, which theologians usually call his state of *humiliation*. The parties agreed, that the *man* Christ Jesus really possessed divine properties and perfections, by virtue of the *hypostatic union*, even while he appeared divested of all glory and majesty, nay seemed to be a vile servant and malefactor. But they disputed, whether he actually *divested* himself of the use of those perfections, while executing the office of high priest, or whether he only *concealed* his use of them from the view of men. The divines of Tübingen accounted the latter supposition to be the fact; while those of Giessen, regarded the former as more probable. To this first and great question, others were added; which, if I am correct, were rather curious than necessary, respecting the mode in which God is present throughout the created universe, the origin and ground of this presence, the true cause of the omnipresence of Christ's body, and some others. On the side of the Tübingen divines, appeared and took part *Lucas Osiander*, *Melchior Nicolai* and *Theodore Thummius*; and on the side of the divines of Giessen, *Balthazar Menzer* and *Justus Feuerborn*: all of whom contended ardently and ingeniously; and I wish I could add, always with dignity and moderation. But those times permitted and approved many things, which subsequent times have justly required to be amended. The Saxon theologians, in the year 1624, by order of their sovereign, assumed the office of arbiters of the controversy: and this office they so executed, as not to approve entirely the sentiments of either party; yet they intimated, that the views of the Giessen divines were nearer the

² Those who wish to understand these controversies may consult Walch's *Introduction to the Controversies in the Lutheran Church*, written in German.

truth, than those of the other party.³ The Tübingen divines refused to admit their interference: and perhaps, the divines of Giessen would in time have done the same. But the public calamities of Germany put an end to the contest. It was, therefore, never settled; but each party retained its own views.

§ 37. Not long after the rise of this contest, in the year 1621, *Herman Rathmann*, minister at Dantzic, a pious man, and not unlearned, a great friend and a public recommender of *John Arnd's* work on True Christianity, was thought by *John Corvinus*, his colleague, and by many others, to derogate from the majesty and the efficacy of the Holy Scriptures. If we may believe his adversaries, he published, in the year 1621, in a German work on Christ's kingdom of Grace, the following sentiment: "That the written word of God does not possess inherent power and efficacy, to enlighten and regenerate the hearts of men, and to convert them to God: that this external word merely points out the way to salvation, but does not draw men into it: that God Himself, by another and an internal word, so changes the dispositions of men, that they are enabled to please Him." This opinion, *Corvinus* and his associates contended, was the same that *Schwenckfeld* formerly held, and that the mystics professed. But whoever shall compare together all the writings of *Rathmann* on the subject, will perceive, that his adversaries either did not understand him, or have perverted his meaning. He supposed, I. That the word of God, as contained in the Scriptures, had the power of converting men to God, and of renewing their hearts. But, II. This power it could not exert at all on the minds of corrupt men who

³ Jo. Wolfg. Jaeger's *Historia Eccles. et Polit.* sæcul. xvii. decenn. iii. p. 329, &c. Christ. Eberh. Weismann's *Historia Eccles.* sæcul. xvii. p. 1178. Walch's *Introduction to the Controversies*, &c. [in German,] pt. i. ch. iv. p. 206: to say nothing of Andr. Carolus, Arnold, and a hundred others. [These controversies were natural results of Luther's untenable doctrine of consubstantiation; which supposed Christ's body and blood to be always truly present with the bread and wine of the Eucharist. For, on that supposition, Christ's body must often be present in a great number of places at the same time, or have a kind

of ubiquity. To render this at all plausible, resort was had to the *hypostatic union*, and to a supposed transfer of divine attributes from the superior nature of Christ to the inferior. Thus the attributes of *matter* and of *mind* were confounded; and a local or material presence was ascribed to the divine nature. From such absurd doctrines, stiffly maintained by acute and ingenious men, it was unavoidable, that they should feel the difficulties besetting them on every side: and therefore should start various theories, with the vain hope of extricating themselves from embarrassment. *Tr.*]

resisted it. Therefore, III. It was necessary that a divine power should either precede or accompany it, and prepare the minds of men for its influence, or remove the obstacles which destroyed the efficacy of the external word. And thus, IV. By this power of the Holy Spirit, or this internal word, the way was prepared for the external word to enlighten and renovate the souls of men.⁴ There is indeed some difference between his views of the efficacy of the divine word, and the common views of the Lutheran church: but, if I do not greatly deceive myself, whoever shall carefully consider all that he has written on the subject, in his inelegant, nay, often careless manner, will be convinced that this difference is but small; and he will perceive that the honest man had not the power of communicating his thoughts with precision and clearness. The controversy spread through the whole Lutheran church; the majority following the example of the Saxons and condemning *Rathmann*: but others excusing that pious and good man. But as he died, just as the contest was at its height, in the year 1628, those great commotions gradually subsided.

§ 38. The private dissensions of some of the doctors respecting certain propositions and opinions, I do not presume to place on the list of Lutheran controversies: though I perceive some do it; not so much, however, if I do not mistake, for the purpose of illustrating and adorning the history of the church, as to create prejudice against the Lutherans, and to lower the reputation of good men. For no age is so happy, and no community so well regulated, but that one individual is sometimes deemed by another to be indiscreet and erroneous. Nor is it estimating human nature correctly, to measure the state of things, throughout the whole church, by such private opinions of individuals. In the writings of *John Tarnovius* and *John Affelmann* of Rostock, in other respects two very meritorious theologians, certain modes of expression and some opinions were censured, by their colleagues and others. Nor will this excite much surprise in one who considers that the latter might misunderstand what was itself well said, and that the former might not have known how to express correctly what they

⁴ See Christopher Hartknoch's *Preussische Kirchengeschichte*, book iii. ch. viii. p. 812, &c. Godfrey Arnold's *Kirchen-*

und Ketzer-historie, pt. iii. ch. xii. p. 115, &c. Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. iii. p. 559, &c.

clearly understood. *Joachim Lütke mann*, in many respects a man of worth, denied, that Christ remained a true *man*, during the three days He was dead: while others affirmed the contrary. This was a controversy about words; such as we see continually arising and disappearing among men.—Of the same kind was the dispute which engaged *Henry Boetius*, a theologian of Helmstadt, and *Frederic Baldwin*, a divine of Wittemberg; whether it is in consequence of the merits of Christ, that the wicked will be restored to life hereafter.—*John Reinboth*, superintendent in Holstein, like *Calixtus*, circumscribed the essentials of religion within narrower limits than general practice warrants, and considered the Greeks to err but lightly, in denying that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son. In both respects, many were satisfied with him; but others were not; and especially, *John Conrad Danhauer*, a very learned divine of Strasburg. Hence a controversy arose between those excellent men, which was more vehement than the nature of the case demanded.⁵ But let us not refer disputes of this character, to the class of those which show the internal state of our church in this century.

§ 39. Of somewhat greater moment in this respect, were certain controversies, which did not relate so much to things, as to persons; or respected the soundness and correctness of certain teachers. Men who undertake to plead the cause of piety and holiness, are often carried by the fervour which actuates them to some extravagance; and therefore do not always confine their statements down to the rigid rules of theological accuracy, prescribed by learned divines: and they sometimes borrow the strong and splendid, yet figurative and often obscure, words and phrases of those, who treat of the genuine worship of God and of practical duties, with good intentions indeed, yet in a rude and uncouth style. Hence none scarcely more readily than these fall under the suspicion of despising and marring the truth. Many such examples occurred in this age; and, particularly, in the case of *Stephen Prætorius*, a preacher at Saltzwedel, and of that most excellent man *John Arndt*. The former had published, in the preceding century,

⁵ See, on these controversies generally, Godfrey Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, pt. ii. book xvii. ch. vi. p. 957, &c.; and concerning that of Reinboth, in

particular, see Jo. Möller's *Introduct. ad Historiam Chersonesus Cimbricæ*, pt. ii. p. 190, &c. and *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 692.

some tracts, calculated to arouse the minds of men to solicitude about their salvation; and these were repeatedly republished in this century, and commended by many; and yet were thought by others to abound in expressions and sentiments, either directly false, or calculated to lead on to error. And there certainly are some unsuitable expressions in those tracts which might easily mislead the ignorant; and some, also, that indicate too great credulity. Yet, whoever shall read his works with an ingenuous mind, will easily believe, that the writer composed nothing there, treacherously, and with a bad design. The celebrated work of *Arndt*, on true Christianity, the perusal of which affords delight to so many pious persons even in our times, was too bitterly taxed by *Lucas Osiander*, *George Rost*, and many others, with being written, among other faults, in a style that was debased by Weigelian, Paracelsic, and the like phraseology. And it is certain, that this extraordinary man disliked the philosophy which prevailed in the schools of that age, and on the other hand, ascribed much,—I had almost said, too much,—to the doctrines and pretensions of the chemists: and hence he sometimes used the language of those who tell us, that fire throws light on both religion and nature. But he has been absolved from all great errors, by the most respectable men, especially by *Paul Egard*, *Daniel Dilger*, *Melchior Breler*, *John Gerhard*, *Dorscheus*, and numerous others: and, indeed, he appears to have derived reputation and renown, rather than disgrace, from so many criminations.⁶ To the class of which we here treat, belongs also *Valentine Weigel*, minister of Tschopau in Meissen. For though he died in the preceding century, yet a great part of his writings first appeared in this, and gave occasion to very numerous attacks. I regard him as by no means a corrupt man; but he also was injured by his attachment to the chemistry which at that time floated about Germany, and by his dislike or neglect of the precepts of sound reason.⁷

§ 40. It remains, that we notice the chief persons among the

⁶ See Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, pt. ii. book xvii. ch. vi. p. 940, &c. Weismann's *Historia Eccles. sæculi xvii.* p. 1174. 1189. Godfr. Balth. Scharf's *Supplementum Historiæ, Litisquæ Arndianæ*, Wittem. 1727, 8vo, and very many others.

⁷ Arnold treats largely on Weigel; yet, as usual, not impartially; in his *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, pt. ii. book xvii. ch. xvii. p. 1088.

Lutherans, who felt themselves strong enough to remodel the whole system of theology, and to draw forth a new one from their own resources. At the head of the list stands *Jacob Boehmen*, a shoemaker of Gorlitz, famous for his vast number of both friends and foes, and whom his patrons call the *German Theosophist*. Being naturally inclined to search after abstruse things, and having learned, partly from certain books, and partly from intercourse with some physicians, (*Tobias Kober*, *Balthasar Walther*, and others,) the doctrines of *Robert Fludd* and the Rosicrucians, which were then every where circulated and talked of, he discovered, by means of fire, and with the aid of his imagination, a kind of theology, which was more obscure than the numbers of Pythagoras, or the characters of Heraclitus. Those who would commend the man for ingenuity, piety, veracity and honesty, may do it without hindrance from us: but those who would honour him with the title of a man taught of God, or even of a sound and wise philosopher, must be themselves in want of light; for he so confuses every subject with chemical metaphors, and with such a profusion of obscure terms, that it would seem as if he wanted to stun himself. The heat of his exuberant fancy, if I do not mistake, led him to believe that divine grace operates according to the same laws that prevail in the physical world; and that men's souls are purged from their pollutions and vices in no other way than metals are from dross. He formerly had, and he still has, a greater number of followers; among whom, in this century, the most noted and famous were *John Lewis Gifttheil*, *John Angelus von Werdnhausen*, *Abraham von Franckenberg*, *Theodore von Tzetsch*, *Paul Felgenhauer*, *Quirinus Kulhmann*, *John James Zimmermann*, and others. Some of these were not altogether destitute of modesty and good understanding: but others were evidently out of their wits, and excited the compassion of intelligent men; as e. g. *Kulhmann*, who was burnt in Muscovy, A. D. 1684, and afterwards *Gichtel*: nor did any one of them manage matters with such skill and credit as to procure for the school and its founder the smallest portion of commendation and respectability, with people even of moderate discernment.⁸

⁸ It is not necessary here to cite authorities: for the works of Boehmen are in every body's hands; and the books which confute him, are no where scarce.

What can be said in favour of the man and his followers, may be seen in *Arnold*, who is always most full in extolling and lauding those whom others censure. Con-

§ 41. Next after *Boehmen*, it appears, should be mentioned those, whom a sort of intellectual weakness rendered so daring, that they boasted of being prophets, divinely raised up, and endued with the power of foretelling future events. A large number of such persons existed in this age, and particularly during the times when the Austrians were contending for supremacy against the Germans, the Swedes, and the French: for long experience shows, that there is never a greater number of diviners or prophets, than when great revolutions seem about to take place, or when great and unexpected calamities occur. The most noted of these were *Nicholas Drabez*, *Christopher Kotter*, *Christina Poniatowsky*, (who have found an eloquent patron in *John Amos Comenius*,) also *Joachim Greulich*, *Anna Vetteria*, *Eva Maria Frölich*, *George Reichard*, and some others. But as no one of them was the cause of any great commotions, and as the progress of events very soon divested their predictions of all their authority, it is sufficient to have shown, generally, that there were among the Lutherans of this age some disordered minds, that affected the honours and the authority of ambassadors of heaven.⁹

§ 42. I would give a somewhat more distinct account of some, who were not indeed so wholly out of their wits as to claim to be prophets of God, yet sadly deceived themselves and others by marvellous and strange opinions. *Esaias Stiefel* and *Ezekiel Meth*, both of Thuringia, not long after the commencement of the century, expressed themselves so unusually and so improperly, that they were thought by many to arrogate to themselves divine glory and majesty, to the great dishonour of

cerning Kuhlmann, and his execution, see the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. D. 1748, p. 905, and in many other places. —[“*Boehmen*, however, had the good fortune to meet with, in our days, a warm advocate and an industrious disciple in the late well-meaning, but gloomy and visionary, Mr. William Law, who was, for many years, preparing a new edition and translation of *Boehmen*’s works, which he left behind him ready for the press, and which had been published in 2 vols. 4to, since his death.” *Macl.*]

⁹ Godfrey Arnold has done the world service by accurately collecting the visions and acts of these people, in the second and third parts of his *Kirchen- und*

Ketzer- historie. For now, such as have occasion to investigate the subject, have the ready means of ascertaining with certainty, what was in itself most probable beforehand, that what these persons deemed divine communications, were the fictions of their own minds, led away by their imaginations. There was an honest, illiterate man at Amsterdam, in the middle of the seventeenth century, Benedict Bahnsen of Holstein, who was so captivated with such writings and prophecies, that he carefully collected and published them all. His *Index Bibliotheca* was printed after his death, Amsterd. 1670, 4to, embracing a great number of chemical, fanatical, and prophetic writings.

God and our Saviour. I can believe, that although sound sense was far away from them, yet they were still among the comparatively sane; but they foolishly imitated the lofty and swollen phraseology of the mystical writers. Thus they may serve as examples to show how much cloudiness and folly the constant reading of mystical books may spread over uncultivated and feeble minds.¹ *Paul Nagel*, a professor at Leipsic, who had some tincture of mathematical knowledge, conjectured from the stars future occurrences both in church and state; and, among other things, professed to be certain, from their indications, that a very holy and heavenly kingdom of Christ was to be set up on the earth.²

§ 43. *Christian Hoburg*, of Lüneburg, a man of an unstable and turbulent spirit, under the assumed names of *Elias Prætorius* and *Bernard Baumann*, published a vast number of invectives against the whole Lutheran Church; and thereby involved himself in various troubles. Yet for a long time, by dissimulation and deception, which he doubtless, considered as lawful, he led the more charitable to regard him as less faulty than he actually was: and he was accounted rather too sharp an adversary, not so much of religion itself, as of the licentiousness and vices of those especially who ministered in holy things. At length, he rendered himself universally odious, and went over to the Menonites.³ Very similar to him, though superior in petulance and acrimony, was *Frederic Breckling*: who being ejected from the ministry, which he first exercised in Holstein and afterwards at Zwoll, in Holland, lived to extreme old age, in that country, connected with no religious sect. Various of his tracts are extant, which, although they vehemently urge and recommend the cultivation of piety, and display implacable hatred against both vice and the vicious, yet show the writer to have been destitute of the primary virtues of a truly pious man, namely, charity, wisdom, the love of truth, meekness, and patience.⁴

¹ See Christ. Thomasius, *Historie der Weisheit und Narrheit*, vol. i. pt. iii. p. 150. Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, pt. iii. ch. iv. p. 32.

² Arnold, *loc. cit.* pt. iii. ch. v. p. 53, Andrew Carolus, *Memorabilia Eccles. sæc.* xvii. pt. i. lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 513.

³ Arnold, *loc. cit.* pt. iii. ch. xii. p. 130. Andrew Carolus, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 1065. Jo. Hornbeck, *Summa Controvers.* p. 535.

Jo. Möller, *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 337, &c.

⁴ Arnold treats on this man, in his work so often cited, pt. iii. ch. xiii. p. 148, &c. and pt. iv. p. 1103, &c., and likewise gives us some of his tracts; which abundantly show the extreme fertility of his genius; *ibid.* p. 1110. A formal account of him is given by John Möller, *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. iii. p. 72, &c.

It is strange that such vehement and heated declaimers against the defects of the public religion and its ministers, as they profess to be more discerning than all others, should fail of discovering, what the most simple daily learn by common observation, that nothing is more odious and disgusting than an angry reformer, who is always threatening fire and sword; and that they should not perceive the very little chance which any one has of dealing successfully with such faults in others, as he labours under himself. The expectation of the millennial kingdom, which seldom exists in well informed minds, and which generally produces extravagant opinions, was embraced and propagated by *George Lawrence Seidenbecher*, a preacher in the Saxon district of Eichsfeld: and for this he was deprived of his office.⁵

§ 44. We shall close the list of this disordered family, (for it is not necessary to name a great number, since they all pursued much the same course,) with the most odious and the worst of them all, *Martin Seidelius*, a Silesian of Ohlau; who laboured to establish a sect in Poland and the neighbouring countries, near the close of the preceding century and the commencement of this, but whose extreme absurdities prevented him from meeting with success even among the Socinians. This most daring of mortals supposed that God had indeed promised a Saviour or a Messiah to the Jewish nation; but that this Messiah had never appeared, nor ever would appear, because the Jews by their sins, had rendered themselves unworthy of this so great a deliverer, whom God once promised to their fathers: that of course, *Christ* was erroneously regarded as the Messiah: that it was his only business and office to explain the law of nature, which had been greatly obscured by the fault of men: and therefore, that whoever shall obey this law, as expounded by Jesus Christ, will fulfil all the religious duties which God requires of him. To render these monstrous opinions more defensible and specious, he audaciously assailed and discarded all the books of the New Testament. The few persons whom he brought over to his views, were called *Semi-Judaizers*.⁶ If

⁵ He is fully described by Alb. Meno Verpoorten, in his *Comment. de Vita et Institutis G. L. Seidenbecheri*; Dantzig, 1739, 4to.

⁶ See Gustav. George Zeltner's *Historia Crypto-Socinismi Altorfini*, vol. i. p. 268. 335. [His *Fundamenta Religionis Christianæ*, and his *Epistolæ tres ad Cætum*

Unitariorum, are to be found in the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Unitariorum. Schl.* — A sect still exists, in Russia, holding much the same doctrines, and bearing the name of Seleznevtshini. See R. Pinkerton's *Present State of the Greek Church*, ed. New York, 1815, p. 273, comp. p. 228. *Tr.*]

this daring man had lived at the present day, he would have appeared much less odious, than he did in that age. For, if we except his singular ideas concerning the Messiah, all the rest of his system would be highly approved by many, at the present day, among the English, the Dutch, and other nations.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

§ 1. Enlargement of the Reformed church.—§ 2. Its decrees. Fall of the French church.—§ 3. Persecutions of the Reformed French church.—§ 4. Revocation of the edict of Nantes.—§ 5. Persecutions of the Waldensians and the Palatines.—§ 6. State of learning and philosophy.—§ 7. Biblical interpretation.—§ 8. Dogmatic theology.—§ 9. State of moral theology.—§ 10. Controversies concerning grace and predestination.—§ 11. The Arminian schism.—§ 12. Its effects.—§ 13. Singular opinions of the French church.—§ 14. Contest of the hypothetical Universalists.—§ 15. La Place and Cappel.—§ 16. Lewis le Blanc.—§ 17, 18. Claude Pajon.—§ 19. State of the English church under James I.—§ 20. Charles I.—§ 21. The Independents.—§ 22. Cromwell's reign.—§ 23. English Antinomians.—§ 24. Latitudinarians.—§ 25. Church of England under Charles II. and his successors.—§ 26. High church or Non-jurors, among the English.—§ 27. Their opinions.—§ 28. Contests among the Dutch.—§ 29. The Cartesian and Cocceian controversies.—§ 30. The Cartesian.—§ 31. The opinion of the Cocceians respecting the Holy Scriptures.—§ 32. Their theological opinions.—§ 33. Roellian contest, respecting the use of reason.—§ 34. Respecting the generation of the Son of God, &c.—§ 35. Becker.—§ 36. Dutch sects. Verschorists, Hattemists.—§ 37. Commotions in Switzerland. The *Formula Consensus*.

§ 1. THE Reformed church, as has been already remarked, being united not so much by the bonds of a common faith and discipline, as by principles of moderation and candour, it will be proper to consider, first, whatever relates to this very extensive community as a whole, and then the events worthy of notice in the several Reformed countries. The principal enlargements of this community in the seventeenth century, have already been mentioned in our account of the Hessian and Brandenburg commotions, in the chapter on the Lutheran church. We here add, that *John Adolphus*, duke of Holstein,

in the beginning of this century, also went over to the side of the Reformed: and much hope was indulged that his subjects would be led gradually to follow his example; but the prince dying in the year 1616, this hope was frustrated.¹ *Henry* duke of Saxony, in the year 1688, at Dessau, exchanged the Lutheran religion, in which he had been educated, for that of the Reformed, at the instigation, it is said, of his wife.² In the beginning of the century, there were in Denmark many who secretly leaned towards the doctrines of the Reformed, and especially in regard to the Lord's supper, and who had received their instruction from *Nicholas Hemming*, and other friends of *Melancthon*. But these persons lost all their hopes, courage, and influence, after the year 1614, when *John Canute*, a bishop who had too openly avowed his good will towards Calvinistic opinions, was deprived of his office.³ It is well known that the Reformed religion was transplanted by the Dutch and the English into Africa, Asia, and America; and in various parts of those continents very flourishing Reformed churches were established; and among the Lutherans also, liberty was granted every where to the French, German, and English Reformed, freely to set up their worship.

§ 2. Of all the public calamities which diminished the splendour and the prosperity of the Reformed community, the greatest and most lamentable was the subversion of the French church, which had produced so many renowned men. From the times of *Henry IV.* the Reformed church in France constituted a kind of state or commonwealth within the commonwealth; being fortified by great privileges and rights, and possessing, among other things, for its security, towns and castles, and especially the very strong fortress of Rochelle; all which places were garrisoned with its own troops. This community was not always under leaders of sufficient foresight and attachment to the crown. Hence, sometimes, (for the truth should not be concealed,) when civil wars or commotions broke out,

¹ Jo. Möller's *Introduct. ad Historiam Chersonesus Cimbrica*, pt. ii. p. 101, &c. Eric Pontoppidan's *Annales Ecclesie Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. iii. p. 691, &c.

² See George Moebius, *Selectæ Dispp. Theolog.* p. 1137. This prince published a confession of his Faith: which being attacked by the Leipsic divines by public authority, Isaac de Beausobre, who

was then pastor of the church of Magdeburg, composed a vindication of it: *Défense de la Doctrine des Réformés, et en particulier de la Confession de Foy de S. A. Monseigneur le Duc Henry de Saxe, contre un Livre composé par la Faculté de Théologie de Leipsic*; Magdeb. 1694. 8vo.

³ Pontoppidan's *Annales Eccles. Danicæ*, tom. iii. p. 695, &c.

this community took the side of those that were opposed to the king: engaged at times in enterprises which the king disliked; too openly sought alliance and friendship with the Dutch and the English; and undertook or aimed at other things, inconsistent, apparently at least, with the public peace and the supreme authority of the king. Hence the king, *Lewis XIII.*, from the year 1621, waged war with the Reformed party; and the prime minister of France, cardinal *Richelieu*, was persuaded that France would never be safe and enjoy peace, until this community was overthrown and deprived of its fortifications, castles, strong towns, and high privileges. *Richelieu*, after various conflicts, and numerous efforts, at last obtained his object. For in the year 1628, after a long and difficult siege, he took Rochelle, the chief fortress of the Reformed community, and reduced it under subjection to the king: and this city being captured, it was all over with the Reformed church of France; which, being deprived of its fortresses, could depend upon nothing but the king's clemency and good pleasure.⁴ Those who judge of this transaction by the principles of state policy, deny that it was a violation of all justice and equity: because such communities in the bosom of a kingdom or state are pernicious, and most hazardous to the public peace and safety. And if the French court had stopped here, and had left safe and inviolate to the Reformed their liberties of conscience and religion, purchased with a deluge of blood and great achievements, perhaps the Reformed could, and would, have borne the immense loss of their liberties and rights with equanimity.

§ 3. But the French court was not content with this measure of success: having destroyed that form or species of civil polity, which had been annexed to the Reformed church, and which afterwards was deemed adverse to the regal power, the court next attacked the church itself, and its religion, contrary to the plighted faith of the kings. At first milder measures were resorted to, promises, caresses, conciliatory expositions of the doctrines particularly offensive to the Reformed, and similar measures, both with the head men of the Reformed community,

⁴ See Jo. le Clerc's *Vie du Cardinal Richelieu*, tom. i. p. 69. 77. 177. 199. 269. Mich. le Vassor's *Histoire de Louis XIII.* tom. iii. p. 676, &c. tom. iv. p. 1, &c. and the subsequent volumes. Add the duke

of Sully, (a friend to Henry IV., himself one of the Reformed, but not disposed to conceal the errors of his church,) *Mémoires*, tom. iii. iv. v.

and with the more learned and eminent of their ministers; and *Richelieu* especially spared no pains or arts which he thought might have any influence to draw the Reformed insidiously into the Romish church. But as little or nothing was effected by all these measures, the catholic bishops especially resorted to sophistry, persecution, the most unrighteous laws, and all the means which either blind passion or ingenious malice could invent, in order gradually to exhaust the people who were so hateful to them, and compel them against their choice, reluctantly to join the standard of the Roman pontiff. Many yielded, being overcome by their troubles and very grievous sufferings; others left the country; but the greatest part firmly persisted in the religion of their fathers.

§ 4. At length, under *Lewis XIV.*, after all artifices, snares, and projects had been exhausted in vain, the prelates of the Gallic church and the Jesuits, to whom the king was accustomed to listen, determined that this most resolute body of people must be extirpated by violence and war, and crushed as it were by a single stroke. Overcome by their arguments and importunate supplications, *Lewis*, in the year 1685, with the approbation and applause of the Roman pontiff, in violation of all laws human and divine, repealed the edict of Nantes, by which his grandfather had granted to the Reformed the liberty of worshipping God according to their own consciences; and commanded his Reformed subjects to return to the religion of their progenitors. The consequence of this most lamentable decree was, that a vast multitude of French people abandoned their country, to the immense detriment of France⁵, and sought new abiding places, in various parts of Europe, in which they might freely serve God: and the others, whom the extreme

⁵ See the excellent remarks and observations of Armand de la Chapelle, on this subject, in his *Life of Isaac de Beausobre*, subjoined to the posthumous Notes of the latter on the New Testament, p. 259, &c. [The edict of Nantes, which gave free toleration to the protestants, was drawn up and sanctioned by Henry IV. in the year 1598; and confirmed by Lewis XIII. the year after he assumed the sceptre, A. D. 1613. Its revocation in 1685 was preceded by the despatch of soldiers into all the provinces, to compel the protestants to abandon their religion. Notwithstanding the

great pains taken to prevent their escape from the kingdom, some say half a million, and others say eight hundred thousand, protestants found their way to foreign countries. Nearly forty thousand are said to have passed over to England; whence many of them came to the United States of America. Vast numbers settled in Holland: and large numbers in the protestant states of Germany, particularly in Prussia, and in Switzerland and Denmark. See Gifford's *History of France*, vol. iv. p. 35. 92. 421, &c. Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. viii. p. 470, &c. *Tr.*]

vigilance of their enemies prevented from acquiring safety by flight, the soldiers compelled, by a thousand modes of torture, vexation, and suffering, to profess with their lips, and to exhibit in their outward conduct, that Romish religion which they abhorred in their hearts.⁶ From this unrighteous act of the (on other occasions magnanimous) king, it may be seen how the Roman pontiffs and their adherents stand affected towards those whom they call *heretics*; and that they regard no treaty, and no oath as too sacred and too solemn, to be violated, if the safety or the interests of their church demand it.

§ 5. The *Waldenses*, inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, who had formed an union, as has been already mentioned, with the church of Geneva, were tormented, through the whole century almost, by the cruellest devices and machinations of the Roman prelate's emissaries; but especially, in the years 1655, 1686, and 1696, they were so oppressed and harassed that they had extreme difficulty in escaping extermination.⁷ Those who survived these frequent butcheries, owed their precarious and dubious safety to the intercessions of the Dutch, the English, and the Swiss, with the duke of Savoy. In Germany, the church of the Palatinate, which was once a principal branch of the Reformed community, from the year 1685, when the government passed into the hands of a prince given up to Romanism, gradually suffered so much diminution, that from holding the first rank, it was depressed to almost the lowest among the Reformed churches of Germany.

§ 6. As the merits of the Reformed body in every branch of useful knowledge, are extremely great and every where notorious, we shall not dwell upon them. We shall also omit the names of the great and distinguished authors, whose works procured permanent fame for themselves, and great advantage to others; because it is difficult, amidst so great a number, to select the best.⁸ In philosophy, the sole guide and lawgiver every where

⁶ No one has illustrated these events more fully than Elias Benoit, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*; a noble work, published at Delft, 1693, &c. in 5 vols. 4to. See also Voltaire, *Siccle de Louis XIV.* tom. ii. p. 229.

⁷ Jo. Leger, *Histoire Générale des Eglises Vaudoises*, pt. ii. ch. vi. p. 72, &c. Peter Gilles, *Histoire Ecclésiastique des Eglises Vaudoises*, cap. xlix. p. 353, &c. There is extant a particular history of

the calamities sustained by the Waldenses, in the year 1686, printed at Rotterdam, 1688, 12mo. [See also An Account of the late persecutions of the Waldenses by the duke of Savoy and the French king, in 1686; printed, Oxford, 1688, 4to, and Peter Boyer's *History of the Vaudois*, chap. xii—xxi. p. 72, &c. Tr.]

⁸ ["The list of the eminent divines and men of learning, that were ornaments

for a long time, just as among the Lutherans, was *Aristotle*; and moreover, the very *Aristotle* that is pourtrayed to us by the scholastic writers. But his authority gradually became very much diminished, from the times of *Gassendi* and *Des Cartes*. For many of the French and Dutch adopted the Cartesian philosophy, upon its first appearance; and a large part of the English chose *Gassendi* for their guide and teacher. This was exceedingly offensive to the Aristotelians; who every where, but most pugnaciously in Holland, laboured to persuade the people, that immense danger to religion and the truth was to be apprehended from the abandonment of *Aristotle*; nor would they suffer themselves to be ousted from the schools.⁹ But the splendour of the increasing light, and the influence of liberty, compelled the pertinacious sect to yield and be silent: so that the Reformed doctors, at the present day, philosophize as freely as the Lutherans do. Yet I am far from sure that *Aristotle* does not still exercise a secret sway in the English universities. This at least I could easily prove, that in the times of *Charles II.*, *James II.*, and *William III.*, while the mathematical philosophy prevailed nearly throughout Great Britain, yet at Oxford and Cambridge the old philosophy was in higher repute, with some, than the new discoveries.

§ 7. The expositors of Scripture among the Reformed, who adorned the commencement of the century, all trod in the steps of *Calvin*; and according to his example, they did not search after recondite meanings and types, but investigated solely the import of the words of the sacred writers. But this uniformity, in process of time, was done away, by the influence of two very

to the Reformed church in the 17th century, is indeed extremely ample. Among those that adorned Great Britain, we shall always remember with peculiar veneration the immortal names of Newton, Barrow, Cudworth, Boyle, Chillingworth, Ussher, Bedell, Hall, Pocock, Fell, Lightfoot, Hammond, Calamy, Walton, Baxter, Pearson, Stillingfleet, Mede, Parker, Oughtred, Burnet, Tillotson, and many others well known in the literary world. In Germany we find Pareus, Scultet, Fabricius, Alting, Pelargus, and Bergius. In Switzerland and Geneva, Hospinian, the two Buxtorfs, Hottinger, Heidegger, and Turretin. In the churches and academies

of Holland, we meet with the following learned divines: Drusus, Amama, Gomar, Rivet, Cloppenburg, Vossius, Cocceius, Voetius, Des Marets, Heidan, Momma, Burman, Wittichius, Hornbeck, the Spanheims, Le Moynes, De Mastricht; among the French doctors, we may reckon Cameron, Chamier, Du Moulin, Mestrezat, Blondel, Drelincourt, Daillé, Amyraut, the two Cappels, De la Place, Gamstole, Croy, Morus, Le Blanc, Pajon, Bochart, Claude, Alix, Jurieu, Basnage, Abbadie, Beausobre, Lenfant, Martin, Des Vignoles, &c." *Macl.* ✓

⁹ See Andrew Baillet, *Vie de M. des Cartes*; in numerous passages.

distinguished interpreters, *Hugo Grotius* and *John Cocceius*. The former, departing but slightly from *Calvin's* manner, investigates only the literal sense, in the books of both the Old Testament and the New; considers the predictions of the ancient prophets, as being all fulfilled in events anterior to the coming of Christ, and therefore in the letter of them, as not to be applied to Christ: yet he supposes, that in some of those prophecies, especially in such as the writers of the New Testament apply to Christ, there is, besides the literal sense, a secret or *mystical* sense, concealed under the persons, events, and things described, which relates to Christ, to his history and mediation. Very different were the principles of *Cocceius*. He supposed that the whole Old Testament history was a kind of emblematic history of *Christ*, and of the Christian church; that the prophecies of the ancient prophets, in their literal import, treated of *Jesus Christ*; and that whatever was to occur in the Christian church, down to the end of time, was all pre-figured in the Old Testament, in some places more clearly, and in others less so.¹ Each of these men had a multitude of followers and disciples. With the former, were, besides the Arminians, those adherents to the old Calvinistic system, who, from *Gilbert Voet*, the principal antagonist of *Cocceius*, were called *Voetians*; also many of the English, and a great number of the French. The latter was highly admired by not a few of the Dutch, the Swiss, and the Germans. Yet there are many, who stand intermediate between these two classes of interpreters; agreeing with neither, throughout, but with each, in part. Moreover, neither, the *Grotian* interpreters, nor the *Cocceian*, are all of the same description; but each class is subdivided into various subordinate classes. No contemptible portion of the English *Episcopalians*, despising these modern guides, think that the first doctors of the nascent church ought to be consulted, and deny that the sacred books are to be expounded otherwise than as the *Fathers* expounded them.²

¹ It is commonly said: "Cocceius finds Christ every where, but Grotius no where, in the pages of the Old Testament." The first part of the adage is most true: the last is not so true. For Grotius, as his commentaries fully show, does find Christ in many passages of the Old Testament; though in a different

way from Cocceius, that is, not in the words, but in the things and the persons.

² These are expressly refuted by the learned Daniel Whitby, in his *Dissertatio de Scripturarum Interpretatione secundum Patrum Commentarios*, London, 1714. 8vo. [Whitby has here collected the absurd and whimsical expositions of the

§ 8. The doctrines of Christianity were disfigured, among the Reformed, just as among ourselves, by Peripatetic, or if you like, scholastic daubing. The entire subjugation of these doctrines to the empire of Aristotle, and their reduction to the form of a Peripatetic science, was first resisted by the Arminians; who followed a more simple mode of teaching, and inveighed most loudly against such divines as subjected the doctrines relating to man's salvation to the artificial distinctions and phraseology of the schools. Next followed the Cartesians and the Cocceians; the former of whom applied the principles of their philosophy to the explication of revealed truth; while the latter judged that the whole system of theology would appear to the best advantage, if dressed up in the form and garb of a divine *covenant* with men. But grave and wise men among the Reformed, were pleased with neither of these. For they objected that the sacred doctrines would be rendered no less obscure and intricate by the Cartesian distinctions and peculiar conceptions, than by the Peripatetic phraseology and distinctions. Nor did they see how a covenant could furnish an analogy suitable for application to theology, without producing this evil, among others which no good man can approve, that it would make the phraseology and subtle distinctions of lawyers pass over into the schools of divines, and find an opening for vain and futile contentions upon subjects of the holiest kind. Most of the English and the French would not consent to be thus trammelled, but treated both doctrinal and practical theology, freely, after the manner of the Arminians.

§ 9. As already observed in another place, *William Ames*, an Englishman, was the first among the Reformed who attempted to elucidate and arrange the science of morals, as distinct from that of dogmatics.³ But he is dry, and writes more for the schools, than for common life. Afterwards the Arminians (who, it appears, were much more zealous to perfect that part of theology which regulates the life and the heart, than that which informs the understanding,) induced great numbers to attempt something more useful, and more popular, in this de-

fathers, and placed them together in their most ridiculous attitude. See Mac-laine's note. *Tr.*]

³ [In his book *de Conscientia et ejus jure vel casibus*, libri v. Amsterd. 1630,

4to, 1640 and 1670, 12mo. It was also published in a German translation, by Geo. Phil. Harsdorfer, Nuremb. 1654. *Schl.*]

partment. The French, however, and the English, excel the others in facility, acuteness, and solidity. Among the French, to mention no others, *Moses Amyraut*, a man of distinguished energy and acuteness of mind, first produced in French, though in a style now obsolete, a complete system of moral science; by which those who have more recently obtained much reputation by their writings, *John la Placette* and *Benedict Pictet*, appear to have profited not a little.⁴ Among the English, during the immense convulsions of the civil wars, the *Presbyterians*, and *Independents* especially, endeavoured by various works to make themselves useful in the cause of piety. Some of these (as the nation is naturally grave and inclined towards austerity) are too rigorous, and regardless of man's condition; while others manifestly incline towards the precepts of the mystics. When *Hobbes* subjected all religion to the sovereign will of princes, and laboured to subvert altogether the natural distinction between right and wrong, he roused up great and discerning men, *Cumberland*, *Sharrock*, *Cudworth*, and others⁵, to lay open the primary sources of right and justice, and to purify them from misrepresentations; by which they contributed very much to the illustration and confirmation of Christian holiness.

§ 10. At the beginning of the century, the school of Geneva was in such reputation, throughout the Reformed world, that nearly all resorted to it, who were not prevented by the narrowness of their worldly circumstances from seeking the best education and the highest attainments in theological knowledge.⁶ Hence the opinions of *Calvin* and his pupils, respecting the divine decrees and grace, readily spread every where, and were introduced into all the schools. Yet there was no where any public ordinance or test, which denied religious teachers the liberty either of believing themselves, or of teaching differently from the Genevans.⁷ Hence there were many persons

⁴ [Amyraut's work, entitled *Morale Chrétienne*, was printed in 1652, 6 vols. 8vo.—La Placette's work was entitled *Essais de Morale, avec la suite*, Hague, 1706, 8 vols. 8vo, and was published in a German translation, Jena, 1719 and 1728.—Pictet's work was entitled: *La Morale Chrétienne, ou l'Art de bien vivre*, Geneva, 1710, 2 vols. 4to. This work was so satisfactory to the catholics, that the countess of Sporcck had it translated into German, omitting the passages of-

fensive to the catholics, and printed it at her own cost, Prague, 1711. *Schl.*]

⁵ See Leland's *View of the Deistica Writers*, vol. i. p. 40. *Macl.*]

⁶ The high reputation which the Genevan academy once had, gradually declined, after the establishment of the Dutch republic, and the erection of the universities of Leyden, Francker, and Utrecht.

⁷ Besides Hugo Grotius, who evinces this in his *Apologeticum*, already men-

to be found in all quarters who either dissented altogether from the Genevans⁸, or somehow put a qualification upon their doctrine. And even those who took the side of the Genevans had some dissension among themselves. For while most of them supposed, that God only *permitted* the first man to sin, but did not *decree* his apostasy, others went further, and were so daring as to maintain, that God from all eternity, in order to place his justice and his free goodness in the clearest light, had decreed the lamentable transgression of Adam; and had so disposed every thing, that our first parents could not avoid or escape the transgression. The latter were called *Supralapsarians*, in distinction from the former, who were called *Infralapsarians*.

§ 11. Disregarding the points in which they differed, as being of small moment, both laboured with united strength to put down those, who maintained, that God is most graciously disposed towards all mankind. Hence a great schism arose, soon after the commencement of the century, which never could be healed. *James Arminius*, professor of theology at Leyden, rejected the Genevan doctrines, and embraced the Lutheran doctrine concerning grace, which excludes no one absolutely from eternal salvation. He was joined by many persons in Holland, who were distinguished both for learning and the stations they filled. On the other hand, he was most strenuously opposed by *Francis Gomarus*, his colleague, and by the principal teachers in the universities. The rulers of the commonwealth recommended moderation; and saw no reason why both opinions

tioned, see Theodore Volckh. Coornhart, a Hollander, well known by the controversies he produced, in his Dutch tracts written near the close of the [preceding] century, in which he assails the doctrine of absolute decrees. I have now before me, his *Dolingen des Catechismi ende der Predicanten*, Utrecht, 1590, 8vo. *Van de tolatinge ende decreete Godes Bedenkinghe, of de Heylighe Schrift als Johan Calvin ende Beza daerran leeren*, Altena, 1572, 8vo. *Orsacken ende middelen van der Menschen saligheide Verdoemenisse*, 1603, 8vo. Of this man, Godf. Arnold treats, in the second vol. of his *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, in several places. [Especially, pt. iii. ch. iv. vol. ii. p. 377, &c. ed. 1741, where his life and controversies are stated at length. Tr.—James Arminius, while a minister at Amsterdam, being directed by the Consistory to

refute the writings of Coornhart, was converted to his doctrines, by the perusal of his writings, and therefore defended them against the Reformed. *Schl.*]

⁸ *E. gr.* Henry Bullinger, a famous divine at Zurich, who clearly declared in favour of universal grace. See Jo. Alphon. Turretin's Letter to W. Wake, abp. of Canterbury, in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, tom. xiii. art. ii. p. 92, &c. and Herm. Hildebrand's *Orthodoxa Declaratio Articulorum Trium*, p. 295, &c. and even in Holland, at the establishment of the university of Leyden, John Holmann, a universalist, was appointed first professor of theology. See Gerhard Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, book ix. and the *Histoire Abrégée de la Réformation de Brandt*, tom. i. p. 229, &c. *Schl.*]

might not be taught in a free state, without injury to religion. After long altercation and violent contests, by order of *Maurice*, prince of Orange⁹, this controversy was submitted to the judgment of the whole church, and discussed in a council held at Dort, in 1618. There were present in the council, besides the best theologians of Holland, representatives of the English, the Palatines, the Swiss, the Bremensians, and the Hessians. Before this tribunal the Arminians lost their cause, and were pronounced corrupters of the true religion; and those among the Genevans, who are called *Infralapsarians*, triumphed. The *Supralapsarian* party, indeed, had supporters and advocates, who were neither few nor inactive; but the moderation and gentleness especially of the English divines, prevented their doctrines from obtaining the sanction of the Synod. The *Infralapsarians* also would not have obtained all they wished for, [against the Arminians,] if things could have gone according to the wishes of the Bremensian divines; who, for weighty reasons, did not choose to be at variance with the Lutherans.¹

§ 12. Whether this victory over the Arminians, on the whole, was advantageous, or detrimental to the doctrinal views of the Genevans, and to the Reformed church, may be justly questioned. This is most certain, that after the times of the council of Dort, the doctrine of absolute decrees began to decline, and to sink more and more; and stern necessity obliged its defenders, to recognise as brethren, those who either openly coincided with the Arminians, or at least bore a near resemblance to them. The Arminians, who were at first condemned, and whose leaders were men of great eloquence and of superior genius as well as learning, being irritated by banishments, legal penalties, and various other injuries, attacked their foes with so much vigour and eloquence, that vast numbers became persuaded of the justice of their cause. Among the Dutch themselves, the provinces of Friesland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gröningen, and Guelderland, could not be persuaded to receive the decrees of the synod of Dort. And though, after the lapse of many years, in 1651, these provinces were at length prevailed upon

⁹ ["It was not by the authority of prince Maurice, but by that of the States-general, that the national synod was assembled at Dort. The States were not, indeed, unanimous; three of the seven provinces protested against the holding

of the synod, viz. Holland, Utrecht, and Overijssel." *Macl.*]

¹ The writers of these transactions will be mentioned below, in the chapter on the Arminian church.

to declare their pleasure, that the Reformed religion, as it was settled at Dort, should be maintained and defended; yet the greatest jurists among the Dutch maintain, that this decision cannot have the force of a real and absolute law.² England, through the influence especially of *William Laud*, went over to the side of the Arminians, immediately after the synod of Dort; and quite to our times, it has not so much neglected, as actually despised and contemned, the decisions of that council.³ And this was almost a necessary occurrence, since the English wished to conform their church to the institutions, opinions, and rules of the first centuries; and the *Fathers*, as they are called, before *Augustine*, assigned no limitation to the grace and good will of God. The French, although at first they seemed to favour the decisions at Dort, yet soon afterwards, because those decisions were highly offensive to the papists among whom they lived, began to think and to teach very differently from them. Among the Germans, neither the churches of Brandenburg, nor those of Bremen, would suffer their teachers to be tied down to the opinions of the Dutch. Hence the liberty of free thought respecting grace and predestination, which seemed to be wholly extinguished and suppressed at Dort, rather acquired life and activity from the transactions there; and the Reformed church soon became divided into *Universalists*, and *Semi-Universalists*, *Supralapsarians*, and *Infralapsarians*⁴; who, though

² See the illustrious Conrad von Bynckershoek's *Questionum Juris publici Libri duo*, Leyden, 1737, 4to, lib. ii. cap. xviii.

³ Sever. Lintrup's *Dissert. de Contemptu Concilii Dordrac. in Anglia*; in the *Diss. Theologicæ* of Hect. Godf. Masius, tom. i. no. 19. [See King James's Injunctions to the bishops, A.D. 1622, in Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. ch. ii. p. 153. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Universalists are those among the Reformed, who teach the universal grace of God towards all apostate men; and consequently, also, a universal atonement, and a call to all men. They are, however, divided into two classes. Some ascribe to the means of grace which God affords, sufficient power to enlighten and sanctify all men; and teach, that it depends on the voluntary conduct of men, whether the grace of God shall produce its effects on them or not. These, who are sometimes called absolute (uncon-

ditional) Universalists, are by Dr. Mosheim denominated simply Universalists. Others maintain, that God indeed wishes to make all men happy, but only on the condition of their believing: and that this faith originates from the sovereign and irresistible operation of God, or from the free, unconditional, and sovereign election of God. These, who are sometimes called hypothetical (conditional) universalists, and who scarcely differ, except in words, from the Infralapsarians, are by Dr. Mosheim denominated Semi-universalists. The Supralapsarians, to which class belonged Beza, Francis Gomarus, and Gisbert Voetius, not only teach unconditional election, but they place this election *anterior* to the purpose of God to create men, and their apostasy. The Infralapsarians, on the contrary, make this unconditional election to be *subsequent* to the foreseen apostasy. Both these last are also called, [in distinction from the Universalists,] Particularists.

they dislike each other, and sometimes get into contention, yet are prevented, by various causes, from attacking and overpowering one another by open war. It should not be forgotten, that we have in our own times seen Geneva itself, the parent, nurse, and guardian of the doctrine of *absolute decrees and particular grace*, not only become kind and gentle towards the Arminians, but also herself almost Arminian.

§ 13. The Gallic church, while it remained inviolate, thought proper to deviate in many particulars from the common rule of the Reformed ; being influenced, as appears from many proofs, principally by this one reason, namely, that it might in some measure be relieved from a part of the hatred under which it laboured, and from that load of odious consequences which the papists charged upon the Genevan doctrines. Hence the books of the theologians of Sedan and Saumur, which were composed after the synod of Dort, contain many things quite similar and akin not only to the Lutheran sentiments concerning grace, predestination, the person of Christ, and the efficacy of the sacraments, but also to some opinions of the Romanists. The commencement of this moderation may be traced back, I think, to the year 1615, when the opinion of *John Piscator*, a divine of Herborn, respecting the obedience of Christ, was tacitly received, or at least pronounced void of error ⁵, in the council of the Isle of France, notwithstanding that it had before been rejected and exploded in other French councils.⁶ *Piscator* was of opinion that our Saviour did not satisfy the divine law in our stead by His *obedience* ; but that He, as a man, was bound to obey the Divine will, and therefore could not, by keeping the law, merit any thing with God for others. It will be easy for those who understand the papal doctrines to see how much aid this opinion

But it is to be hoped, that when sound interpretations shall become prevalent in the Reformed churches, these parties, which are the unhappy offspring of a disputations spirit and of ignorance of the original languages, will at length entirely cease. *Schl.*]

⁵ Jo. Aymon, *Actes de tous les Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Réformées de France*, tom. ii. p. 275, 276.

⁶ See Aymon, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 301. 400. 457, tom. ii. p. 13. Jac. Benign. Bossuet, *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, livr. xii. tom. ii. p. 268. To Bossuet thus tauntingly reproaching, as

is his custom, the changeableness of the Reformed, Jac. Basnage appears to have replied, not solidly, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. p. 1533, &c. [There manifestly was some change in the views of the French divines, in regard to *Piscator's* sentiments ; for they repeatedly and expressly condemned them in several of their synods, and afterwards yielded up the point. Hence Basnage could not deny the fact. But was this change of opinion any way reproachful to the French clergy ? Bossuet thought it was : but candid men will judge otherwise. *Th.*]

affords to the papists, in confirming the sentiments which they commonly inculcate respecting the merit of good works, man's power to obey the law, and other points.⁷ This small beginning was followed by other far more important steps; among which some were so much out of the way, that the most modest, and the most averse from contention, among the French themselves, could not approve them.⁸

§ 14. The divines of Saumur, first *John Cameron*, and then *Moses Amyraut*, a man distinguished for clear-sightedness and erudition, devised a method of uniting the doctrines of the Genevans respecting the divine decrees, as expounded at Dort, with the views of those who hold that the love of God embraces the whole human race. And *Amyraut*, from about the year 1634, pursued this most difficult of all objects with so much zeal and with so great vigour of genius, that to gain his point, he changed a great part of the received system of theology. His plan, which was too extensive to be here fully detailed, was substantially this: that God wishes the salvation of all men whatever; and that no mortal is excluded from the benefits of *Christ* by any divine decree: but that no one can become a partaker, either of the benefits of *Christ* or of salvation, unless he believes in *Christ*. And that God, in His boundless good-

⁷ [Dr. Maclaine is much offended with Dr. Mosheim, for intimating that Piscator's opinions afforded support to the popish doctrines of the merit of good works, man's ability to obey the law, &c. And, indeed, it is difficult to see the connexion, supposed by Dr. Mosheim. It is also true, as Dr. Maclaine states, that Piscator's doctrine by denying that even *Christ* himself could perform any works of supererogation, cut up by the roots the popish doctrine, that a vast number of common saints have performed such works, and thus have filled that spiritual treasury, from which the pontiffs can dispense pardons and indulgence to an almost unlimited extent.—Piscator held that *Christ* redeemed us, only by his death, or by his sufferings; and not as was then generally held, by both his active and his passive obedience. His arguments were, that *Christ*, as being a man, was bound to obey the will of God perfectly; so that he could not do more than he was under personal obligation to perform. Moreover, that if *Christ* had

perfectly obeyed the law in man's stead; then men would not be under obligation to obey it themselves: because it would be unjust in God to require obedience twice over, once from our representative, and then again from us. Besides, if *Christ*, in our stead, both obeyed the law, and suffered the penalty of its violation; then the law had been doubly satisfied; or God had received the obedience he required, and yet inflicted the penalty for disobedience. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Dr. Maclaine is here out of all patience with Mosheim; and taxes him with bringing a groundless and malignant charge against the whole body of the French Reformed church. But Maclaine appears excited beyond what the occasion required. The five following paragraphs, namely § 14—18, detail the facts, in view of which, Mosheim made the assertion contained in the close of this paragraph. Let the reader carefully peruse them, and then judge how far Mosheim deserves rebuke. *Tr.*]

ness, has withheld from no one the power or ability to believe: but He by no means assists all to use this power so as to obtain salvation. Hence it is that so many thousands of men perish, through their own fault, and not by the fault of God.⁹ Those who embraced this scheme were called *Hypothetical Universalists*; because they believed that God has compassion indeed towards all, yet only on the condition that they believed in *Christ*. It is the opinion of many, that this doctrine does not differ from that maintained at Dort, otherwise than as the naked club of *Hercules* differs from itself when painted and adorned with ribbons; which is but little difference after all. I doubt, however, whether such persons have duly considered either the principles from which it springs, or the consequences to which it leads. After considering and reconsidering it, it appears to me to be *Arminianism*, or, if you please, *Pelagianism*, artificially dressed up and veiled in ambiguous terms; and in this opinion I feel myself greatly confirmed when I look at the more recent disciples of *Amyraut*, who express their views more clearly and more boldly than their master.¹ The author of this doctrine was first attacked by some councils of the French [Protestants]; but when they had examined the cause, they acquitted and dismissed him.² With greater violence he was assailed by the celebrated Dutch divines, *Andrew Rivet*, *Frederic Spanheim*, *Samuel des Marets* (*Maresius*), and others; to whom *Amyraut* himself, and afterwards the leading French divines, *John Daillé* (*Dallæus*), *David Blondel*, and others, made energetic replies.³ The vehement and long protracted contest was productive of very little effect. For the opinions of *Amyraut* infected not only the Huguenot universities in France, and nearly all the principal doctors, but also spread first to Geneva, and then with the French

⁹ See Jo. Wolfg. Jaeger's *Historia Eccles. et Politica*, sæculi xvii. decenn. iv. p. 522, &c.

¹ [Schlegel expresses much regret that Dr. Mosheim neither here nor in his lectures, more clearly showed how a disguised Pelagianism lies concealed under this scheme of the Hypothetical Universalists. And he refers us to his notes on vol. i. cent. v. pt. ii. chap. v. § 23 and 26, to show that this scheme of *Amyraut* was not in reality Pelagianism, nor even Semi-Pelagianism. *Tr.*]

² See Aymon's *Actes des Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Réformées en France*, tom. ii. p. 571, &c. p. 604, &c. [Quick's *Synodicon*, vol. ii. p. 352, &c. 397, &c. 455. *Tr.*] David Blondel's *Actes Authentiques des Eglises Réformées, touchant la Paix et la Charité Fraternelle*, p. 19, &c. p. 82, Amsterd. 1655, 4to.

³ Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. i. art. *Amyraut*, p. 182, art. *Daillé*, tom. ii. p. 947, &c. Art. *Blondell*, tom. i. p. 571, &c. Christ. Matth. Pfaff, *de Formula Consensus*, cap. i. p. 4, &c. and others.

exiles, through all the Reformed churches. Nor is there any one at the present day who ventures to speak against it.

§ 15. From the same desire of softening certain Reformed doctrines, which afforded to the papists as well as the others much occasion for reproach, originated *Joshua Placæus*' (de la Place's) opinion concerning the *imputation* of the sin committed by the parents of the human race. This theologian of Saumur, the colleague and intimate friend of *Amyraut*, in the year 1640, denied the doctrine, then generally inculcated in the Reformed schools, that the sin of the first man was *imputed* to his posterity; and maintained, on the contrary, that each person's own inherent defilement and disposition to sin was attributed to him, by God, as his crime; or, to use the language of theologians, he contended that *original sin* was imputed to men, *not immediately, but only mediately*. This opinion was condemned as erroneous in the synod of Charenton, A. D. 1642; and was confuted by many theologians of great respectability among the Swiss and the Dutch.⁴ And *De la Place*, influenced by the love of peace, did not think proper to offer any public defence of it.⁵ But neither his silence, nor the condemnation of the synod, could prevent this doctrine from commending itself to the minds of very many of the French as being reason-

⁴ Aymon, *Synodes des Eglises Réformées de France*, tom. ii. p. 680. [Quick's *Synodicon*, vol. ii. p. 473. He maintained *hereditary depravity*, which he accounted criminal, and a just ground of punishment, but denied the *imputation of Adam's sin* to his posterity. *Tr.*]—Placæus advanced his opinion, in his *Theses Theologicæ de Statu Hominis lapsi, ante Gratiam*, 1640, which are inserted in the *Syntagma Thesium Theologicarum in Academia Salmuriensi disputatarum*, pt. i. p. 205, &c. He was understood by some, to deny all imputation of Adam's sin. He was first brought into trouble on the subject in the year 1645; when Ant. Garissoles, a divine of Montauban, and others, accused him before the national synod of Charenton. Amyraut, though he adhered to the common doctrine, defended him: but his opinion was disapproved by the synod. Many censured the decision of the synod, as being hasty and unjust, because Placæus was condemned, uncited and unheard, his opinion being misapprehended, and Garissoles his accuser being allowed to

preside in the synod. Placæus himself was so cool, dispassionate, and peaceful, that he defended his assailed reputation by no public writing, but patiently waited for the meeting of a new synod, until, at last, the unceasing outcry of his opponents, in 1655, compelled him to publish a new Disputation, *de Imputatione prima Peccati Adami*, in which he showed that the synod did not understand his doctrine; since he denied merely his *immediate* imputation of Adam's sin, (an imputation arising from the sovereign decree of God,) and not the *mediate* imputation or one naturally consequent on the descent of men from Adam. Yet this explanation did not satisfy his excited opposers. Andrew Rivet, Samuel Maresius, and Francis Turretin did not cease to assail him: and by instigation of the last named, the belief of immediate imputation was settled as an article of faith, by the church of Geneva, in the year 1675. See Weismann's *Historia Eccles. sæc. xvii.* p. 919. *Schl.*]

⁵ See Christ. Eberh. Weismann's *Hist. Eccles. sæc. xvii.* p. 817.

able; or from spreading, through them, into other countries. In the number of those who were disposed to gratify the papists at the expense of the religion of their fathers, many have placed *Lewis Cappel*, another divine of Saumur; who, in a long and elaborate work⁶, attempted to prove that the Hebrew vowel points were not inserted by the inspired writers, but were added in more recent times. This indeed is certain, that his opinion pleased the Romanists, who thought it very useful to weaken the authority of the sacred Scriptures, and depress them below the unwritten word.⁷ It was, therefore, the more earnestly and learnedly opposed by great numbers of the best Hebraists, both among the Lutherans and the Reformed.⁸

§ 16. All these divines, though they incurred much odium, yet obtained the approbation of very many, and have been pronounced uncensurable by the candour of subsequent times: but those were less fortunate, who have been already mentioned, as openly meditating a union of the French Reformed church with that subject to Romish sway; and likewise those who attempted so to explain or shape theology as would render the transition to the Romish party shorter and more easy. To this class belonged *Lewis le Blanc*, a divine of Sedan, and *Claude Pajon*, a minister at Orleans; both of whom were eloquent, and men of great penetration. The former, with great perspicuity, so treated various controversies which divide the protestants from the papists, as to show that some of them were mere contests about words, and that others were of much less importance than was commonly supposed.⁹ Hence he is much censured to this day by those who think that great care should be taken, lest, by filing down and lessening too much the causes of disagreement, the truth should be exposed to danger.¹⁰ This acute man left behind him a sect, which, however, being very odious to most persons, either conceals, or very cautiously states its real sentiments.

§ 17. *Claude Pajon* appeared to explain and to adulterate

⁶ In his *Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum*; which, with his *Vindiciæ*, may be found in his works, Amsterd. 1689, fol. and in the *Critica Sacra Vet. Test.* Paris, 1650, fol.

⁷ [Or tradition. *Tr.*]

⁸ See Jo. Christ. Wolf's *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, pt. ii. p. 27, &c.

⁹ In his *Theses Theologicæ*: which are

well worth reading. The copy before me was printed at London, 1675, fol., but there has been a number of editions of them.

¹⁰ See Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. i. article Beaulieu, p. 458, &c. [His whole name was Lewis le Blanc, Sieur de Beaulieu. See the notice of him, above note⁸, p. 72. *Tr.*]

that part of the Reformed religion which treats of the native depravity of man, his power to do good, the grace of God, and the conversion of the soul to God, by the principles and tenets of the Cartesian philosophy, which he had imbibed completely. But what his opinions really were, it is very difficult to determine: and whether this arises from his own endeavours to conceal what he really thought, by enunciating it under an ambiguous phraseology, or from the negligence or the malice of his adversaries, I cannot readily decide. If we believe his adversaries, he was of opinion that man has more soundness and more ability to reform himself than is generally apprehended; that what is called *original sin* cleaves only to the understanding, and consists principally in want of power to view religious questions clearly and sufficiently; that this faultiness of the human understanding excites the will to evil inclinations and actions; that it is to be cured, not by the powers of nature, but by the influences of the Holy Spirit acting through the medium of the divine Word; that this Word, however, does not possess any inherent divine power, or any *physical* or *hyperphysical* energy, but only a *moral* influence; that is, it reforms the human understanding in the same manner as human truth does, namely, by exhibiting clear and well-defined views of divine things, and such solid arguments as may prove the truths of Christianity to be consistent with right reason, and God's perfections; that every man, therefore, if his power were not weakened and withdrawn by either internal or external impediments, might renew his own mind by the use of his reason, and by meditation on revealed truth, without the extraordinary aid of the Holy Spirit.¹ But *Pajon* himself asserts, that he believed and professed all that is contained in the decisions of Dort, and in the other confessions and catechisms of the Reformed; complains that his opinions were misunderstood; and states, that he does not deny all *immediate operation of the Holy Spirit* on the minds of those who are converted to God, but only

¹ See Fred. Spanheim, *Append. ad Elenchum Controversiarum*; *Opp.* tom. iii. p. 882, &c. Peter Jurieu, *Traité de la Nature et de la Grâce*, p. 35, &c. Val. Ern. Loescher, *Exercit. de Claud. Paionii ejusque Sectator. Doctrina et Fatis*, Lips. 1692, 12mo. [Spanheim was a more candid adversary of Pajon, than Jurieu.

Weismann (*loc. cit.* p. 942,) follows Jurieu for the most part, and is too severe upon Pajon; who had no other aim than to guard against fanaticism and enthusiasm, and probably viewed the word of God with higher reverence than many of his opponents did. *Schl.*]

that immediate operation which is unconnected with the Word of God; in other words, that he cannot agree with those who think that the Word of God is only an external and *inoperative sign* of an immediate divine operation.² This last proposition is manifestly ambiguous and captious. He finally adds, that we ought not to contend about the *manner* in which the Holy Spirit operates on the minds of men; that it is sufficient if a person holds this one point — that the Holy Spirit is the Author of all that is good in us. The sentiments of *Pajon*, however, were condemned not only by the Reformed divines, but also by some synods of the French church in 1677, and by a Dutch synod at Rotterdam in 1686.

§ 18. This controversy, which was in a measure settled and ended by the death of *Pajon*, was propagated in many books and discourses throughout England, Holland, and Germany, by *Isaac Papin*, a Frenchman of Blois, and sister's son to *Pajon*. Throwing off all disguise, he ventured to express himself much more coarsely and harshly than his uncle. He declared that the opinion of his uncle was this: *That man has even more power than is necessary to enable him to understand divine truth: that for the reformation and regeneration of the soul nothing more is required than to remove an unsound state of the body by medical aid, if such a state happens to exist, and then to place before the understanding, truth and error, and before the will, virtue and vice, clearly and distinctly, with their appropriate arguments.* This, and the other opinions of *Papin*, the celebrated divine of Rotterdam, *Peter Jurieu*, among others, confuted with uncommon warmth, in the years 1686, 1687, and 1688. They were also condemned by the Synod of Bois-le-Duc in 1687; and still more severely by the synod at the Hague in 1688; which also ejected the man from the Reformed church. Provoked by this severity, *Papin*, who, in other things, manifested fine talents, returned to France in the year 1689, and the next year revolted to the Romish church, in which he died in the year 1709.³ Some think him to have

² See the tract which *Pajon* himself composed, and which is inserted in Jac. Geo. de Chauffepie's *Nouveau Dictionnaire, Histor. et Critique*, tom. ii. art. *Cene*, p. 164, &c.

³ See *Jurieu, de la Nature et de la Grâce*; and in other writings. Jo. Möller, *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 608, &c. and others. [According to Möller, *loc. cit.* *Papin's* Scheme of doctrine grew

been treated unjustly, and that his opinions were misrepresented by his mortal adversary *Jurieu*; but how true this may be, I cannot say. A defence of the Paionian sentiment was likewise attempted, in 1684, in several tracts, by *Charles le Cene*; a French divine of a vigorous mind, who has given us a French translation of the Bible.⁴ But as he entirely discarded and denied the natural depravity of man, and taught that we can amend ourselves by our own power, by attentively listening to divine truth, especially if we have also a good education, good examples, and some other advantages, there are those who contend, that his scheme of doctrine differs, in many respects, from that of *Pajon*.⁵

§ 19. The English church was agitated with most violent storms and tempests. When *James I.*, king of Scotland, on the death of *Elizabeth*, ascended the throne of England, the *Puritans*, or friends of the Genevan discipline, indulged no little hope that their condition would be meliorated, and that they should no longer be exposed to the continual wrongs of the *Episcopalians*. For the king had been born and educated among the Scotch, who were *Puritans*.⁶ And his first movements corresponded well with these expectations, and seemed to announce that he would use the royal authority to assume the character of mediator between the disagreeing parties.⁷ But, on a sudden,

out of his Cartesian philosophy. He supposed that in creating the world, God so formed and constituted all things, that he never has occasion to interpose his immediate agency, unless when a miracle is necessary. Of course, that the conversion of sinners is brought about, as all other events are, by the operation of natural causes. *Tr.*]

⁴ It was published after the author's death, Amsterd. 1741, fol., and was condemned by the Dutch synods.

⁵ See the *Nouveau Dictionnaire, Histor. et Critique*, article *Cene*, tom. ii. p. 160, &c.

⁶ ["And had, on some occasions, made the strongest declarations of his attachment to their ecclesiastical constitution."—"In a general assembly held at Edinburgh, in the year 1590, this prince is said to have made the following declaration: 'I praise God that I was born in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place, as to be king of the sincerest (i. e. purest) kirk in the world. The kirk of Geneva

keep pasche and yule (i. e. *Easter* and *Christmas*). What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English: they want nothing of the mass, but the liftings (i. e. *the elevation of the host*). I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort your people to do the same; and I forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall do the same.' Calderwood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 256." *Mucl.*]

⁷ [King James professed himself attached to the Church of Scotland, until his removal to England in April, 1603. While on his journey, all religious parties in England made their court to him. To the Dutch and French protestants settled in the country, he gave favourable answers. The bishops negotiated with him by their envoys. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge addressed him in behalf of the establishment; and the Puritans presented their

every thing assumed a different aspect. King *James*, who was eager to grasp supreme and unlimited power, at once judged

petition in favour of a reform of the church. One petition of the latter, signed by about 800 Puritan ministers, was called the *Millenary Petition*, from the signatures to it—almost a *thousand*. In October, 1603, the king appointed a conference at Hampton Court, to be held the January following, between the Episcopalians and the Puritans, with a view to settle the controversies between them. On the side of the Episcopalians were nine bishops, and about as many dignitaries of the church; and on the part of the Puritans were four English divines, and one from Scotland; all of whom were selected by the king himself. On the first day of the conference, Jan. 14, 1604, the Episcopalians alone were admitted to the royal presence: and the king made some few objections to the English ritual and discipline, which the bishops either vindicated or consented to modify. The second day, Jan. 16th, the Puritans were admitted; and proceeded to state their wishes. But the king treated them harshly, and allowed the Episcopalians to browbeat them. The bishops had a complete triumph: and Bancroft, falling on his knees, said: “I protest, my heart melteth for joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us such a king, as since Christ’s time has not been.” On the third day, Jan. 18th, the bishops and deans were first called in, to settle with the king what alterations should be made in the regulations of the church. Archbishop Whitgift was so elated to hear the king’s approval of the law for the oath *ex officio*, that he exclaimed: “Undoubtedly, your majesty speaks by the special assistance of God’s Spirit.” After this, the Puritans were called in, not to discuss the points in controversy, but merely to hear what had been agreed upon by the king and the bishops. Thus ended this mock conference; in which the king showed himself exceedingly vain and insolent towards the Puritans, and wholly on the side of the Episcopalians. The next month, a proclamation was issued, giving an account of the conference, and requiring conformity to the liturgy and ceremonies. See Neal’s *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. ch. i. p. 30, &c. and the authors there referred to: also Johnson Grant’s *History of the*

English Church and the Sects, &c. vol. ii. ch. ix. p. 52, &c. *Tr.*] The reason why Episcopalians only were admitted to confer on the first day, is obvious and fair enough. They were to be confronted with opponents who demanded concessions of them. It would save time and irritation if any concessions could be offered to the other party at once. In the end some concessions were made, though none of any great importance; but then, the demands, except that for enforcing subscription to the Lambeth Articles, were objects of no great importance. As for this Lambeth subscription, it would have narrowed the terms of national conformity in a degree highly unjust and impolitic. The defeat of the Puritans, indeed, if defeat it could be called, in this *mock conference*, as their admirers term it, was the defeat of narrow-minded, arrogant intolerance and scrupulosity. Undoubtedly, both Abp. Whitgift and Bp. Bancroft disgraced themselves by falling into a sycophancy closely bordering upon blasphemy; but it should be stated, as some extenuation of their most reprehensible folly, that it did not occur until lay courtiers had set the example, and that the English hierarchy had come to the conference under some misgivings as to the effect of James’s Presbyterian education. Those who wish for an accurate and full account of these matters, must consult *The Summe and Substance of the Conference, which it pleased his Excellent Majesty to have with the Lords, Bishops, and other of his Clergie (at which most of the Lordes of the Councell were present) in his Majesties Privy-Chamber, at Hampton Court, January 14, 1603*. Barlow, the author, was then dean of Chester. He was afterwards successively bishop of Rochester and Lincoln. His work may be considered as official, having been undertaken by the desire of Abp. Whitgift. Although it contains the wretched flatberies by which both that aged primate and Bancroft have permanently injured their reputations, it exhibits the mixture of frivolity and intolerance, which characterised the Puritanical expectations, in such a manner as to offend sectarians, and they have, accordingly, taxed it with partiality. *Ed.*]

that the *Presbyterian* form of church government was adverse to his designs, and the *Episcopal* favourable to them; because *Presbyterian* churches form a kind of republic, which is subject to a number of leading men, all possessing equal rank and power; while *Episcopal* churches more nearly resemble a monarchy. The very name of a *republic*, *synod*, or *council* was odious to the king; and he therefore studied most earnestly to increase the power of the bishops; and publicly declared that, without bishops, the throne could not be safe.⁸ At the same time he long wished to preserve inviolate the Genevan doctrines, especially those relating to divine grace and predestination; and he allowed the opposite doctrines of *Arminius* to be condemned by his theologians at the synod of Dort. This disposition of the king was studiously cherished, so long as he had power, by *George Abbot*, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of great weight and character, who was himself devoted to Calvinistic sentiments, and a great friend to English liberty, and whose gentleness towards their predecessors the modern Puritans highly extol.⁹ But the English envoys had scarcely returned from Holland and made known the decisions of Dort, when the king, with the majority of the clergy, showed himself most averse from those decisions, and manifested a decided preference for the Arminian doctrine respecting the divine decrees.¹ That there were various causes for this unexpected

⁸ [It was a maxim with him, and one which he repeated at the Hampton Court conference: *No bishop, no king*. See Neal, *loc. cit.* Tr.]

⁹ See Anth. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, tom. i. p. 583. Dan. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. ch. iv. p. 242. [ed. Boston, 1817, p. 111. 258, &c. and the long note of Maclaine on the text. Tr.] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 114, &c.

¹ Peter Heylin's *History of the Five Articles*, p. 444, &c. in the Dutch translation of Gerh. Brandt. Dan. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. ch. ii. p. 117, &c. [ed. Boston, 1817, p. 135. Tr.] Neal tells us, that the council of Dort was ridiculed, in England, by the following verses, among other things:

"Dordrecht Synodus, Nodus: Chorus integer, Æger:

Conventus, Ventus: Sessio, Stramen: Amen."

Moreover, for ascertaining the character

and conduct of king James, and his inconstancy in religion, much aid is afforded by the writers of English history, and especially by Larrey and Rapin-Thoyras. Most of these state, that in his last years, James greatly favoured not only the Arminians, but also the papists; and they tell us, there can be no doubt, the king wished to unite the English church with that of Rome. But in this, I apprehend, the king is too severely accused; although I do not deny, that he did many things not to be commended. It is not easy to believe, that a king who aspired immoderately after supreme and absolute sway, should wish to create to himself a lord, in the Roman pontiff. [Yet see the following note. Tr.] But, at length, he inclined more towards the Romish church, than formerly; and he permitted some things, which were coincident with the Romish rites and regulations; because he was persuaded, that the ancient Christian

change will readily be believed by those acquainted with the history of those times; yet the principal cause, I apprehend, is to be sought in that rule for ecclesiastical reformation which the founders of the new English church kept in sight. For they wished to render their church as similar as possible to that which flourished in the first centuries; and that church, as no one can deny, was an entire stranger to the Dordracene doctrines.² The king becoming alienated from the Calvinistic opinions and customs, the old hatred against the *Puritans*, which had somewhat subsided, again revived; and at last it broke out in open war. In short, *James I.* died, in 1625, a mortal enemy of the *Puritan* faith, which he had imbibed in his youth; a decided patron and supporter of the Arminians, whose condemnation he had greatly promoted; and a very strenuous assertor of *episcopal* government; and he left both the church and the commonwealth in a state of fluctuation, and languishing with intestine maladies.

§ 20. *Charles I.*, the son of *James I.*, determined to perfect what his father had undertaken. He, therefore, used every effort, first, to extend the regal power, and to exalt it above the authority of the laws; secondly, to subject the whole church

church was the exemplar, after which all churches should copy; that a religious community would be the more holy and the more perfect, the nearer its resemblance to the divine and apostolic standard: and that the Romish church retained more of the first and primitive form, than the Puritan or Calvinistic church did.

² Perhaps also the king was influenced by the recollection of the civil commotions, formerly excited in Scotland, on account of the *Presbyterian* religion. There are some circumstances, likewise, which indicate that the king, even before he came into England, was not wholly averse from the Romish religion. See the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, tom. xliii. p. 318, &c. ["Thus far the note of our author: and whoever looks into the *Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, from the year 1592 to 1617*, extracted from the MS. State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes and Anthony Bacon, Esq., and published in the year 1749, by the learned and judicious Dr. Birch, will be persuaded, that to-

wards the year 1595, this fickle and unsteady prince had really formed a design to embrace the faith of Rome. See in the curious collection now mentioned, the *Postscript* of a Letter from Sir Thomas Edmondes to the Lord High-Treasurer, dated the 20th of December, 1595. We learn also from the *Memoirs* of Ralph Winwood, that in the year 1596, James sent Mr. Ogilby, a Scots baron, into Spain, to assure his catholic majesty, that he was then ready and resolved to embrace popery, and to propose an alliance with that king and the pope against the queen of England. See *State Tracts*, vol. i. p. 1. See also an extract of a letter from Tobie Matthew, D.D., dean of Durham, to the lord treasurer Burleigh, containing an information of Scotch affairs, in *Strype's Annals*, vol. iv. p. 201. Above all, see Harris's *Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of James I.*, p. 29, note (N). This last writer may be added to Larrey and Rapin, who have exposed the pliability and inconsistency of this self-sufficient monarch." *MacL.*]

of Great Britain and Ireland to the episcopal form of government, which he considered as of divine appointment, and as affording the best security to the civil sovereign: and thirdly, to reduce the whole religion of the country to the pattern and form of the primitive church, rejecting all the doctrines and institutions of the Genevans. The execution of these designs was principally entrusted to *William Laud*, then bishop of London, and afterwards, from A.D. 1633, archbishop of Canterbury; who was in many respects, undoubtedly, a man of eminence, being a very liberal patron of learning and learned men, resolute, ingenuous, and erudite; but at the same time, too furious, headlong, and inconsiderate, inclined to superstition, and also bigotedly attached to the opinions, rites, and practices of the ancient Christians, and therefore a mortal enemy of the *Puritans* and of all Calvinists.³ He prosecuted the objects of the king's wishes as well as his own, without any moderation; often disregarded and trampled upon the laws of the land; persecuted the Puritans most rigorously, and eagerly strove to extirpate them altogether; rejecting Calvinistic views, in relation to predestination and other points, he, after the year 1625, contrary to the wishes of *George Abbot*, substituted Arminian sentiments in the place of them⁴; re-

³ See Anth. Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniens.* tom. ii. p. 55, &c. Peter Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicanus*, or the *History of the Life and Death of William Laud*; Lond. 1668, fol. Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion and the Civil Wars in England*, vol. i. [Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. chap. iv. &c. and vol. iii. chap. v. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Mich. le Vassor's *Histoire de Louis XIII.*, tom. v. p. 262, &c. [Laud was then merely bishop of London, though in effect at the head of the established church. Legally, neither he, nor any prelate, nor even the king, could abrogate or enact articles of faith, without the consent of parliament. Nor was any such thing attempted. But the king, at the instigation (it is stated) of bishop Laud, issued a proclamation, June 14, 1626, which sets forth, "That the king will admit of no innovation in the doctrine, discipline, or government of the church, and therefore charges all his subjects, and especially the clergy, not to publish or maintain, in preaching or writing, any new inventions or opinions,

contrary to the said doctrine and discipline established by law." This apparently harmless proclamation, was, of course, to be executed by Laud and his associates; and Laud was publicly accused of using it to punish and put down Calvinists, and to prevent their books from being printed and circulated, while Arminians were allowed to preach, and to print their sentiments most fully. See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. chap. iii. p. 122, &c. and vol. iii. ch. v. p. 222, &c, ed. Boston, 1817, and Maclaine's note (m) on this paragraph. *Tr.*] The following circumstances gave rise to the proclamation mentioned in this note. Richard Montague, rector of Stanford Rivers, in Essex, a divine of superior acquirements, found some Romish priests active in his parish. He left, in consequence, certain queries at a house which they frequented, adding that a satisfactory answer would make a Romish convert of himself. For a time, no notice was taken, but at length he received a short pamphlet, entitled, *A New Gag for the Old Gospel*. In this

stored many ceremonies and rites, which were indeed ancient, but at the same time superstitious, and on that ground previously abrogated; obtruded bishops upon the Scottish nation, which was accustomed to the Genevan discipline, and extremely averse from episcopacy; and not obscurely showed, that, in his view, the Romish church, though erroneous, was a holier and better church than those protestant sects, which had no bishops. Having, by these acts, excited immense odium against the king and himself, and the whole order of bishops, he was arraigned by the parliament in 1644, judged guilty of betraying the liberties and the religion of the country, and beheaded.⁵ After the execution of *Laud*, the civil conflict, which had long existed between the king and the parliament, attained such a height, that it could be extinguished by nothing short of the life-blood of this excellent prince. The parliament, inflamed by the *Puritans*, or by the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, wholly abolished the old form of church government by bishops, and whatever else in doctrine, discipline, or worship was contrary to the principles of the Genevans; furiously assailed the

piece, the Church of England was saddled with the Calvinistic decisions of the synod of Dort, and other favourite Puritanical speculations. In his answer, and another piece that soon followed it, and was connected with it, he disclaimed all these principles. A violent ferment quickly arose, and the House of Commons, which had become a hotbed of Puritanical politics, commenced a furious persecution of Montague, charging him with popery and Arminianism. Several writers took the same view, and it was to silence this controversy, which was beginning to convulse the kingdom, that Charles issued the proclamation partially cited in this note. Collier, ii. 729. 734. 738. *Ed.*]

⁵ [Archbishop Laud was impeached by the House of Commons, and tried before the House of Lords. In 1641, fourteen articles of impeachment were filed, and Laud was committed to prison. In 1644, ten additional articles were brought forward, and the trial now commenced. All the articles may be reduced to three general heads. I. That he had traitorously attempted to *subvert the rights of parliament, and to exalt the king's power above law*. II. That he had traitorously endeavoured to *subvert the constitution and fundamental laws of the land,*

and to introduce arbitrary government, against law and the liberties of the subjects. III. That he had traitorously endeavoured and practised to subvert the true religion established by law, and to introduce popish superstition and idolatry. Under this last head, the specifications were, *first*, that he introduced and practised popish innovations and superstitious ceremonies, not warranted by law; such as images and pictures in the churches, popish consecration of churches, converting the communion tables into altars, bowing before the altars, &c., and, *secondly*, that he endeavoured to subvert the protestant religion, and encouraged Arminianism and popery; by patronizing and advancing clergymen of these sentiments; by prohibiting the publication of orthodox books, and allowing corrupt ones free circulation; by persecuting, in the high commission court, such as preached against Arminianism and popery; and by taking some direct steps towards a union with the church of Rome. The House of Lords deemed all the articles proved; but doubted, for a time, whether they amounted to treason. See the whole trial of Laud, in Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iii. ch. v. p. 184—255. *Tr.*]

king himself, and caused him, when taken prisoner, to be tried for his life, and, to the astonishment of all Europe, to be put to death, in the year 1648. Such are the evils resulting from zeal in religion, when it is ill understood, and is placed in external regulations and forms. Moreover, as is often found true, it appeared in these scenes of commotion, that almost all sects, while oppressed, plead earnestly for charity and moderation towards dissenters; but when elevated to power, they forget their own former precepts. For the *Puritans* when they had dominion, were no more indulgent to the bishops and their patrons than these had formerly been to them.⁶

§ 21. The *Independents*, who have been just mentioned among the promoters of civil discord, are represented by most of the English historians as more odious and unreasonable than even the *Presbyterians* or Calvinists, and are commonly charged with various enormities and crimes, and indeed with the parricide committed upon *Charles I.* But I apprehend, that whoever shall candidly read and consider the books and the confessions of the sect, will cheerfully acknowledge, that many crimes are unjustly charged upon them; and that probably the misconduct of the *civil Independents* (that is, of those hostile to the regal power, and who strove after extravagant liberty,) has been incautiously charged upon the *religious Independents*.⁷

⁶ Besides lord Clarendon, and the historians of England already mentioned, Daniel Neal has professedly treated of these events, in the second and third volumes of his *History of the Puritans*. [Compare also Johnson Grant's *History of the English Church and Sects*, vol. ii. ch. x. xi. p. 127—303. *Tr.*]

⁷ The sect of the *Independents*, though a modern one, and still existing among the English, is, however, less known than almost any Christian sect; and on no one are more marks of infamy branded, without just cause. The best English historians heap upon it all the reproaches and slanders that can be thought of; nor is it the *Episcopalians* only who do this, but also those very *Presbyterians*, with whom they are at this day associated. They are represented, not only as delirious, crazy, fanatical, illiterate, rude, factious, and strangers to all religious truth, and to reason, but also as criminals, seditious parricides, and the sole authors of the murder of Charles I. John Durell, (whom that most strenu-

ous vindicator of the *Independents*, Lewis du Moulin, commends for his ingenuousness; see Anth. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, tom. ii. p. 732, 733,) in his *Historia Rituum Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, cap. i. p. 4, Lond. 1672, 4to, says, "Fateor, si atrocis illius tragædiæ tot actus fuerint, quot ludicrarum esse solent, postremum fere Independentium fuisse. — Adeo ut non acute magis, quam vere, dixerit L'Estrangius noster: Regem primo a Presbyterianis interemptum, Carolum deinde ab Independentibus interfectum." Foreign writers, regarding these as the best witnesses of transactions in their own country, have, of course, thought proper to follow them: and hence the *Independents* almost every where appear under a horrid aspect. But, as every class of men is composed of dissimilar persons, no one will deny, that in this sect also there were some persons, who were turbulent, factious, wicked, flagitious, and destitute of good sense. Yet if that is also true, which all wise and good men inculcate, that

They derived their name from the fact, that they believed, with the *Brownists*, that individual churches are all *independent*,

the character and the principles of whole sects must be estimated, not from the conduct or words of a few individuals, but from the customs, habits, and opinions of the sect in general, from the books and discourses of its teachers, and from its public formularies and confessions; then, I am either wholly deceived, or the *Independents* are wrongfully loaded with so many criminations.

We pass over what has been so invariably written against this sect, by Clarendon, Laurence Echard, Samuel Parker, and many others; and to render this whole subject the more clear, we will take up only that one excellent writer, than whom, though a foreigner, no one, as the English themselves admit, has written more accurately and neatly concerning the affairs of England, namely, Rapin-Thoyras. In the twenty-first book of his immortal work, the *Histoire d'Angleterre*, vol. viii. p. 535, ed. second, [Tindal's translation, vol. ii. p. 514, fol.] he so depicts the *Independents*, that, if they were truly what he represents them, they would not deserve to enjoy the light of their land, which they still do enjoy freely, and much less to enjoy the kind offices and love of any good man. Let us look over, particularly, and briefly comment on the declarations of this great man concerning them. In the first place, he tells us, that after the utmost pains, he could not ascertain the origin of the sect: "Quelque recherche que j'aye faite, je n'ai jamais pu decouvrir exactement la première origine de la secte ou faction des Indépendents." That a man who had spent seventeen years in composing a History of England, and consulted so many libraries filled with the rarest books, should have written thus, is very strange. If he had only looked into that very noted book, Jo. Hornbeck's *Summa Controversiarum*, lib. x. p. 775, &c. he might easily have learned what he was ignorant of, after so much research. He proceeds to the doctrines of the sect; and says of them in general, that nothing could be better suited to throw all England into confusion. "Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est qu'ils avoient des principes tout à fait propres à mettre l'Angleterre en combustion, comme ils le firent effectivement." How true this

declaration is, will appear from what follows. He adds, first, respecting politics, they held very pernicious sentiments. For they would not have a single man preside over the whole state; but thought that the government of the nation should be intrusted to the representatives of the people. "Par rapport au Gouvernement de l'Etat, ils abhorroient la Monarchie, et n'approuvoient qu'un Gouvernement Républicain." I can readily believe, that there were persons among the *Independents* unfriendly to monarchy. Such were to be found among the *Presbyterians*, the *Anabaptists*, and all the sects which then flourished in England. But I wish to see decisive testimony adduced, if it can be, to prove this the common sentiment of this whole sect. Such testimony is in vain sought for, in their public writings. On the contrary, in the year 1647, they publicly declared, "that they do not disapprove of any form of civil government, but do freely acknowledge, that a kingly government, bounded by just and wholesome laws, is both allowed by God, and a good accommodation unto men." See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 146, [ed. Boston, 1817, p. 161.] I pass over other proofs, equally conclusive, that they did not abhor all monarchy. Their religious opinions, according to our author, were most absurd. For, if we may believe him, their sentiments were contrary to those of all other sects. "Sur la religion, leurs principes étoient opposez a ceux de tout le reste du monde." There are extant, in particular, two Confessions of the *Independents*; the one of those in Holland, the other of those in England. The first was drawn up by John Robinson, the founder of the sect, and was published at Leyden, 1619, 4to, entitled, *Apologia pro Exulibus Anglicis, qui Brownistæ vulgo appellantur*. The latter was printed London, 1658, 4to, entitled, *A Declaration of the faith and order owned and practised in the Congregational churches in England*, [more than 100 in number, *Tr.*] agreed upon, and consented unto by their *Elders and Messengers in their meeting at the Savoy*, October 12, 1658. John Hornbeck translated it into Latin, in 1659, and annexed it to his Epistle to Duraeus, de *Independentismo*. From both these, to say nothing of their other works,

or subject to no foreign jurisdiction; and that they should not be compelled to obey the authority and laws, either of bishops

it is manifest, that, if we except the form of their church government, they differed in nothing of importance from the Calvinists or *Presbyterians*. But, to remove all doubt, let us hear the father of the Independents, Robinson himself, explaining the views of himself and his flock, in his *Apologia pro Exulibus Anglicis*, p. 7. 11. “*Profitemur coram Deo et hominibus, adeo nobis convenire cum ecclesiis Reformatis Belgicis in re religionis, ut omnibus et singulis earundem ecclesiarum fidei articulis, prout habentur in Harmonia Confessionum fidei, parati sumus subscribere*——*Ecclesias Reformatas pro veris et genuinis habemus, cum iisdem in sacris Dei communionem profitemur et quantum in nobis est colimus.*” So far, therefore, were they from differing altogether from all other sects of Christians, that, on the contrary, they agreed exactly with the greatest part of the Reformed churches. To show by an example, how absurd the religion of the *Independents* was, this eminent historian tells us, that they not only rejected all ecclesiastical government and order, but also made the business of teaching and praying in public, and explaining the Scriptures, common to all. “*Non seulement ils ne pouvoient souffrir l’épiscopat et l’hierarchie ecclésiastique*”——(This is true. But it was a fault not peculiar to them, but chargeable also on the *Presbyterians*, the *Brownists*, the *Anabaptists*, and all the sects of *Nonconformists*.)——“*Mais ils ne vouloient pas mesme qu’il y eut des Ministres ordinaires dans l’Eglise. Ils soutenoient que chacun pouvoit prier en public, exhorter ces frères, expliquer l’Ecriture Sainte, selon les talens qu’il avoit reçus de Dieu.*——*Ainsi parmi eux chacun prioit, prêchoit, exhortoit, expliquoit la S. Ecriture, sans autre vocation que celle qu’il tiroit lui-même de son zele et des talens qu’il croyoit avoir, et sans autre autorité que celle que luy donnoit l’approbation de ses Auditeurs.*” All this is manifestly false. The Independents employ, and have employed, from the first, fixed and regular teachers: nor do they allow every one to teach, who may deem himself qualified for it. The excellent historian here confounds the *Independents* with the *Brownists*, who are well known to allow to all a right to

teach. I pass over other assertions, notwithstanding they are equally open to censure. Now, if such and so great a man, after residing long among the English, pronounced so unjust a sentence upon this sect, who will not readily pardon others much his inferiors, who have loaded this sect with groundless accusations. [On all these charges, see Neal’s *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. ch. iv. p. 157, &c. ed. 1817. *Tr.*]

But *this* (some one may say) is certain, from numberless testimonies, that the *Independents* put that excellent king, Charles I., to death; and this single fact evinces the extreme impiety and depravity of the sect. I am aware, that the best and most respectable English historians charge *them* alone with this regicide. And I fully agree with them, provided we are to understand by the term *Independents*, those persons who were hostile to regal power, and attached to an extravagant kind of liberty. But if the term is used to denote the predecessors of those *Independents*, who still exist among the English, or a certain religious sect, differing from the other English sects in certain religious opinions, I am not certain that their assertion is quite true. Those who represent the *Independents*, as the sole authors of the atrocious deed committed on Charles I., must necessarily mean to say, either, that the nefarious parricides were excited to the deed by the suggestions and the doctrines of the *Independents*, or that they were all adherents to the worship and the doctrines of the *Independents*: neither of which is capable of solid proof. In the doctrines of the sect, as we may see, there was nothing which could excite any one to attempt such a crime; nor does the history of those times show, that there was any more hatred or malevolence towards Charles I. in the *Independents*, than in the *Presbyterians*. And that all those who put the king to death were *Independents*, is so far from being true, that, on the contrary, several of the best English historians, and even the edicts of Charles II. testify, that this turbulent company was mixed, and composed of persons of various religions. I can easily admit, that there were some *Independents* among them. After all, this matter will be best unravelled by the

or of councils, composed of presbyters and delegates from several churches.⁸ In this single opinion it is, especially, that

English themselves, who know better than we, in what sense the term *Independents* must be used, when it is applied to those who brought Charles I. to the block. [According to Neal, *loc. cit.* vol. iii. p. 515, &c. 521, &c. 533, no one religious denomination is chargeable with the regicide, but only the army and the House of Commons, both of which were composed of men of various religions. Only two *Congregational* ministers approved the putting Charles to death; and the *Presbyterian* clergy in a body remonstrated against it. *Tr.*]

When I have carefully inquired for the reasons, why the *Independents* are taxed with so many crimes and enormities, three reasons especially have occurred to my mind. I. The term *Independents* is ambiguous, and not appropriated to any one class of men. For, not to mention other senses of it, the term is applied by the English, to those friends of *democracy*, who wish to have the people enact their own laws, and govern themselves, and who will not suffer an individual, or several individuals, to bear rule in the state; or to adhere to the letter of the name, who maintain, that the people ought to be *independent* of all control, except what arises from themselves. This faction, consisting in a great measure of mad fanatics, were the principal actors in that tragedy in England, the effects of which are still deplored. Hence whatever was said or done by this faction, extravagantly or foolishly, was, I suspect, all charged upon our *Independents*: who were not indeed altogether without faults, yet were far better than they.—II. Nearly all the English sects, which distracted the nation in the times of Charles I. and Oliver Cromwell, assumed the name of *Independents*; in order to participate in that public esteem, which the real *Independents* enjoyed on account of their upright conduct, and in order to screen themselves from reproach. This is attested among others, by John Toland, in his letter to John le Clerc, inserted by the latter in his *Biblioth. Universelle et Historique*, tom. xxiii. pt. ii. p. 506. “Au commencement, tous les Sectaires se disoient *Indépendans*, parce que ces derniers étoient fort honorez du peuple à cause

de leur piété.” Now, as the term was so extensively applied, who does not see, that it might easily be, that the enormities of various sects might be all charged upon the genuine *Independents*?—III. Oliver Cromwell, the usurper, gave a preference to the *Independents*, before all the other sects in his country. For he was as much afraid of the councils or *synods* of the *Presbyterians*, as he was of the bishops: but in the form of church government adopted by the *Independents*, there was nothing at all which he could fear. Now, as men of like character incline to associate together, this circumstance might lead many to suppose, that the *Independents* were all of the same character with Cromwell, that is very bad people.

⁸ They undoubtedly received the name of *Independents*, from their maintaining that all assemblies of Christians had the right of self-government, or were *independent*. This very term is used by John Robinson, in his exposition of this doctrine, in his *Apologia pro Exulibus Anglis*, cap. v. p. 22, where he says: “Cœtum quemlibet particularem (recte institutum et ordinatum) esse totam, integram, et perfectam ecclesiam ex suis partibus constantem immediate et *independentem* (quoad alias ecclesias) sub ipso Christo.” And possibly, from this very passage, the term *Independents*, which was before unknown, had its origin. At first the followers of Robinson did not reject this appellation: nor has it any bad or odious import, provided it is understood in their own sense of it. In England, it was entirely unknown, till the year 1640. At least, in the *Ecclesiastical Canons*, enacted this year in the conventions held by the bishops of London and York, in which all the sects then existing in England are enumerated, there is no mention of the *Independents*. See the Constitutions and Canons ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the rest of the bishops and clergy in their several Synods, A. D. 1640, in David Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae*, vol. iv. cap. v. p. 548. But a little afterwards, and especially after the year 1642, this appellation is of frequent occurrence in the annals of English history. Nor did the English *Inde-*

they differ from the Presbyterians.⁹ For whatever else they believe or teach on religious subjects, with very few exceptions, and those not of much importance, is almost throughout in accordance with the Genevan doctrines. The parent of the sect was *John Robinson*, minister of a Brownist church which was settled at Leyden, in Holland, a grave and pious man. Perceiving that the discipline, which *Robert Brown* had set up, was in some respects defective, he undertook to correct it, and give it such a form as would render it less odious than before. In two respects, particularly, are the *Independents* better than the *Brownists*: first in moderation and candour; for they did not, as *Brown* had done, execrate, and pronounce unworthy of the Christian name, the churches that had adopted a different form of government; but they admitted, that piety and true religion might flourish, where the ecclesiastical affairs were subject to the authority of *bishops*, or to the decrees of *councils*, yet still they looked upon their own form of government as possessed of divine authority, and introduced by no other than Christ's apostles. In the next place the *Independents* excelled the *Brownists*, by abolishing that liberty of teaching, which *Brown* had allowed equally to all the brethren. For they have regular teachers, elected by the whole brotherhood; and they do not allow any one to deliver discourses to the people, unless he has been previously examined and approved by the officers of the church. This sect, which began to exist in Holland in 1610, had very few adherents at first in England, and to escape the punishment decreed against *Nonconformists*, kept itself con-

pendents, at first, refuse to be called by this name; but rather, in their Apology, published at London, 1644, 4to, (Apologetical Narration of the *Independents*,) they fearlessly assume this name. But afterwards, when, as we have remarked, many other sects adopted this name, and even seditious citizens, who plotted the destruction of their king, were commonly designated by it, they very solicitously deprecated the application of it to them, and called themselves *Congregational Brethren*, and their churches *Congregational Churches*.

⁹ [There are two points of difference between the Presbyterians and the Independents or Congregationalists. The *first* relates to the independence of individual churches, or their exemption from foreign jurisdiction. The *second*

relates to the location of the legislative and judicial powers of each church. The *Presbyterians* assign these powers to the *eldership* of the church, or to the pastor and the ruling elders assembled in a church session; but the *Independents* or *Congregationalists* confide them to a general meeting of all the male members of the church, or to the officers and the whole brotherhood assembled in a church meeting. From this latter principle it is, that the Independents are called *Congregationalists*. And as in modern times, they admit of a connexion or confederation of sister churches, which in some measure bounds and limits the *independence* of the individual churches, they have discarded the name of *Independents*. *Tr.*]

cealed¹; but on the decline of the power of the bishops in the time of *Charles I.* it took courage in the year 1640, and boldly showed itself in public. Afterwards, it soon increased so much in reputation and in numbers, that it could compete for priority, not only with the Episcopalians, but also with the very powerful *Presbyterians*; which must be attributed, among other causes, to the erudition of its teachers, and to the reformed morals of the people.² During the reign of *Cromwell*, who for various reasons was its greatest patron, it was every where in the highest reputation: but on the restoration of the English affairs, under *Charles II.*, it began to decline greatly, and gradually sank into its former obscurity. At the present day, it exists indeed, but is timid and depressed; and in the reign of *William III.* A. D. 1691, it was induced, by its weakness, to enter into a coalition (yet without giving up its own regulations) with the *Presbyterians* resident in London and the vicinity.³

¹ ["In the year 1616, Mr. Jacob, who had adopted the religious sentiments of Robinson, set up the first *Independent* or *Congregational* church in England." *Macl.*]

² Dan. Neal, *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 107. 391. 393. vol. iii. p. 141. 145. 276. 303. 537. 549. Anth. Wm. Böhm's *Englische Reformations-historie*, book vi. ch. iv. p. 794. [A part of Mr. Robinson's congregation at Leyden, removed to Plymouth in New England, in the year 1620. And during the reign of Charles I. and quite down to the end of the century, great numbers of the English *Independents* removed to New England, and there formed flourishing colonies: so that New England, for about two centuries, has contained more *Independents* or *Congregationalists*, than Old England. *Tr.*]

³ From this time onward, they were called *United Brethren*. See Jo. Toiland's letter, in Jo. la Clerc's *Biblioth. Universelle et Historique*, tom. xxiii. p. 506. [It must not be supposed, that the distinction between *Presbyterians* and *Congregationalists* ceased in England, from the year 1691, or that both have, ever since, formed but one sect. They still exist as distinct, yet friendly sects. Being agreed in doctrines, and anxious to hold communion with each other, notwithstanding their different modes of church government, they adopted these

articles of agreement and consent; in which each sect endeavoured to come as near to the other, as their different principles would admit. Moreover, these Articles, with very slight alterations, were adopted by the Elders and Messengers of the churches of Connecticut, assembled at Saybrook in the year 1708; and they now form a part of what is called the Saybrook Platform, or the ancient ecclesiastical constitution of Connecticut. See Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, vol. i. p. 510. 513, 514. The Articles themselves may be seen in Toulmin's *History of Dissenters*, vol. ii. p. 130, &c. and in the Saybrook Platform, ed. New London, 1759, p. 99, &c. *Tr.*] William Whiston published the Articles of agreement, in the *Memoirs* of his life and writings, vol. ii. p. 549, &c. They are nine in number. The 1st treats "of Churches and Church Members." Here, in § 6, the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* declare, "that each particular church hath right to choose their own officers; and—hath authority from Christ for exercising government, and of enjoying all the ordinances of worship within itself:" and § 7, that, "in the administration of church dower, it belongs to the pastors and other elders of every particular church (if such there be) to rule and govern; and to the brotherhood to consent according to the rule of the Gospel."

§ 22. While *Oliver Cromwell* administered the government of Great Britain, all sects, even the vilest and most absurd, had full liberty to publish their opinions: the bishops alone, and the friends of episcopal government, were most unjustly oppressed and stripped of all their revenues and honours. By far the most numerous and influential of all, were the *Presbyterians* and the *Independents*; the latter of whom were most

Here both the Presbyterians and the Independents depart from their original principles. Article II. treats “of the Ministry.” They require the ministers of religion not only to be pious, (§ 2.) but also *learned*; and (§ 3, 4, 5.) would have them be elected by the church, with the advice of the neighbouring churches, and also solemnly ordained. Article III. “of Censures;” decrees that scandalous or offending members be first admonished; and if they do not reform, be excluded from the church, by the pastors; but with the consent of the brethren. Article IV. “of Communion of Churches;” declares all churches to be on a perfect equality, and therefore *independent*; yet makes it the duty of the pastors and teachers to maintain a kind of communion of churches, and often to meet together and consult on the interests of the churches. Article V. “of Deacons and Ruling Elders.” Here the United Brethren admit, that the office of Deacon, or curator of the poor, is of divine appointment; and say: “Whereas divers are of opinion, that there is also the office of *ruling Elders*, who labour not in word and doctrine, and others think otherwise, we agree, that this difference make no breach among us.” Article VI. “of Synods;” admits, that it is useful and necessary, in cases of importance, for the ministers of many churches to hold a council; and that the decisions formed in these conventions must not be despised by the churches, without the most weighty reasons. Article VII. “of our demeanour towards the civil Magistrate:” promises obedience to magistrates, and prayers for them. Article VIII. treats “of a Confession of Faith;” and leaves the brethren free to judge, whether the 39 Articles of the English church, or the Confession and Catechism of the Westminster assembly, that is, of the Presbyterians, or lastly the Confession of the Congregational Brethren, published by

the convention at the Savoy, in 1658, be most agreeable to the holy Scriptures. [Their words are: “As to what appertains to soundness of judgment in matters of faith, we esteem it sufficient that a church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice; and own either the doctrinal part of those commonly called the Articles of the church of England, or the Confession, or Catechism, shorter, or larger, compiled by the assembly at Westminster, or the Confession agreed on at the Savoy, to be agreeable to the said rule.” *Tr.*] Article IX. “of our duty and deportment towards them that are not in Communion with us;”—inculcates only love and moderation towards them. It hence appears, that the *Independents*, induced by necessity, approached in many points towards the opinions of the *Presbyterians*, and departed from the principles of their ancestors. [As respects union and communion of churches, their mutual accountability, and perhaps also the powers and prerogatives of church officers, there was some change in the views of the Independents of England, and also in America. But the English Presbyterians also softened considerably the rigours of Presbyterianism, as it was introduced and set up among them by the Scotch. This coalition of the two denominations tended to abate the zeal of both, in maintaining the *jus divinum* of their respective systems of church government. For a considerable time, the Presbyterian and Congregational ministers in and near London, continued to hold meetings for mutual consultation, and for regulating the licensure of candidates. And in some other counties of England, similar united meetings were held. But ere long, they were dropped; and the two denominations, though on friendly terms with each other, managed respectively their own ecclesiastical affairs in their own way. *Tr.*]

favoured and extolled by *Cromwell*, (who, however, actually belonged to no sect,) and manifestly for the sake of curbing more easily the *Presbyterians*, who sought to acquire dominion.⁴

⁴ [Dr. Mosheim's account of the Presbyterians is quite too meagre for those who are expected to read this translation of his work. It is, therefore, deemed necessary here to introduce a summary history, first of the *Scottish church*, and then of the *English Presbyterians*, during this century.

The *Scottish church*. From his first arrival in England, in 1603, king James set himself to undermine Presbyterianism in Scotland, and to establish Episcopacy on its ruins. For this purpose, he not only spoke contemptuously of the Presbyterians, as insolent men and enemies to regal power, but actually nominated bishops to the thirteen Scottish bishoprics; and in 1606, obtained from the parliament of Perth, an act, declaring the king to have sovereign authority over all estates, persons, and causes whatsoever, in Scotland; and also an act restoring to the bishops their ancient possessions which had been annexed to the crown. This made the new bishops peers of the realm. The General Assembly protested. But in 1608, a convention, claiming to be a General Assembly, declared the bishops perpetual moderators of all the Synods and Presbyteries. Another convention, however, was then sitting, in opposition to this; and committees from both attempted a compromise. The bishops carried their point in 1609: and the next year, the king, contrary to law, authorized them to hold *High Commission Courts*. In the same year (1610), a corrupt assembly was held at Glasgow, which sanctioned the right of the bishops to preside, personally, or by their representatives, in all the judicatories of the church, in all cases of discipline, ordination and deprivation of ministers, visitation of churches, &c. All ministers, at their ordination, were to swear obedience to their ordinary; and all clergymen were forbidden to preach or to speak against the acts of this assembly, or to touch at all the subject of the parity of ministers. Three Scottish bishops (Spotswood, Lamb, and Hamilton,) were now sent to England, there to receive episcopal consecration: and on their return, they consecrated the rest. In 1617, king James made a

journey into Scotland, chiefly to further the cause of episcopacy, which was advancing but slowly. The next year, (1618) a convention, or General Assembly, composed very much of courtiers, met at Perth, and ordained kneeling at the sacrament, the administration of it in private houses, and to the sick, the private baptism of children, their confirmation by bishops, and the observance of Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and Ascension day. These were called the *five Articles of Perth*. They were published by royal authority; and in 1621, a Scottish parliament was persuaded, though not without difficulty, to enact them into laws, against the remonstrances of great numbers of the clergy. Persecution ensued: and many ministers were fined, imprisoned, and banished, by the High Commission Court. During this reign, many Scotch Presbyterians moved to the north of Ireland, and there established flourishing churches. Charles I. followed up the measures pursued by his father. In 1633, he went to Scotland to be crowned; and there compelled a Scottish parliament to invest him with all the ecclesiastical powers possessed by his father, and also to confirm the laws of the last reign respecting religion. On leaving Scotland he erected a new bishopric at Edinburgh; and archbishop Laud drew up articles for regulating the royal chapel at Edinburgh; which was to be a pattern for all cathedrals, chapels, and parish churches. Hitherto the Scotch episcopal church had no settled liturgy: the king, therefore, ordered the Scotch bishops to draw up canons and a liturgy, similar to those of the English church. These being revised by Laud and other English bishops, were imposed upon the whole Scottish nation, by royal proclamation: the canons in 1635, and the liturgy in 1636. The attempts of the bishops to enforce these, without the sanction of a General Assembly, or of a Scottish parliament, threw the whole nation into commotion. The nobles, gentry, boroughs, and clergy, combined to resist these innovations; and in 1638, they solemnly revived the national covenant of 1580 and 1590. Hence, the king found it necessary to relax, not a little,

In this period arose the *Fifth-monarchy-men*, as they were called; delirious persons who would have turned the world upside

his injunctions; and he now permitted a General Assembly to be called. But his commissioners, finding this body unmanageable, dissolved it. The Assembly, however, would not separate, but protested; and continuing their sessions, they disannulled the act of six preceding General Assemblies; (namely, those of 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617, and 1618;) abolished episcopacy; condemned the five articles of Perth, the liturgy, canons, and high commission court; restored the Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies; and deposed all the bishops, save two, whom they allowed to remain as parish ministers. The king now resorted to war, and marched an army into Scotland, in 1639. But a truce was concluded: and a new Assembly and a new parliament both met, and confirmed substantially the doings of the last Assembly. In 1640, the king raised another army, and renewed the war upon the Scots; but found it necessary to agree again to a truce; and also to assemble an English parliament, which was called the long parliament, because it sat twelve years, and which favoured the Scots in their controversy with the king. His English subjects were now alienated from him; and to be able to contend with English malcontents, the king concluded a peace with the Scots, by which he agreed to the total abolition of Episcopacy, and the entire restitution of Presbyterianism in that country. The peace, however, was of little service to him, as the English parliament and the Scots were on the most friendly terms. In 1642, the Scots offered to be mediators between the king and the English parliament; which the king resented highly. This drew closer the union between the Scots and the English parliament. The Scots now formed the design of establishing Presbyterianism, as the only religion, throughout Great Britain and Ireland. To this project the English parliament, in order to secure the co-operation of the Scots in their war with the king, was led to yield assent. Commissioners from the General Assembly of Scotland were now admitted to sit in the Westminster Assembly of Divines; and the Scotch had great influence in all the ecclesiastical affairs of England, till the time of Crom-

well's usurpation. In 1643, at their instance, the English parliament assented to the Scotch national Covenant, somewhat modified, and now denominated the solemn League and Covenant; which it also recommended, and at length enjoined upon the whole English nation. The Scotch strenuously opposed all toleration of any but Presbyterians, in either country. This alienated the Independents, Baptists, and other sectarians from them; and the English parliament found it necessary to proceed with caution. In 1646, the king surrendered himself to the Scotch; and they delivered him over to the English parliament; hoping thus to induce them resolutely to enforce Presbyterianism over the three kingdoms. But the parliament was so irresolute, that the Scotch became jealous of it. After Charles I. was beheaded, in 1648, the Scotch proclaimed Charles II. king; and declared against the English *Commonwealth*. In 1649, they entered into negotiations with the new king, in Holland, who then professedly acceded to the national covenant. The next year, the king landed in Scotland; but his army was defeated by Cromwell. In 1651, Charles II. was crowned in Scotland; and then sworn to observe the solemn League and Covenant. After this he marched an army into England, suffered a total defeat, and fled in disguise to France. General Monk, whom Cromwell had left in Scotland, soon reduced that whole country to submit, and to become united with the Commonwealth of England; and also to allow a free toleration, to which the Presbyterians were much opposed. Commissioners were now sent into Scotland, by the English parliament, to establish liberty of conscience there. Thus things remained till the restoration. Presbyterianism was the established religion of Scotland; but dissenters were allowed to live in peace, and to worship in their own way. At the restoration, in 1661, a Scottish parliament rescinded all acts and covenants relative to religion, made or entered into since the commencement of the civil troubles, and empowered the king to settle the ecclesiastical establishment at his pleasure. He ordained Presby-

down. They taught that Jesus Christ would personally descend, and establish a new and heavenly kingdom on the

terianism for the present; but soon after, though with some hesitation, ordered Episcopacy in its place. Sharp, Fairfoul, Leighton, and Hamilton, were consecrated bishops. Under Charles II., from 1662 to 1685, the Scotch Presbyterians suffered very much as the English Non-conformists did; for similar laws and measures were adopted in both countries. James II. pursued the same persecuting course, till the year 1687, when, in order to advance popery, he granted universal toleration. On the revolution, in 1688, the Scotch Presbyterian church regained all its liberties and prerogatives, which it has enjoyed with little diminution to the present day. But the troubles it experienced during the reigns of James I. and his sons, had induced many Scotch Presbyterians to emigrate to the north of Ireland, to North America, and elsewhere. See Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*; Crookshank's *Hist. of the state and sufferings of the Church of Scotland*; Burnet's *History of his own Times*; Spotswood, and various others.

The *English Presbyterians*. Most of the early English Puritans, from their intercourse with the foreign Reformed churches, who were all Presbyterians, were more or less attached to Presbyterian forms of worship and church government. But as the English bishops, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, generally admitted the validity of foreign or Presbyterian ordination; while the Puritans or Presbyterians, on the other hand, admitted the validity of ordination by bishops, and the lawfulness of bishops of some sort; hence the principal difficulty of the English Puritans or Presbyterians, in those times, related to the rites of *worship*. (Neal, *Hist. of Puritans*, vol. i. p. 386.) In the year 1572, several of the more strenuous Puritans, despairing of any further reformation of the English church by public authority, proceeded secretly to organize the first Presbyterian church in England, at Wandsworth, five miles from London. This church, though persecuted, continued to exist: and others were formed on the model of it. But the greater part of the clergy who were inclined to Presbyterian views, remained in connexion with the estab-

lished church, and bore the general appellation of Puritans. Many of them, however, kept up voluntary meetings among themselves, for mutual advice and counsel, in a kind of presbyteries and synods. In the year 1586, there were more than 500 such ministers in England. How long, and how extensively, these informal and voluntary meetings were maintained, it is difficult to say. But this is certain, that although persecution induced great numbers to remove to America, Ireland, and elsewhere, yet the number of Presbyterians that remained, under the general appellation of Puritans, was very considerable; and it greatly increased during the reigns of James I. and Charles I., prior to the year 1642, when Episcopacy was abolished by act of parliament. In 1643, the English parliament selected 121 of the ablest divines of England with 30 lay assessors, whom they commanded to meet at Westminster, and aid them by their counsel, in settling the government, worship, and doctrines of the church of England. This was the famous Westminster Assembly of divines; which continued to meet, and to discuss such subjects as the parliament submitted to their consideration, during several years. They were men of different sentiments, Presbyterians, Erastians, and Independents, with some moderate Episcopalians. But a great majority were Presbyterians. Besides, not long after this assembly met, the General Assembly of the Scottish church, at the request of the English parliament, sent four commissioners to this body, on condition that the whole Westminster Assembly and the parliament would take the solemn League and Covenant, and agree to establish one uniform religion throughout the three kingdoms. The parliament reluctantly assented to the condition, for the sake of securing the co-operation of the Scotch in their political designs. Before the Scottish commissioners arrived, the Westminster Assembly commenced revising the 39 Articles; and went over the first 15, making some slight alterations. After the arrival of the Scotch commissioners, and the adoption of the solemn League and Covenant, in Feb. 1644, the Assembly, by order of parlia-

earth.⁵ Now arose the *Quakers*, to whom, as they have continued to the present time, we shall devote a separate chapter.

ment, drew up an Exhortation to the people of England, to assent to the solemn League. The November following, they were ordered to write a circular letter to the foreign Reformed churches, acquainting them with the proceedings in England. Through this Assembly, the parliament licensed preachers, and directed all ecclesiastical affairs. They next drew up a Directory for public worship; which was sanctioned by the parliament, January, 1645. The same year, they drew up a Directory for the ordination of ministers, and a Directory for church discipline and government. After warm debate, the majority of the Assembly declared for Presbyterianism, as of divine institution; but the parliament voted for it, only as "lawful, and agreeable to the word of God." The Assembly also put the supreme ecclesiastical power wholly into the hands of the church judicatories; but the parliament imposed restrictions; and to the great dissatisfaction of the Scotch and most of the English Presbyterians, allowed an appeal from the highest ecclesiastical judicatory to the parliament. In March, 1646, parliament ordered ruling elders to be chosen, in all the churches of England; and also the erection of Presbyteries, Synods, and a General Assembly, for a trial of the system. The Scotch church objected to several imperfections, in the Presbyterianism thus established by the English parliament; and particularly to the right of appeal, in the last resort, from the ecclesiastical court, to the parliament: and the English Presbyterians, and the Westminster Assembly, sided with the Scotch. In May, 1646, the king, being now in the hands of the Scotch, the English Presbyterians determined to enforce Presbyterianism, *jure divino*, on all England; and to allow no toleration of dissenters. For this purpose, they caused a strong remonstrance to be presented to the parliament, in the name of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London; and they were supported by the whole weight of the Scottish nation. On the contrary, the Independents and other sectarians in the army, procured a counter petition from numerous citizens of London. The commons were divided in sentiment, and at a loss how to proceed. To gain time,

they demanded of the Westminster Assembly, scripture proofs for that *jus divinum* in church government, which they had maintained. It may be remarked, that from 1644 to 1647, the Independents, who were rapidly increasing in number, uniformly pleaded for the free toleration of all sects holding the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. And the parliament were not unwilling to admit toleration, at least of the Independents. But the Presbyterians were utterly opposed to it; and *their* influence prevented the parliament from pursuing the course they would have done. This it was that alienated the Independents and the army from Presbyterianism, and from the parliament; and finally led to the subversion of the whole Presbyterian establishment set up in England. The demand of the house of commons for scriptural proof of the divine authority of Presbyterianism, produced long and warm debates in the Westminster Assembly. The Erastians and Independents at length protested, and withdrew. The Presbyterians, 53 in number, now left alone, voted, with but one dissenting voice, that "Christ has appointed a church government, distinct from the civil magistrates." On the other points, referred to them, they were afraid to report their views, lest the parliament should put them under a *præmunire*. But the Presbyterian divines of London met at Sion College, answered fully the questions of the house of commons, and maintained in strong terms the *jus divinum* of Presbyterianism. Yet in a second meeting, they lowered their tone somewhat; and agreed to set up the limited Presbyterianism, already sanctioned by the parliament. This consisted of parochial presbyteries, (or church sessions,) classes, (or presbyteries,) provincial assemblies, (or synods,) and a national assembly; with an appeal to the parliament, in the last resort. The province of London was now distributed into 12 classes, containing 138 parochial presbyteries. The next year, (1647,) provincial assemblies (synods) actually met in London and in Lancashire; and in those counties only, under the act of parliament. The provincial assembly of London, continued to meet semi-annually, till the end of Cromwell's reign. In the

Now the furious *Anabaptists* were allowed to utter freely whatever a disordered mind might suggest.⁶ Now the *Deists*,

other parts of England, the Presbyterians continued to meet in their voluntary conventions for ecclesiastical affairs, which had not the sanction of law. The king, though a prisoner, refused his assent to this new ecclesiastical constitution of England. At the same time, he tried to detach the Scotch from the English, by promising them Presbyterianism for Scotland, with Episcopacy for England. But they rejected his offers, hoping still to bless England as well as Scotland with Presbyterianism *jure divino*. He also tried to gain over the Independents, by promising them free toleration : but they would not accept it for themselves alone. The country now swarmed with sectarians, and numerous lay preachers, of every description. Thomas Edwards, in his *Gangræna*, mentions sixteen sects ; namely, Independents, Brownists, Millenarists, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Arminians, Libertines, Familists, Enthusiasts, Seekers, Perfectionists, Socinians, Arians, Antitrinitarians, Antiscripturists, and Sceptics. Mr. Baxter mentions the Independents, Anabaptists, and Antinomians, as being the chief separatists from the established or Presbyterian church : to whom he adds Seekers, Ranters, Behemists, and Varists, which either became extinct, or were merged into Quakers. The English divines would have been satisfied with revising the 39 Articles ; and therefore commenced such a revision. But the Scotch divines insisted on a new Confession. Hence the Westminster Assembly, after the arrival of the Scotch commissioners, drew up their elaborate Confession ; which the house of commons approved, with some amendments, in the summer of 1647, and the winter following. But the house of lords objecting to the articles on church government, only the doctrinal part of the Confession obtained parliamentary sanction, in the year 1648. The Scotch nation adopted the Confession as drawn up by the Assembly. The Assembly's Shorter Catechism was presented to parliament in 1647 ; and the Larger Catechism in 1648. Both were allowed to be used, by authority of the English parliament. The Scotch commissioners in the Assembly now returned home ; but the As-

sembly was continued, as a sort of counsel to parliament, yet did little else than license preachers. The army being composed chiefly of dissenters from the establishment, of various descriptions, upon finding that no toleration of dissenters was allowed by the new ecclesiastical constitution, demanded of the parliament free toleration for *all* protestant dissenters. This the Presbyterians vigorously opposed : and the parliament endeavoured to disband the army. But the army now rescued the king from the hands of the parliament, and became peremptory in their demands. Pressed by the Presbyterians on the one hand, and by the army on the other, parliament wavered for a time ; but at length fell under the control of the army, and not only allowed of dissent from the establishment, but also made no vigorous efforts to set up Presbyterianism. But in May, 1648, the Scotch having made a separate treaty with the king, invaded England, in order to rescue him. The war obliged the army to march in various directions ; and the Presbyterians seized the opportunity, in the parliament, to enforce Presbyterianism. An act was proposed, declaring eight specified heresies to be capital crimes, and sixteen others to be punishable with unlimited imprisonment. The act was not passed. But in June following, another did pass, placing "all parishes and places whatsoever, in England and Wales," except chapels of the king and peers, under the Presbyterian government, with allowance of no other worship : yet without making it penal to neglect this worship. The parliament likewise commenced a negotiation with the king, for his restoration, upon the basis of a single religion, with no toleration of any other. The king insisted on Episcopacy of some sort ; and the parliament, on Presbyterianism. The army, after repelling the Scotch invasion, finding that neither the king nor the parliament intended ever to allow toleration to sectaries, again seized the king's person ; and marching to London, sifted the house of commons ; new modelled the government, and caused the king to be impeached, and beheaded. The *Commonwealth*, without a king or a house of lords, was now set up. But

who reduced all religion to a very few precepts inculcated by reason and the light of nature, gathered themselves a company,

the Scotch refused to acknowledge it, recognized Charles II. for their king, and threatened war upon England. The English Presbyterians took sides with their Scottish brethren, disowned the parliament, and declared against a general toleration. All people were now required to swear fidelity to the new government; which many of the Presbyterian clergy refusing to do, were turned out. However, to conciliate the Presbyterians, the parliament continued the late Presbyterian establishment: but repealed all acts compelling uniformity. The Scotch, aided by the English Presbyterians, invaded England, in order to place Charles II. on the throne: but they were vanquished, and all Scotland was compelled to submit to the parliament, and moreover, to allow of toleration in their own country. The solemn League and Covenant was laid aside; and nothing but the *Engagement* (or oath of allegiance to the government,) was required of any man to qualify him civilly for any living in the country. Hence many Episcopal divines, as well as those of other denominations, became parish ministers. In the year 1653, the army, being offended with the parliament, (which had now sitten twelve years, and, during the last four, had ruled without a king or house of lords,) ordered them to disperse; and general Cromwell, with the other officers, appointed a new council of state, and selected 140 men from the several counties to represent the people. After five months, these new representatives resigned their power to Cromwell and the other officers; who framed a new constitution, with a single house of representatives, chosen in the three kingdoms, and a Protector, with ample executive powers, elected for life. All sects of Christians, except Papists and Episcopalians, were to have free toleration. Cromwell, the Protector, laboured to make persons of all religions feel easy under him; but he absolutely forbade the clergy from meddling with politics. Ministers of different denominations in the country towns, now began to form associations for brotherly counsel and advice. But the more rigid Presbyterians, as well as the Episcopalians, stood aloof from such associations. The right of ordaining parish ministers had for some years

been exclusively in the hands of the Presbyterians: but Cromwell, in March, 1654, appointed a board of thirty *Tryers*, composed of Presbyterians and Independents, with two or three Baptists, to examine and license preachers throughout England. The same year he appointed lay commissioners in every county, with full power to eject scandalous, ignorant, and incompetent ministers and schoolmasters. Both these ordinances were confirmed by parliament. Such was the state of the English Presbyterians during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell. On the accession of his son, Richard Cromwell, the Presbyterians, seeing no prospect of the restoration of the solemn League and Covenant, or of their obtaining ecclesiastical dominion over England, under the existing form of government, formed a coalition with the royalists, in 1659, in order to restore the king. The remains of the long parliament were resuscitated, and placed over the nation. The members, excluded from it in 1648, were recalled, and took their seats: and thus it became more than half Presbyterian. This parliament in 1660, voted that the concessions offered by the king in the negotiations at the Isle of Wight in 1648, were satisfactory; restored Presbyterianism completely, together with the solemn League and Covenant, appointed a new council of state, ordered that a new parliament should be chosen, and then dissolved. The Presbyterians, who now had the whole power of the country in their own hands, were so zealous to prevent the election of republicans to the new parliament, that when it met, it was decidedly in favour of a monarchy. Parliament now recalled the king, without making any stipulations with him respecting the religion of the country. He very soon restored Episcopacy; and then would grant no toleration to any class of dissenters. The Presbyterians, who had the most to lose, were the greatest sufferers. Some hundreds of their ministers were immediately displaced, to make way for the old Episcopal incumbents. And in 1662, the act of uniformity made it criminal to dissent from the established or Episcopal church; and of course exposed all dissenters to persecution. A number of the Presbyterian ministers

with impunity, under their leaders *Sidney, Henry Neville, Martin, and Harrington*.⁷

§ 23. During this period also arose, among the Presbyterians, the party called *Antinomians*, or enemies of the law; which has continued to our day, and has caused at times no little commotion. The *Antinomians* are over rigid *Calvinists*, who are thought, by the other *Presbyterians*, to abuse *Calvin's* doctrine of the absolute decrees of God to the injury of the cause of piety.⁸ Some of them (for they do not all hold the same sentiments) deny that it is necessary for ministers to exhort Christians to holiness and obedience to the law; because those whom God has from all eternity elected to salvation, will of themselves, without being admonished and exhorted by any one, perform good and holy deeds, under a divine influence, and an impulse of overpowering grace; while those who are destined by the divine decrees to eternal punishment, though admonished and entreated ever so much, will not obey the law; nor *can* they obey the divine law, since divine grace is denied them: it is, consequently, sufficient, in preaching to the people, to hold up the Gospel and faith in Jesus Christ. But others merely⁹ hold, that the elect, because they cannot lose the divine favour, do not truly commit sin and break the law, although

conformed, in order to retain their places; but more than 2000 ministers, most of them Presbyterians, were turned out. And during this and the succeeding reign, or till the accession of William and Mary, in 1688, the Presbyterians, equally with the other dissenters, suffered persecution. For though the kings, after the year 1672, were inclined to give toleration to all, in order to advance popery, yet parliament and the bishops resisted it. When the revolution in 1688 placed a tolerant sovereign on the throne, and thus relieved the English Presbyterians from persecution, they were comparatively an enfeebled and humbled sect; and being no longer strenuous for the solemn League and Covenant, and for the *jus divinum* of Presbyterianism, they were willing to have friendly intercourse and fellowship with Independents, and soon became as catholic in their views, as most of the other English dissenters. See Heylin's *History of the Presbyterians*; Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*; Bogue and Bennet's *Hist.*

of Dissenters; Baxter's *Hist. of his own Times*; Burnet's *Hist. of his own Times*; Grant's *Hist. of the Eng. Church and Sects*; and others. *Tr.*]

⁵ Gilb. Burnet's *Hist. of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 67. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv. ch. v. p. 113. 343, &c. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Dr. Mosheim seems to have taken it for granted, that the English Baptists of this age, because they were called *Anabaptists*, resembled the old *Anabaptists* of Germany; whereas they were *Mennonites*, and though illiterate, and somewhat enthusiastic, they were a people in whom was not a little Christian simplicity and piety. *Tr.*]

⁷ Dan. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 87. [ed. Boston, 1817, p. 112, 113. *Tr.*]

⁸ See Jo. Toland's Letter to Le Clerc; in the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique* of the latter, tom. xxiii. p. 505, &c. Jo. Hornbeck's *Summa Controversiar.* p. 800. 812, &c.

⁹ [This second *Antinomian* opinion is so much worse than the preceding, that

they should go contrary to its precepts and do wicked actions; wherefore, that they are under no necessity to confess their sins, or to grieve for them: that adultery, for instance, in one of the elect, appears to us, indeed, to be sin or a violation of the law, yet it is no sin in the sight of God; because one who is elected to salvation, can do nothing displeasing to God, and forbidden by the law.¹

§ 24. Certain wise and peace-loving persons, moved by the numerous calamities and sufferings of their country arising from want of moderation in religious disputes, felt it to be their duty to search for a method of uniting in some measure such of the contending parties as would regard reason and religion, or at least of dissuading them from ruinous contentions. They, therefore, took middle ground between the more violent *Episcopalians* on the one part, and the more stiff *Presbyterians* and *Independents* on the other; hoping, that if the contentions of these could be settled, the minor parties would fall by their own arms. The contests of the former related partly to the forms of Church government and public worship, and partly to certain doctrines, particularly those on which the Reformed and the Arminians were at variance. To bring both classes of contests to a close, these mediators laboured to draw the disputants off from those narrow views which they had embraced, and to exhibit a broader way of salvation. And hence they were commonly called *Latitudinarians*.² In the first place, they were attached to the form of church government, and the mode of public worship established by the laws of England, and they recommended them exclusively to others: yet they would not have it believed, that these were of divine institution, and absolutely necessary. And hence they inferred, that those who

it is strange" Dr. Mosheim should say of it, "*Alii vero tantum statuunt*," others merely hold. *Tr.*]

¹ Other tenets of the *Antinomians*, kindred with this, and the more recent disputes, occasioned by the posthumous works of Tobias Crisp, (a distinguished Antinomian preacher,) in which Jo. Tillotson, Baxter, and especially Daniel Williams, (in his celebrated work, *Gospel truth stated and vindicated*,) vigorously assailed the Antinomians, are stated, though with some errors, by Peter Francis le Courayer, *Examen des Défauts Théologiques*, tom. ii. p. 198, &c. Amsterd.

1744, 8vo. [See also Bogue and Bennet's *Hist. of Dissenters*, vol. i. p. 399, &c. and Hannah Adams' *Dictionary of all religions*, art. *Antinomians*. One of the chief sources of *Antinomian* opinions was, the received doctrines of *substitution*. If *Christ* took the *place of the elect*, and in *their stead* both obeyed the law perfectly, and suffered its penalty, it was hard for some to see what further demands the law could have upon *them*, or what more they had to do with it. *Tr.*]

² Gilbert Burnet's *History of his own Times*, book ii. vol. i. p. 186, &c.

approved other forms of church government, and other modes of worship, were to be tolerated, and to be treated as brethren, unless they were chargeable with other faults. In the next place, as to religion they chose *Simon Episcopus* for their guide; and in imitation of him maintained, that there are but few things, which a Christian *must* know and believe, in order to be saved. Hence it followed, that neither the *Episcopalians*, who embraced the sentiments of the Arminians, nor the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, who adopted the sentiments of the Genevans, had just reason for contending with so much zeal and animosity: because their disputes related to unessential points, which might be explained variously, without the loss of salvation. The most distinguished of the *Latitudinarians* were the eminent *John Hales* and *William Chillingworth*, whose names are still in veneration among the English.³ With them were joined *Henry More*, *Ralph Cudworth*, *Theophilus Gale*, *John Whichcot*, *John Tillotson*, and various others. The first reward for their labour which these men received, was to be called Atheists, Deists, and Socinians, not only by the papists, but also by the English dissentients. But on the restoration of the English monarchy under *Charles II.* they were advanced to the highest stations, and received general approbation. And it is well known, that the English church at the present day [1753,] is under the direction, for the most part, of such *Latitudinarians*. Yet there are some among the bishops and the other clergy, who following rather in the steps of *Laud*, are denominated the *High Church* and *Ecclesiastical Tories*.⁴

³ An accurately written life of the very acute John Hales, was published in English, by Peter des Maizeaux, London, 1719, 8vo. A Latin and more full history of the life of Hales, we have ourselves prefixed to his *History of the Synod of Dort*, Hamb. 1724, 8vo. A French life of him, not entirely correct, is in the first volume of Chillingworth's book, immediately to be noticed, p. 73, &c. A life of Chillingworth, in English, was composed by the same Des Maizeaux, and published, London, 1725, 8vo. A French translation of it is prefixed to the French version of his very noted work, *The religion of Protestants a safe way of salvation*, printed at Amsterdam, 1730, in 3 vols. 8vo. Such as would ac-

quaint themselves with the regulations, doctrines, and views of the Church of England in later times, should acquaint themselves with these two men, and in particular, should carefully study the above-named work of Chillingworth.

⁴ Rapin-Thoyras, Dissertation on the Whigs and Tories; in his *History of England*, [French edition,] vol. x. p. 234. ["See an admirable defence of the *Latitudinarian* divines, in a book entitled, *The Principles and Practices of certain moderate divines of the Church of England* (greatly misunderstood) *truly represented and defended*, London, 1670, 8vo. This book was written by Dr. Fowler, afterwards bishop of Gloucester." *Macl.*]

§ 25. On the restoration of *Charles II.* to the throne of his father in 1660, the ancient forms of ecclesiastical government and public worship returned also, and the bishops recovered their lost dignities. Those who preferred other forms, or the *Nonconformists* as they are called in England, expected, that some place would be assigned to them in the church: but their hopes were quickly disappointed. For *Charles* again placed bishops over the Scotch, who were so religiously attached to the Genevan discipline; and likewise over the Irish. And afterwards, in the year 1662, all those who refused to subject themselves to the rites and institutions of the English church, were by a public law separated wholly from its communion.⁵ From this period till the times of *William* and *Mary*, the *Nonconformists* experienced various fortune, sometimes more pleasant, and sometimes more sad, according to the disposition of the court and the government; but at no time were they so happy as not either to feel or fear persecution.⁶ But in the year 1689, *William III.*, by an express act of parliament, freed all dissenters from the established church, (except Socinians,) from all liability to the penalties to which they were by law exposed.⁷ He also permitted the Scottish nation to live under their Genevan regulation, and delivered them from the jurisdiction of bishops. This, therefore, may be regarded as the commencement of that liberty and freedom from molestation which are

⁵ Dan. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 358. [ed. Boston, 1817, p. 396, &c.] Rapin-Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ix. p. 198, &c. David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae*, tom. iv. p. 573. [This was the famous *Act of Uniformity*, which required all clergymen, not only to use the liturgy, but also to swear to renounce and condemn the solemn League and Covenant, Presbyterian ordination, and all efforts for changing the present establishment. In consequence of this act, about 2000 ministers, chiefly *Presbyterians*, were turned out of their churches, because they could not conform to the law. At the same time, all the old laws against conventicles, neglect of the parish churches, &c. were revived; and these made all *Non-conformists* liable to civil prosecution. *Tr.*]

⁶ Daniel Neal treats particularly of these events in the fourth volume of his *History of the Puritans*.

⁷ This act, which is called *The Toleration Act*, is subjoined to Dan. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. ed. Boston, 1817, vol. v. p. 386, &c. By it all dissenters from the church of England, except Papists and Antitrinitarians, by taking an oath of allegiance, and subscribing to the doctrinal part of the 39 Articles, (or if Quakers, making equivalent affirmations,) are exempted from all the penalties prescribed by the acts which enforce uniformity; and are allowed to erect houses of worship, have their own preachers, and to meet and worship according to their own views, provided they do not when met lock or bolt their doors. They are not however exempted from tithes, and other payments for the support of the established churches; nor are they excused from the oaths required by the Corporation and Test Acts, which exclude Nonconformists from all civil offices. *Tr.*]

still enjoyed by the religious bodies averse from the public rites of the English church; but it was also the commencement of those numerous parties and sects which spring up from year to year in that fortunate island, often more suddenly than mushrooms, and which distract the people with their new inventions and opinions.⁸

§ 26. In the reign of this *William III.*, A. D. 1689, arose a very noted schism in the English episcopal church, which, quite down to the present times, no means have been able to remove. *William Sancroft*, archbishop of Canterbury, and seven other bishops⁹, all men distinguished for their learning and purity of morals, declared that they could not in conscience take the oath of fidelity to the new king *William III.*; because *James II.*, though expelled from the kingdom, was, in their view, the legitimate king of England. As no arguments could induce them to recede from this opinion, they were deprived of their offices, in 1690, by a decree of the English parliament; and other bishops were appointed in their places.¹ The bishops who were deposed and turned out of their episcopal dwellings, founded a new church in the bosom of the English church, differing from the rest of the church in opinions, in the form of worship, and in other respects.² From the cause that produced

⁸ Gilbert Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. ii. p. 23.

⁹ ["The other Non-juring bishops were Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Norwich; Dr. Turner, of Ely; Dr. Kenn, of Bath and Wells; Dr. Frampton, of Gloucester; Dr. Thomas, of Worcester; Dr. Lake, of Chichester; Dr. White, bishop of Peterborough." *Macl.*]

¹ ["These were Tillotson, Moore, Patrick, Kidder, Fowler, and Cumberland, names that will ever be pronounced with veneration by such as are capable of esteeming solid well-employed learning and genuine piety, and that will always shine among the brightest ornaments of the church of England." *Macl.*]

² [The language of Dr. Mosheim here, would seem to imply, that the Non-juring bishops produced a formal secession from the established church, and erected a permanent sect, which differed in doctrines and in its forms of worship from the church of England. But it was only a temporary disagreement, whether William III. or James II. was the legal sovereign; and of course whe-

ther those bishops and priests, who were deprived for not taking the oath of allegiance to the former, or those who were appointed to fill their places, were the legitimate bishops and parish ministers. Both parties professed the same faith, adhered to the same discipline, and used the same liturgy, except that the non-jurors are said to have framed and used a prayer for king James and for their party. It was rather a political than a religious schism; and one which necessarily terminated on the death of the pretender, and of the deprived bishops and clergy. Some principles, indeed, which were then contended for, continued to be maintained, after they became little more than points of theoretical speculation; and the believing or disbelieving these principles, soon constituted the only difference between the two parties. *Tr.*] "It is stated that at some period within the two or three first years after the Revolution, probably in the year 1691 or 1692, the exiled king ordered a list of the non-juring clergy to be sent over to

the disunion, this church was called that of the *Non-Jurors*; and on account of the opinion which it maintained, and continues to maintain, respecting the authority of the church, it received the name of *High Church*; that is, one entertaining very exalted ideas of the prerogatives and authority of the church: to which is opposed the *Low Church*, or that which has more moderate views of the power of the church.³ The deprived bishops, with their friends and followers, contended that the church is not

him: a list was accordingly made out, as perfect as could be procured in the existing state of things, considering the unwillingness, which, for obvious reasons, many must have felt to have their names appear in such a list. Out of the number whose names were thus sent over, it is related, that, at the request of the non-juring bishops, king James nominated two for the continuance of the episcopal succession, the one to derive his spiritual functions and authority from Archbishop Sancroft, the other from Bishop Lloyd of Norwich, the eldest suffragan bishop. The two appointed were Dr. George Hickes and Mr. Thomas Wagstaffe: the former was consecrated by the title of suffragan of Thetford, the latter by that of suffragan of Ipswich. The archbishop died before their consecration, and his archiepiscopal functions were performed on the occasion by the bishop of Norwich," (whom he had appointed his vicar in all ecclesiastical matters, by an instrument dated Feb. 9, 1691,) "assisted by the other non-juring bishops." D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*. Lond. 1840, p. 296.

"The succession of bishops and presbyters among the non-jurors was continued during the greater part of the last century. Dr. Hickes appears to have been the leading person amongst them; and during his lifetime all those who joined in the setting up of a rival communion remained compact. Afterward they became much divided. The number of non-juring bishops seems to have varied at different times. In 1716, there were five, Jeremy Collier, Nathaniel Spinkes, Hawes, and two others. Among the names of persons afterwards consecrated were those of Dr. Deacon, Dr. Thomas Brett, Mr. Thomas Brett, Mr. Smith of Durham, Dr. Rawlinson and Dr. Gordon. The latter died in London, November, 1779, and is supposed to have been the last non-juring

bishop. He left behind him two or three presbyters. The non-juring bishops were always particularly strict in their consecrations, which were performed by at least three bishops, the acts of consecration being always signed, sealed, and properly attested, and carefully preserved. Dr. Deacon separated himself from the other non-jurors, and himself alone consecrated one or more bishops; but these consecrations never were allowed by the main body. The succeeding bishops of the non-jurors were not consecrated with any particular titles, as were the first bishops by those of suffragans of Thetford and Ipswich. There were many very eminent and learned men amongst the non-jurors at different times; amongst others, Collier, Leslie, Dr. Brett, Dodwell, and Nelson. It is supposed that at the end of the last century, there was not a single non-juring congregation or minister remaining." *Ibid.* note. *Ed.*]

³ The name of *High Church*, that is, of those who have high notions of the church and of its power, properly belongs to the *Non-Jurors*. But it is usual among the English to give it a more extensive application; and to apply it to all those who extol immoderately the authority of the church, and declare it exempt from all human power, notwithstanding they do not refuse to swear allegiance to the king. And there are many such, even in that church which generally goes under the name of the *Low Church*. [The *Non-Jurors* were also called *Jacobites*, from their adherence to James II. and his son the pretender, in opposition to the reigning sovereign and the house of Hanover. The Scottish bishops, after the year 1688, all adhered to the house of Stuart, and were called *Non-Jurors*, because they refused the oath of allegiance to the reigning sovereign. *Tr.*]

subject to the civil authority, and to parliaments, but to God only, and has the power of self-government; and consequently, that the decree of parliament against them was unjust and a nullity: and that an ecclesiastical council only has power, by its decrees, to deprive a bishop of his office. The celebrated *Henry Dodwell* was the first that contended fiercely for these rights and this power of the church. He was followed by several others: and hence arose this perplexing and difficult controversy respecting the church, which has not yet closed, and which is renewed with zeal from time to time.⁴

§ 27. The *Non-Jurors* or *High Church*, who claimed for themselves the appellation of the *Orthodox*, and called the *Low Church* the *Schismatical*, differed from the rest of the episcopal church in several particulars and regulations, but especially in the following sentiments. I. That it is never lawful for the people, under any provocation or pretext whatever, to resist their kings and sovereigns. The English call this the doctrine of *passive obedience*; the opposite of which is the doctrine of *active obedience*, held by those who deem it lawful, in certain cases, for the people to oppose their rulers and kings. II. That the hereditary succession of kings is of divine appointment; and, therefore, can be set aside or annulled in no case whatever. III. That the church is subject to the jurisdiction, not of the civil magistrate, but of God only, particularly in matters of a religious nature. IV. That, consequently, *Sanicroft* and the other bishops who were deposed under king *William III.* remained the true bishops as long as they lived; and that those substituted in their places were the unjust possessors of other men's property. V. That these unjust possessors of other men's offices were both bad citizens and bad members of the church,

⁴ [Henry Dodwell, senior, was appointed Camden professor of History at Oxford in 1688; and being deprived of the office in 1690, because he refused the oath of allegiance, he published a vindication of the non-juring principles. Several other tracts were published by him and others on the same side; none of which were suffered to go unanswered. In 1691, Dr. Humphrey Hody published his *Unreasonableness of Separation*, or a *Treatise out of ecclesiastical history, showing, that although a bishop was unjustly deprived, neither he nor the church ever made a separation, if the successor was not a*

heretic; translated out of an ancient Greek manuscript, (written at Constantinople, and now among the Baroccian MSS.) in the public library at Oxford. This was answered by Dodwell, the next year, in his *Vindication of the deprived Bishops*, &c. Dr. Hody replied, in *The case of the sees vacant*, &c. In 1695, Dodwell came forth again, in his *Defence of the Vindication of the deprived Bishops*. Various others engaged in this controversy. See Maclaine's Note; Calamy's Additions to Baxter's *Hist. of his own Life and Times*, ch. xvii. p. 465, &c. ch. xviii. p. 485, &c. 506, &c. *Tr.*

or were both rebels and schismatics ; and, therefore, that such as held communion with them were chargeable with rebellion and schism. VI. That schism, or splitting the church in pieces, is the most heinous sin ; the punishment due to which no one can escape but by returning with sincerity to the true church from which he has revolted.⁵

§ 28. We now pass over to the Hollanders, who live opposite the English. The ministers of the Dutch churches thought themselves happy when the enemies of the Calvinistic doctrine of decrees, or the Arminians, were vanquished and put out : but it was not their fortune to enjoy tranquillity very long. For after this victory they fell, as ill luck would have it, into such contests among themselves, that, during nearly the whole century, Holland was the scene of very fierce animosity and strife. It is neither easy, nor important, to enumerate all these contentions. We shall therefore omit the disputes between individual doctors respecting certain points both of doctrine and discipline ; such as the disputes between those men of high reputation, *Gisbert Voet* and *Samuel Maresius* [*des Marets*] ; the disputes about false hair, interest for money, stage plays, and other minute moral questions, between *Salmasius*, *Boxhorn*, *Voet*, and several others ; and the contest respecting the power of the magistrate in matters of religion, carried on by *William Apollonius*, *James Trigland*, *Nicholas Vedel*, and others, and which destroyed friendship between *Frederic Spanheim* and *John van der Wayen*. For these and similar disputes rather show what were the sentiments of certain eminent divines upon particular doctrines and points of morality, than lay open the internal state of the church. This can only be known from those controversies which disquieted either the whole church, or at least a large portion of it.

§ 29. The principal controversies of this sort were those respecting the Cartesian philosophy and the new opinions of *Cocceius* : for these have not yet terminated, and they have produced two very powerful parties, the *Cocceians* and the *Voëtians* ; which once made a prodigious noise, though now

⁵ See William Whiston's *Memoirs of his own Life and Writings*, vol. i. p. 30, &c. George Hickes, *Memoirs of the Life of John Kettlewell*, Lond. 1718, 8vo, who treats expressly and largely on these

matters. *Nouveaux Dictionnaire Histor. et Critique*, article *Collier*, tom. ii. p. 112. Phil. Masson's *Histoire Critique de la République des Lettres*, tom. xiii. p. 298, &c. and elsewhere.

they are more silent. The Cocceian theology and the Cartesian philosophy have no natural connexion; and therefore the controversies respecting them were not related to each other. Yet it so happened that the followers of these two very distinct systems of doctrine formed very nearly one and the same party, those who took *Cocceius* for their guide in theology, adhering to *Des Cartes* as their master in philosophy⁶: because those who assailed the Cartesians attacked also *Cocceius* and his followers, and opposed both with equal animosity. Hence the Cartesians and Cocceians were under a kind of necessity to unite and combine their forces in order the better to defend their cause against such a host of adversaries. The *Voëtians* derived their name from *Gisbert Voet*, a very famous divine of Utrecht, who set up the standard, as it were, in this war, and induced great numbers to attack both *Des Cartes* and *Cocceius*.

§ 30. The Cartesian philosophy, which at its first appearance was viewed by many, even in Holland, as preferable to the Peripatetic, was first assailed by *Gisbert Voet* in 1639, at Utrecht, where he taught theology with very great reputation, and who not obscurely condemned this philosophy as blasphemous. He was a man of immense reading and multifarious knowledge, but indifferently qualified to judge correctly on metaphysical and abstract subjects. While *Des Cartes* resided at Utrecht, *Voet* censured various opinions of his; but especially the following positions, he feared, were subversive of all religion; namely, that one who intends to be wise, must begin by calling every thing in question, and even the existence of God: that the essence of *spirit*, and even of God himself, consists in *thought*: that *space*, in reality, has no existence, but is a mere fiction of the imagination; and, therefore, that *matter* is without bounds. *Des Cartes* first replied himself to the charges brought against him; and afterwards, his disciples afforded him aid. On the other hand, *Voet* was joined, not only by those Dutch theologians, who were then in the highest reputation for erudition and soundness in the faith, such as *Andrew Rivet*, *Maresius*, and *van Mastricht*, but also by the greatest part of the clergy of inferior note.⁷ To this flame, already raised too high, new fuel was added, when some of the theologians

⁶ See Fred. Spanheim's *Epistola de Novissimis in Belgio Dissidiis*; Opp. tom. ii. p. 973, &c.

⁷ Hadr. Baillet, *la Vie de M. Des Cartes*, tom. ii. cap. v. p. 33, &c. Gabr. Daniel, *Voyage du Monde de M. Des*

applied the precepts of *Des Cartes* to the illustration of theological subjects. Hence, in the year 1656, the Dutch *Classes*, as they are called, or assemblies of the clergy in certain districts, resolved, that resistance ought to be made, and that this impetuous philosophy ought not to be allowed to invade the territories of theology. By this decision the States of Holland were excited, in the same year, sternly to forbid, by a public law, the philosophers from expounding the books of *Des Cartes* to the youth, or explaining the Scriptures according to the dictates of philosophy. In a convention at Delft, the next year, it was resolved, that no person should be admitted to the sacred office without first solemnly promising that he would neither propagate Cartesian principles, nor deform revealed theology with adventitious ornaments. Similar resolutions were afterwards passed in various places, both in the United Provinces and out of them.⁸ But, as mankind are always eager after what is forbidden, all these prohibitions could not prevent the Cartesian philosophy from finally obtaining a firm footing in the schools and universities, and from being applied, sometimes preposterously, by great numbers, to the illustration of divine truths. Hence the Dutch became divided into the two parties above named; and the rest of the century was spent amidst their perpetual contentions.

§ 31. *John Cocceius*, (in German *Koch*,) a native of Bremen, professor of theology in the university of Leyden, and unquestionably a great man, if he had only been able to regulate and

Cartes; in his works, tom. i. p. 84, &c. [Jac. Brucker's *Historia Crit. Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. pt. ii. p. 222, &c. Iræneus Philalethes (Jac. Rhenford,) *Kort en opregt Verhaal van de eerste Oorsprong der Broedertwisten*, Amsterd. 1708, 8vo. The first attack upon the philosophy of Des Cartes was made by Gisbert Voet, A. D. 1639, in his *Disputatio de Atheismo*. Samuel Maresius at first defended the cause of Des Cartes against Voet: but afterwards went over to the side of his adversaries. Even Cocceius was at first opposed to Des Cartes, though his friend Heidan persuaded him to treat the name of Des Cartes respectfully in his writings. Peter van Maastricht, John Hornbeck, Andrew Essen, Melchior Leydecker, John Wayen, Gerhard Vries, James Revius, James Trigland, and Frederick Spanheim—manifestly great names—

contended against Des Cartes. For him, there were among the philosophers, Henry Regius, James Golius, Claudius Salmasius, Hadr. Heerebord, &c. and among the theologians, Abraham Heidan, Christopher Wittich, Francis Burmann, John Braun, John Clauberg, Peter Altinga, Balth. Bekker, Stephen Curcellæus, Herm. Alex. Roell, Ruard Andala, and others. *Schl.*]

⁸ Fred. Spanheim, *de Novissimis in Belgio Dissidiis*; Opp. tom. ii. p. 959, &c. Those who wish it, may also consult the common historians of this century, Arnold, (*Kirchen-und Ketzer-historie*, vol. ii. book xvii. ch. x. § 1—6.) Weissmann, (*Historia Eccles. sæc. xvii.* p. 905.) Jaeger, Caroli, and also Walch's *Einleitung in die Religionsstreitigkeiten ausser unsrer Kirche*, vol. iii.

temper with reason and judgment his erudition, his ingenuity, his reverence for the holy Scriptures, and his piety, which he possessed in an eminent degree, introduced into theology not a little that was novel and unheard of before his times. In the first place, as has been already remarked, he interpreted the whole sacred volume in a manner very different from that of *Calvin* and all his followers. For he maintained that the entire history of the Old Testament presents a picture of the events that were to take place under the New Testament down to the end of the world; nay, more, that the things which Christ and his apostles did and suffered in this world were emblematic of future events. He moreover taught that the greatest part of the prophecies of the Jewish prophets foretell the fortunes of Christ and of the Christian church, not by means of the persons and things mentioned, but by the very sense of the words themselves. And lastly, many of those passages in the Old Testament, which seem to contain nothing but the praises of Jehovah, or moral precepts and doctrines, he, with wonderful dexterity and ingenuity, converted into sacred enigmas, and predictions of future events. To give support and plausibility to these opinions, he first laid down this law of interpretation, that the language of the Bible *must* signify, or that it *can* signify: which rule, if adopted by a man of more genius than judgment, may give birth to very strange interpretations. In the next place, he distributed the entire history of the Christian church into seven portions of time, or *periods*, relying principally on the seven trumpets and seals of the Apocalypse.

§ 32. Theology itself, *Cocceius* judged, ought to be freed from the trammels of philosophy, and to be expounded only in scriptural phraseology. Hence, perceiving that the sacred writers denominate the method of salvation which God has prescribed, a *covenant* of God with men, he concluded that there could be no more suitable and pertinent analogy, according to which to adjust and arrange an entire system of theology. But while intent solely on accommodating and applying the principles of human covenants to divine subjects, he incautiously fell into some opinions which it is not easy to approve. For instance, he asserted that the covenant, which God made with the Hebrew nation, through the medium of *Moses*, did not differ in its nature from the new covenant procured by *Jesus Christ*. He supposed, that God caused the ten commandments to be pro-

mulged by *Moses*, not as a *law* which was to be obeyed, but as one form of the covenant of *grace*. But, when the Hebrews had offended him, by various sins, and especially by the worship of the golden calf, God being moved with just indignation, superadded to that moral law the yoke of the ceremonial law, to serve as a punishment. This yoke was in itself very burdensome, but it became much more painful in consequence of its import. For it continually admonished the Hebrews of their very imperfect, dubious, and anxious state, and was a kind of perpetual *memento*, that they merited the wrath of God, and that they could not anticipate a full expiation and remission of their sins, till the Messiah should come. Holy men, indeed, under the Old Testament, enjoyed eternal salvation after death; but while they lived, they were far from having that assurance of salvation, which is so comforting to us under the New Testament. For no sins were then actually forgiven, but only suffered to remain unpunished; because *Christ* had not yet offered up himself as a sacrifice to God, and therefore could not be regarded, before the divine tribunal, as one who has actually assumed our debt, but only as our surety. I omit other opinions of *Cocceius*. Those who assailed the Cartesian doctrines attacked also these opinions, in a fierce war, which was kept up for many years, with various success. The issue was the same, as in the Cartesian contest. No device, and no force, could prevent the disciples of *Cocceius* from occupying many professorial chairs, and from propagating the opinions of their master, both orally and in writing, with wonderful celerity, even among the Germans and the Swiss.⁹

§ 33. Nearly all the other controversies, which disquieted the Dutch churches in this century, arose from an excessive attachment to the Cartesian philosophy as connected with theology. This will appear from those commotions, greater than all others, produced by *Roel* and *Becker*. Certain Cartesian divines, at the head of whom was *Herman Alexander Roel*, a theologian of Franeker, a man of singular acuteness and perspicuity, were supposed, in the year 1686, to attribute too much to reason, in theology. Nearly the whole controversy

⁹ The same writers may be consulted here, as were referred to before; for the Cartesian and Cocceian controversies were united in one. To these may be

added, Val. Alberti, *Διπλοῦν κάππα, Cartesianismus et Cocceianismus, descripti et refutati*. Leips. 1678, 4to.

was embraced in these two questions: I. Whether the divine origin and authority of the sacred books, can be demonstrated by reason alone; or whether the internal testimony of the Holy Spirit is necessary, in order to a firm belief on this subject? II. Whether the Holy Scriptures propose any thing to be believed by us, which is contrary to correct and sound reason? The first was affirmed and the second denied, not only by the above-named *Roel*, but also by *John van der Wayen*, *Gisbert Wessel*, *Duker*, *Ruard ab Andala*, and others: the contrary was maintained by *Ulrich Huber*, a jurist of great reputation, *Gerhard de Vries*, and others.¹ A great part of Belgium being now in a flame, the states of Friesland prudently interposed, and enjoined silence and peace on both the contending parties. Those who shall accurately investigate this cause, will, I think, perceive that a great part of it was a strife about words, and that the remainder of it might have been easily settled, if it had been stripped of its ambiguities.

§ 34. A little after this controversy had been hushed in a measure, the same *Roel*, in the year 1689, made himself thought a dangerous man to sound theology, by adopting some other singular opinions. These caused him to be viewed with no slight suspicion, not only by his colleagues, and particularly by *Campeius Vitringa*, but also by very many of the Dutch divines.² For he denied that the scriptural representations of the generation of the Son of God, are to be understood as denoting any natural generation; and maintained that the death of holy men, and the evils which they suffer in this life, equally with the calamities and death of the wicked, are the penal effects of the first sin; and he advanced some things respecting the divine decrees, original sin, the divine influence in regard to the sinful acts of men, the satisfaction made by Christ, and other subjects, which, either in reality, or at least in form and phraseology, differed much from the received opinions.³ The magistrates of Friesland published decrees,

¹ John le Clerc, *Biblioth. Universelle et Histor.* tom. vi. p. 368.

² Concerning this extraordinary man, see the *Bibliotheca Bremensis Theologico-Philol.* tom. ii. pt. vi. p. 707. Caspar Burmann's *Trajectum Eruditum*, p. 306, &c. [*Unpartheyische Kirchenhistorie*, Jena, 1735, 4to. vol. ii. p. 620, &c. *Tr.*]

³ These errors may be best learned from a paper of the *Faculty of Theology at Leyden*, in which they confirm the sentence pronounced on them by the Dutch synods, entitled, *Judicium Ecclesiasticum, quo opiniones quædam Cl. H. A. Roëllii Synodice damnatæ sunt, laudatæ a Professoribus Theologiæ in Academia Lugduno-*

which prevented these disputes from spreading in that province: but the rest of the Dutch, and especially those of the province of Holland, could not be restrained from condemning *Roel* and his disciples, both privately, and in their public conventions, as corrupters of divine truth.⁴ Nor did this resentment die with the excellent man who was the object of it; but even to our times, the *Roëlians*, though they most solemnly protest their innocence, are thought by many to be infected with concealed heresies.

§ 35. *Balthazar Becker*, a minister of the Gospel at Amsterdam, from the Cartesian definition of a spirit, the truth of which he held to be unquestionable, took occasion to deny absolutely, all that the Scriptures teach us respecting the works, snares, and power of the prince of darkness and his satellites, and also all the vulgar reports respecting ghosts, spectres, and witchcraft. There is extant a prolix and copious work of his, entitled, *The World Bewitched*, first published in 1691; in which he perverts and explains away, with no little ingenuity, but with no less audacity, whatever the sacred volume relates, of persons possessed by evil spirits, and of the power of demons; and maintains, that the miserable being,

Batava; Leyden, 1713, 4to. 20 sheets. [Roel maintained, that the title *Son of God* referred only to the human nature of Christ, and to the supernatural formation or conception of it, as also to his mediatorial office; and consequently, that it afforded no proof of his divinity. Yet in his later writings, he admitted, that Christ was also called the Son of God, on account of his eternal generation by the Father; yet without excluding the before-mentioned ground. In order to prove that the death of believers is a punishment, he maintained, that in justification, only *some* of the punishments of sin are remitted, and that the complete removal of them does not take place, till after the resurrection. *Schl.*]

⁴ [It must not be inferred, from this statement of Dr. Mosheim, that professor Roel was excommunicated, deprived of his office, or even declared a heretic. Some of his *opinions* were condemned; but not the *man*. After serving as a chaplain to several noblemen, he was made professor, first of philosophy, and then of theology, at Franeker in Friesland, in the year 1686. In the

year 1704, he was removed to the professorship of theology at Utrecht; where he died in office, A. D. 1718, aged 65. The states of Friesland enjoined upon him, in 1691, not to teach or preach his peculiarities of sentiment; they also enjoined upon his opposers, to keep silence on the same subjects. Both obeyed: so that in Friesland there was no more contention. But in the other Dutch provinces no such order was taken by the government: and therefore several synods, finding Roel's opinions to exist and to spread, passed orders of condemnation upon them; and decreed, that candidates should be required to renounce them, in order to their receiving license. He was undoubtedly a great man. Hence Mosheim calls him "vir eximius." He was also, in the main, sound in the faith. Yet on some points, he carried his speculations further than the spirit of the times would permit. But, like a good man, when he found his speculations to produce alarm and commotion, at the bidding of the magistrates, he forbore to urge them, and expended his efforts on subjects less offensive. *Tr.*]

whom the sacred writers call *Satan* and the *Devil*, together with his ministers, lies bound with everlasting chains in hell; so that he cannot thence go forth, to terrify mortals, and to plot against the righteous. *Des Cartes* placed the essence of spirit in *thinking*; but none of those acts, which are ascribed to evil spirits, can be effected by mere *thought*.⁵ Therefore, lest the reputation of *Des Cartes* should be impaired, the narrations and decisions of the divine books must be accommodated to his opinion. This error not only disquieted all the United Provinces, but likewise induced not a few Lutheran divines to gird on their armour.⁶ Its author, although con-

⁵ ["Our historian relates here, somewhat obscurely, the reasoning which Becker founded upon the Cartesian definition of mind or spirit. The tenor and amount of his argument is as follows: 'The essence of mind is *thought*, and the essence of matter is *extension*.—Now since there is no sort of conformity or connexion between a *thought* and *extension*, mind cannot act upon matter unless these two substances be united, as soul and body are in man:—therefore no separate spirits, either good or evil, can act upon mankind. Such acting is miraculous, and miracles can be performed by God alone. It follows of consequence, that the Scripture accounts of the actions and operations of good and evil spirits must be understood in an allegorical sense.'—This is Becker's argument; and it does, in truth, little honour to his acuteness and sagacity. By proving too much, it proves nothing at all; for if the want of a connexion or conformity between thought and extension renders mind incapable of acting upon matter, it is hard to see how their union should remove this incapacity, since the want of conformity and connexion remains notwithstanding this union. Besides, according to this reasoning, the Supreme Being cannot act upon material beings. In vain does Becker maintain the affirmative, by having recourse to a miracle, for this would imply, that the whole course of nature was a series of miracles, that is to say, that there are no miracles at all." *Macl.*]

medal, struck in reference to Becker, and the other writers, whom we have often quoted. *Nouveau Diction. Hist. et Crit.* tom. i. p. 193. [Balthazar Becker, D.D., was born near Groningen, 1634; educated there and at Franeker; made rector of the Latin school in the latter place, a preacher, a doctor of divinity; and lastly, a pastor at Amsterdam, where he died in 1718. This learned man published three Catechisms; in the last of which, 1670, he taught, that Adam, if he had not sinned, would have been immortal, by virtue of the fruits of the tree of life; questioned, whether endless punishment (which he placed in horror and despair) was consistent with the goodness of God; and admitted episcopacy to be the most ancient and customary form of church government. These sentiments exposed him to some animadversion. In 1680 he published a book, in proof that *comets* are not ominous. In his sermons he had often intimated that too much was ascribed to the agency of the devil; and being frequently questioned on the subject, he concluded to give the world his full views on the whole subject. This he did in his Dutch work, entitled, *Betoverde Wereld*, &c. i. e. *The World Bewitched*, or a critical investigation of the commonly received opinion respecting spirits, their nature, power, and acts, and all those extraordinary feats, which men are said to perform, through their aid; in four books, Amsterd. 1691, 4to. In the preface, he says, "It is come to that, at the present day, that it is almost regarded as a part of religion, to ascribe great wonders to the devil; and those are taxed with infidelity and perverseness, who hesitate to believe, what thousands relate concerning his power.

⁶ See Michael Lilienthal's *Selecta Histor. Litterar.* pt. i. Observ. ii. p. 17, &c. *Miscellanea Lipsiens.* tom. i. pp. 361. 364, where there is a description of a

futed by vast numbers, and deprived of his ministerial office, yet, on his dying bed, in 1718, continued to affirm, until his last breath, that he believed all that he had written to be true. Nor did his new doctrine die with him; but it still has very many defenders, both open and concealed.

§ 36. It is well known that various sects, some of them Christian, others semi-Christian, and others manifestly delirious, not unfrequently start up and are cherished, in Holland as well as England. But it is not easy for any one, who does not reside in those parts of the world, to give a correct account of them; because the books which contain the necessary information, seldom find their way into foreign countries. Yet the Dutch sects of *Verschorists* and *Hattemists*, having now for some time been better known among us, I shall here give some account of them. The former derived their name from *James Verschoor*, of Flushing; who, about the year 1680, is said to have so strangely mixed together the principles of *Spinoza* and *Cocceius*, as out of them to have produced a new system of religion, which was quite absurd and impious. His followers are also called *Hebrews*; because they all, both men and women, bestow great attention on the Hebrew language. The latter

It is now thought essential to piety, not only to fear God, but also to fear the devil. Whoever does not do so, is accounted an atheist; because he cannot persuade himself, that there are two Gods, the one good, and the other evil." He also gives a challenge to the devil: "If he is a god, let him defend himself; let him lay hold of me: for I throw down his altars. In the name of the God of hosts, I fight with this Goliath: we will see, who can deliver him." In the *first* Book, he states the opinions of the pagans, concerning gods, spirits, and demons: and shows, that both Jews and Christians have derived their prejudices on this subject from them. In the *second*, he shows, what reason and Scripture teach concerning spirits: and in the *third*, confutes the believers in witchcraft and confederacies with the devil. In the *fourth* Book, he answers the arguments alleged from experience, to prove the great power of the devil. He founds his doctrine on two grand principles; that, from their very nature, spirits cannot act upon material beings; and, that the Scriptures represent the

devil and his satellites, as shut up in the prison of hell. To explain away the texts which militate against his system, evidently costs him much labour and perplexity. His interpretations, for the most part, are similar to those still relied on by the believers in his doctrine. —Becker was not the first writer who published such opinions. Before him were Arnold Geulinx, of Leyden, who died in 1669; and Daillon, a French Reformed preacher, who fled to London, and there published his views, in 1687. But these advanced their opinions problematically; while Becker advanced his in a positive tone. He also discussed the whole subject; and he mingled wit and sarcasm with his arguments. This difference caused his book to awaken very great attention; while theirs passed unheeded. Becker was deposed and silenced, by the synods of Edam and Alkmaar, in 1692. But the senate of Amsterdam continued to him his salary, till his death, in 1718. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. viii. p. 713, &c. *Tr.*]

sect, about the same time, had for its leader *Pontianus van Hattem*, a minister of the Gospel at Philipsland in Zealand, who was also an admirer of *Spinoza*, and was afterwards deprived of his office, on account of his errors. These two sects were akin to each other; and yet they must have differed in some way; since *Van Hattem* could never persuade the *Verschorists* to enter into alliance with him. Neither of them wished to be looked upon as abandoning the Reformed religion: and *Hattem* wrote an exposition of the *Heidelberg Catechism*. If I understand correctly the not very lucid accounts given us of their doctrines, the founders of both sects, in the first place, inferred, from the Reformed doctrine of the absolute decrees of God, this principle, that whatever takes place, necessarily and unavoidably takes place. Assuming this as true, they denied that men are by nature wicked or corrupt; and that human actions are some of them good, and others bad. Hence they inferred, that men need not trouble themselves about a change of heart, nor be solicitous to obey the divine law; that religion does not consist in *acting*, but in *suffering*; and that Jesus Christ inculcated this only, that we patiently and cheerfully endure whatever, by the good pleasure of God, occurs or befalls us, striving only to keep our minds tranquil. *Hattem*, in particular, taught that Jesus Christ did not by his death appease the divine justice, nor expiate the sins of men; but that He signified to us, that there was nothing in us which could offend God, and in this way He made us just. These things appear to be perverse, and inimical to all virtue: and yet neither of these men — unless I am wholly deceived — was so beside himself, as to recommend iniquity; or to suppose, that a person may safely follow his lusts. At least, the sentiment ascribed to them, that *God punishes men BY their sins, not FOR them*, seems to carry this import: That unless a person bridles his lusts, he must suffer punishment, both in this life and in that to come; yet not by a divine infliction, or by the sovereign will and pleasure of God, but by some law of nature.⁷ Both sects still exist; but have discarded the names derived from their founders.

§ 37. The churches of Switzerland, from the year 1669,

⁷ See Theodore Hasaeus, *Dissert. in Kerkelyke and Wereldlycke Historie*, the Museum Bremens. *Theol. Philol.* Leyd. 1729, 4to. *Bibliothèque Belgique*, vol. ii. p. 144, &c. Wilh. Goeree, tom. ii. p. 203, &c.

were in great fear, lest the religion handed down to them by their fathers, and confirmed at the synod of Dort, should be contaminated with the doctrines, already mentioned, of the French divines, *Amyraut, de la Place, and Capell*. For there were at that time, among the associated ministers of Geneva, certain men, distinguished both for their eloquence and their erudition, who not only approved those doctrines, but also endeavoured, against the will of their colleagues, to induce others to embrace them.⁸ To restrain the efforts of these men, the principal divines of Switzerland, in the year 1675, had a book drawn up by *John Henry Heidegger*, a very celebrated divine of Zurich, in opposition to the new doctrines of the French; and with no great difficulty, they persuaded the magistrates to annex it, by public authority, to the common Helvetic formulas of religion. It is usually called the *Formula Consensus*. But this measure, which was intended to secure peace, became rather the fruitful source of contentions and disturbance. For many declared, that they could not conscientiously assent to this *Formula*: and hence pernicious commotions arose in some places. In consequence of these, the canton of Bern and the republic of Geneva, at the urgent solicitation of *Frederic William* of Brandenburg, in the year 1686, abrogated the *Formula Consensus*.⁹ In the other cantons, it with difficulty retained its authority somewhat longer: but in our age, having given birth to the most violent quarrels, particularly in the University of Lausanne, it began to sink in them also, and to lose nearly all its influence.¹

⁸ See Greg. Leti's *Istoria Genevrina*, pt. iv. lib. v. pp. 448. 488. 497, &c.

⁹ ["It must not be imagined, from this expression of our historian, that this *Form*, entitled the *Consensus*, was abrogated at Basil by a positive edict. The case stood thus: Mr. Peter Werenfels, who was at the head of the Consistory of that city, paid such regard to the letter of the Elector, as to avoid requiring a subscription to this *Form* from the candidates for the ministry; and his conduct, in this respect, was imitated by his successors. The remonstrances of the Elector do not seem to have had the same effect upon those that governed the church of Geneva; for the *Consensus*, or *Form of agreement*, maintained its credit and

authority there until the year 1706, when, without being abrogated by any positive act, it fell into disuse. In several other parts of Switzerland, it was still imposed as a rule of faith, as appears by the letters addressed by George I. king of England, as also by the king of Prussia, in the year 1723, to the Swiss Cantons, in order to procure the abrogation of this *Form*, or *Consensus*, which was considered as an obstacle to the union of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. See the *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Troubles arrivés en Suisse à l'occasion du Consensus*; published in 8vo. at Amsterdam, in the year 1726." *Macl.*]

¹ See Christ. Matth. Pfaff's *Schediasma de Formula Consensus Helvetica*:

*CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

§ 1. Appointment of the arch-priest.—§ 2. Primacy of Abp. Bancroft.—§ 3. English concurrence in the synod of Dort.—§ 4. The Lambeth Articles formally admitted by the Church of Ireland.—§ 5. Progress of Puritanism under Charles I.—§ 6. Ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland.—§ 7. Proceedings of the long Parliament.—§ 8. Cromwell.—§ 9. Ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland.—§ 10. The Savoy Conference.—§ 11. Restoration of Protestant episcopacy in Ireland.—§ 12. Self-taxation relinquished by the English clergy.—§ 13. Penal religious Acts under Charles II.—§ 14. James II.—§ 15. The Toleration Act.—§ 16. Ineffectual attempt at a comprehension.—§ 17. Overthrow of established Protestant episcopacy in Scotland.—§ 18. The Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement.

§ 1. AT the close of the sixteenth century Romanism acquired a new hold upon England, by the institution of a qualified species of episcopacy. The last survivor of that prelacy which Elizabeth deprived, was Watson, whose inconformity forfeited the see of Lincoln. He died in 1584. The Romish party then looked up to Allen, afterwards cardinal, as its leader, and it formed a body sufficiently united, until his death, in 1594. Serious disagreements then arose. The Jesuits had gained a paramount ascendancy over the wealthy Romish families, which the secular priests, many of whom were far advanced in years, and had been but little tainted by politics, viewed with envy and disgust. It was thought likely, that greater unanimity would be found attainable, if a bishop, or more bishops than one, were appointed, who might serve as a common centre of authority.

Tübing. 1723, 4to. *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Troubles arrivés en Suisse à l'occasion du Consensus*; Amsterd. 1726, 8vo. [In this *Formula Consensus*, (which, like the Lutheran *Formula Concordiæ*, might better be called *Formula Dissensus*,) four controversies, which had previously disquieted the Reformed churches, were decided. It condemned, I. the doctrines of Moses Amyraut, respecting general grace, and established the most strenuous opinion of special grace. It condemned, II. the

opinion of Joshua Placcæus (de la Place), respecting the imputation of Adam's sin: III. Piscator's doctrine, concerning the active obedience of Christ: and IV. Lewis Capell's critical doctrine, concerning the points of the Hebrew text. This Formula, so long as subscription to it was rigorously enforced, deprived the Swiss churches of many a worthy divine, who would rather quit his country, than violate his conscience. Sulzer of Berlin was a remarkable example. *Schl.*]

But such a functionary would have opportunities for consolidating an influence over the Romish aristocracy, which Persons dreaded, as a probable obstacle to his plan of excluding James from the succession. That restless and intriguing Jesuit, accordingly, who was chiefly consulted at Rome upon English affairs, recommended eventually the appointment of an ecclesiastical superior, with a character something inferior to the prelate.¹ George Blackwell was, in consequence, nominated *Arch-priest*, with the pope's approbation, but not formally by his appointment.² Apparently, the new arch-priest was quite independent of the Jesuits; but really, secret instructions bound him to a dependence upon Garnet, the provincial of their order. Thus Persons gained by management a reasonable prospect of that influence over the English Romanists, which had been the object of his life, and which he hoped to render highly effective when the queen's demise should embolden competition for the throne. The secular priests of England, were highly dissatisfied with Blackwell's appointment, viewing it, in its true light, as a Jesuitic engine to depress them. But they submitted on the pontiff's formal approval of Blackwell's appointment, in 1599, and English Romanism was placed under the superintendence of three arch-priests in succession. Thus was formed, as the seventeenth century opened, a compact, organised body, which has weathered every storm, and now assumes a tone to which England has been quite unused from Roman Catholics ever since the days of James II.³

§ 2. The church of England gained some advantages under James I., by the authorised compilation of a body of canons, a restraint upon the conveyance of ecclesiastical estates to the crown, otherwise than as a lessee on the ordinary terms, an increased strictness in exacting subscription from the clergy, and the completion of that version of Scripture, which has been authorised ever since. The canons were enacted by the convocation of the province of Canterbury, in the spring of 1604, Bancroft, then bishop of London, being president, Abp. Whitgift having lately died. Their number is 141, and they were

¹ "Father Robert Persons, an English Jesuit, was the chief person in credit at Rome, after the cardinal's" (Allen's) "decease, and commonly advised with in all matters relating to the English nation," (Dodd's *Ch. Hist.* Lond.

1840. iii. 45.) Persons had originally approved of the episcopate.

² In 1598.

³ See Mr. Tierney's notes to the new edition of Dodd.

chiefly collected from the various articles, injunctions, and synodical acts which appeared under Edward VI. and Elizabeth. They were adopted by the province of York, and authorised by the crown, but never sanctioned by parliament. Hence the court of king's bench has unanimously pronounced them no further binding upon the laity than they may embody the provisions of common or statute law. They have, however, served to direct the proceedings of ecclesiastical courts, and although fallen into desuetude in various particulars, they continue down to the present day of considerable use in preserving one uniform face to the national church. By rendering illegal the transfer of ecclesiastical estates to the crown, James conferred a great boon upon the church.⁴ His predecessor had seriously impaired the resources of the dignified clergy by the powers which she obtained, at the outset of her reign, for effecting exchanges, as they were called, with such as obtained high preferments in the church. Such powers, in the hands of James, from his extreme facility, and the rapacious importunity displayed by some of his personal favourites, especially those from Scotland, must have proved, in a few years, highly detrimental to the endowments which former covetousness had spared. He deserves, therefore, the respectful remembrance of those who value a church establishment, able to hold a high intellectual position, and to support liberally objects worthy of patronage, for consenting, in the very beginning of his power, to limit in it a point liable to so much abuse. The increased strictness in pressing subscription came from the anxiety to repress irregularities entertained by Bancroft, who had been translated to Canterbury within the year of Whitgift's death. He incurred thereby great odium among the Puritanical party, and its admirers have not forgiven him to the present day. But it is impossible to arraign his conduct in this, with any degree of fairness. Nothing can be more unreasonable, than to take the bread provided by an establishment which the recipient is bent upon undermining, or even upon remodelling according to his own private views; and really, pleas of conscience come from such a person with a very ill grace. Abp. Bancroft, however, has not only been very severely blamed for his conduct towards such persons, but also the number of them

⁴ By the 13th Eliz. the subject had been disabled from accepting grants of church estates. Fuller, b. x. p. 27.

who suffered under him has been invidiously exaggerated. By the rolls delivered in by him, not long before his death, it appears that only forty-nine clergymen were deprived on any account whatever. This is no great number when we consider the inveteracy of the evil with which he had to contend, and that it was spread over more than nine thousand parishes.⁵ He might, indeed, have frightened some clergymen into a conformity to which they were unused, and for which they were disinclined. Such men may complain of hardship, as they will, to justify their previous conduct: they have evidently very slender claims upon the sympathy of others. The primate's care in this matter of subscription, was attended with immediate results of considerable importance. A degree of uniformity, and of attention to rubrical formalities, long unknown, became general⁶, and probably, if the times had not grown all but irresistibly Puritanical, Bancroft's reforms might have immediately taken a permanent hold upon the church. The new translation of Scripture he did not live to see completed. A commission for executing it issued in 1604, but the work was not formally begun until 1607, and it did not appear in print until 1611. The divines employed upon it were in number forty-seven, and they were divided into six committees, each with its task, which met in Westminster, and in the two Universities.⁷ In this body were included many scholars of unquestionable competence, and as their labours were conducted with extreme deliberation, the result could hardly fail of being, as it has been found, worthy of an enlightened nation's confidence. No version, that has been scrupulously prepared, of originals so ancient, various and extensive, can be absolutely free from obscurities, and inaccuracies are found in all versions; but upon the whole, the authorised English version of holy Scripture is remarkably free from both, and forms, perhaps, the best vernacular Bible that any country has to boast.

§ 3. In one respect, James rendered a service to the Puritanical party. The members of it embraced universally those high Calvinistic opinions, which Perkins had unfolded about the close of the last century, in his *Armilla Aurea*, with a degree of

⁵ Collier, ii. 687.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Fuller, b. x. pp. 45. 57.

systematic skill that no earlier work on the same side could boast.⁸ Van Harmin, or Arminius, aroused by the popularity of this author⁹, made a formal attack upon his theory¹, and the disgust which was occasioned among continental Predestinarians by such an examination of their doctrine was loudly echoed by the English Puritans. The king expressed himself, on some occasions, as warmly against the anti-Calvinistic party, as any of his subjects could desire: having even been heard to brand Arminius as *the enemy of God*.² Nor when the Dutch, embarrassed by the fury with which these disputes were conducted, and their increasing adaptation to political purposes, convened the synod of Dort, did James decline his countenance, but sent over some British divines to assist at its deliberations. As the Arminian party was hardly represented at all in that famous assembly³, the decisions could not fail of being such as Calvinists approved. Hence they were highly agreeable to the Puritanical portion of James's subjects, and had his conduct been invariably answerable to the part taken by him at Dort, he must have been popular with all that busy part of the nation. He had, indeed, already promoted George Abbot to the see of Canterbury; a prelate whom puritanical predilections rendered extremely popular, and who undid much that had been done by his predecessor, Bancroft, in exacting clerical conformity.⁴ But, on the other hand, James had resisted, at Hampton Court, an attempt to impose the Lambeth articles, and had raised anti-Calvinistic clergymen to many of the first preferments.⁵ Upon the whole, therefore, he proved any thing rather than a promoter of the Puritanical cause; except in as much as he alternately irritated and encouraged its warmest abettors. Thus were

⁸ Heylin's *Quinquarticular History*, Tracts. Lond. 1681, p. 615.

⁹ "It was printed several times after the Latin edition, with the general approbation of the French and Belgic churches, and no less than fifteen times within the space of twenty years in the English tongue." *Ibid.* 615.

¹ In his *Examen Prædestinationis Perkinsanæ*. *Ibid.* 616.

² *Ibid.* 534.

³ "The national synod of Dort consisted of thirty-eight Dutch and Walloon divines, five professors of the universities, and twenty-one lay elders,

making together sixty-one persons, of which not above three or four were Remonstrants (Arminians)." Neal, i. 465.

⁴ "With whom" (Bancroft) "died the uniformity of the church of England." Heylin's *Laud*. Lond. 1668, p. 62.

⁵ "By which encouragements, the anti-Calvinians, or old English Protestants, took heart again, and more openly declared themselves than they had done formerly." Heylin's *Quinquart. Hist. Tracts*, 631.

effectually sown the seeds, which grew so vigorously in the next reign, and eventually ripened in the general overthrow of English institutions.

§ 4. In Ireland, undoubtedly, James not merely allowed, but even formally sanctioned, a step in favour of Puritanism, which must have proved of considerable importance, had not Romanism been so much master of the country as to paralyse every Protestant movement. The established church there was, indeed, in a most deplorable condition, the pillage of benefices, from the bishop down to the vicar, having reached such an intolerable height, as placed serious difficulties in the way of maintaining the established worship.⁶ Much of the Protestantism also which succeeded in rooting itself was adverse to the Anglican church. The province of Ulster had become, in a great measure, denuded of its old proprietors and inhabitants, by means of the rebellions under Elizabeth. The vacancies thus made were partly filled up by bodies of colonists fitted out by the city of London, but still more by emigrants from Scotland. These last brought over all those violent Puritanical prepossessions that had occasioned so many fierce struggles at home.⁷ Thus that portion of the island which seemed likely to be first in a general acceptance of the Reformation, was prejudiced against any view of Protestant principles that could not plead a recommendation from Geneva. Among the established clergy, James Ussher, eventually primate, was by far the most learned, and in consequence his opinion carried great weight. He had, however, espoused heartily that system of theology which the study of Calvin's *Institutes* made a large portion of contemporary Protestant divines regard as unquestionably true. The operation of these causes came strikingly before the world in 1615. The Irish convocation, under Ussher's influence, then incorporated the Lambeth articles with others of a Puritanical character, in a body of doctrine which clergymen were to subscribe. This variation from the English terms of conformity was ratified by the lord deputy Chichester, in the king's name. It was, however, soon found unseemly and inconvenient, to exact in Ireland a subscription different from that imposed in England. Accordingly, in 1635, the Irish convocation adopted the English

⁶ Bramhall to Laud, Aug. 10, 1633.
Collier, ii. 760.

⁷ Collier, ii. 708.

thirty-nine Articles.⁸ No debate was allowed as to the abrogation of the Irish Articles of 1615. It was rather meant, that such as considered them mere amplifications of the English formulary, might enjoy that opinion unmolested, and some of the Irish prelacy, accordingly, exacted subscriptions to both sets of articles, down to the time of the troubles of 1641. But it was found impossible to obtain the lord deputy's permission to bring the ratification of the Irish articles before parliament. It was evidently intended by the government, that this variation between the two churches should gradually and silently sink into desuetude. Such was its fate. The Irish articles dragged on a lingering and precarious existence during some six years after the convocation of 1635; but when the restoration of Charles II. again established the church of Ireland, subscription to them wholly ceased.⁹

§ 5. Under Charles I. Puritanism rapidly increased, and undoubtedly, the church herself, by several gross mistakes, powerfully aided its growth. An extreme antipathy, indeed, to popery, and to every external observance which seemed anywise connected with it, might have yielded to time, a conscientious exercise of patronage, and judicious management. Moderate men might thus have learned to discriminate between the encouragement of unscriptural opinions, and a prudent connivance at them; between mere externals and fundamental principles. Nor, in some respects, were the courses taken adverse to this desirable consummation. The church was active, and promotion commonly followed upon the heels of proved ability. But unhappily, with professional ability, in the high-church party, was usually combined a discreditable, unconstitutional, and pernicious political subserviency. This too early took exactly that form which arouses the fiercest opposition: it was arrayed against men's pockets. Charles was involved, at the outset of his reign, in foreign war, and found himself under a pressure of pecuniary difficulty, which his father's pacific policy and Elizabeth's parsimony had avoided.¹ To relieve his necessities, in all the confidence of well-intentioned youth, he frankly reckoned upon parliament. But he encountered within its walls a rancorous hatred of his favourite Buckingham, and a determination

⁸ "With the single dissentient voice of a non-conformist minister from the diocese of Down." Mant, 491.

⁹ *Ibid.* 495.

¹ Hallam's *Const. Hist.* i. 512.

to grapple with prerogative. Surprised and irritated, he tried hasty dissolutions, although the exchequer still continued empty. To replenish it, he had recourse to a general loan, as it was called; really, to a regular levy upon the people, according to their several assessments under the last subsidy; but in this case the call came without any previous consent from the people's representatives. Fiscal exactions are always very far from welcome; they little, therefore, need an accession of unpopularity from such a title as may make them pass for an extortion, which every Englishman was entitled, if not bound, to resist. In order to lessen the public discontent, all clergymen were required to recommend the loan, and some of them, disreputably eager for preferment, broached from the pulpit the most obnoxious doctrines.² Passive obedience was nakedly advocated upon scriptural grounds; a line of teaching which made it easy to argue, that the crown was fully justified in relieving its just necessities by levying money on the bare strength of prerogative, and that Christians, by resistance, were infringing a religious obligation. Mainwaring and Sibthorp, the two chief inculcators of these absurd and illegal doctrines, were both censured by parliament, and the former was visited with all that vindictive violence, which offended power in those times, wherever lodged, invariably displayed.³ But the court contemptuously nullified the vengeance of the commons, by not only pardoning, but also rewarding the victims. Mainwaring found the storm a speedy passport to a good country living, and eventually to a mitre; Sibthorp obtained better parochial preferment, and a prebend of Peterborough.⁴ Thus moderate men were prejudiced against distinguished ecclesiastics, by seeing the exceptionable access which had led individuals among them to preferment, and by the offensive political leaven which was likely from self-interest to blend itself with their principles. Mere theology was another ground of distinction and unpopularity to the higher clergy. They were generally of the party branded as Arminian; while the more strenuous opponents of unparliamentary taxation and of an over-

² The instructions to the clergy were framed by Laud, then bishop of Bath and Wells, at the king's desire. The purport of them may be seen in Collier, ii. 739.

³ He was to be imprisoned during the pleasure of the House, fined 1000*l.*,

make a prescribed submission, be suspended for three years, rendered incapable of further preferment, and of preaching at Court.

⁴ Kennet's *Hist. Engl.* ii. 28. Mainwaring was made bishop of St. David's.

strained prerogative, were usually Calvinists. In the same quarter too, a greater point was made of maintaining that strict and mortified exterior which readily gains upon serious minds, especially in lower life. Popularity among the gayer majority of that condition was indeed sought on the other side in 1633, by a royal proclamation, generally known as the *Book of Sports*, allowing lawful recreations out of the hours of service, on Sundays, to such as had duly attended church.⁵ Many were, no doubt, pleased by this authoritative relaxation of the rigorous principles by which Puritanism was everywhere curtailing the immemorial enjoyments of a rustic Sunday. But more, or at all events, more of any influence, were seriously offended. The *Book of Sports* gave a colourable opening for painting the court and hierarchy as leagued against all godliness. Puritanism, therefore, gained upon public opinion, not only as the honourable opponent of royal extortion, but also as the uncompromising teacher of sound religion.

§ 6. Still, in spite of these advantages, and of many things done injudiciously, some reprehensibly, by the ruling party, there is no reason to believe that Presbyterianism would have superseded episcopacy, if English discontent had not urgently needed Scottish assistance. Nor is it by any means improbable that even Scotland would have risen superior to an unenquiring horror of prelacy, had a calm view of its merits and operation been permitted. Popular hatred of bishops and liturgies had grown out of times, when prelates and service-books were abused by Popery. Undoubtedly, a poverty-stricken, covetous aristocracy, keenly alive to the advantage of securing for itself the endowments by which they had been supported, was interested in keeping up the prejudice against them. Nor was it possible, when James again planted prelacy in his paternal kingdom, to prevent a sour, envious hostility towards wealthy churchmen from arising among those who moved in humble and necessitous conditions. All such feelings, however, if left to themselves, would have gradually dwindled down to their average intensity: which is not sufficient for convulsing a nation. They were driven from this even tenour, and consequently shielded from unimportance, by extraneous forces. Charles not only desired an uniform religious system to be established in all parts of his dominions; he was also anxious that the northern prelacy and

⁵ Collier, ii. 578.

clergy should be provided, like their southern neighbours, with adequate endowments. He therefore announced intentions of resuming grants of ecclesiastical estates, and of placing the tythe-property upon a footing more advantageous to the church.⁶ Such announcements filled many of the best houses with dismay, and rendered their masters anxious to fan the embers of popular prejudice against prelacy. The king's conduct also gave a great advantage to the Presbyterian party, from its rash contempt of constitutional forms. It was desirable that Scotland should possess a body of canon law. One was compiled; but Charles was so ill advised, as to fancy that it needed no higher authority than his own. It came before the country, therefore, not as the fruits of recognised ecclesiastical deliberation, duly sanctioned afterwards by the civil power, but as the mere creature of some private consultations among the Scottish prelates, revised by their English brethren, which the sovereign was to render valid by the strength of prerogative. To make this unhappy assumption more popularly odious, one of the canons which it promulged, bound the people to use the liturgy: when, in fact, no liturgy had hitherto been provided. Thus, when one actually appeared, so great a storm of popular fury was found ready to burst upon it, as evidently occasioned general surprise in superior life.⁷ As an extenuation of the king's imprudence in thus acting upon the strength of an ill-defined prerogative, may be mentioned the High Commission Court, which his father had established in the same illegal way nearly thirty years before.⁸ But this precedent only served to mislead him and increase his difficulties. When the popular explosion burst forth with irresistible force, that arbitrary court was one of the first things which the government found itself under the necessity of offering to modify. This offer was accompanied with another to suspend the canons and liturgy until they should have duly passed the ordeal of constitutional forms. But it was now too late for qualified concessions on the royal side. For a long time Scottish discontent seemed only an ebullition of vulgar fanaticism, its abettors in superior life having abstained from compromising themselves by an open participa-

⁶ Russell, ii. 116.

⁷ "Even in Edinburgh, at that time the focus of insurrection, only one clergyman was hostile to the liturgy." *Ibid.* 136.

⁸ James's instructions for the regulation of this court, may be seen in Collier, ii. 792.

tion in it. . But soon after the liturgical tumult in Edinburgh, in the summer of 1637, the strength of the Presbyterian party became so conspicuous, that great men thought themselves quite safe in heading it, and in the following year the famous *Covenant* was enthusiastically adopted by people of all conditions. It was not, indeed, accepted with equal eagerness in every part of the kingdom. On the contrary, the northern Scots received, at first, invitations to join it with considerable coolness.⁹ But gradually their objections were overcome by the fervid representations which resounded from Edinburgh and its neighbourhood. Thus, in the course of a short time, the whole kingdom imbibed a persuasion, that adherence to the *Covenant* was imperative upon every Scotchman who valued either his country or his salvation. It was vain for Charles to hope that his tardy concessions could stem such a raging torrent. Nothing was any longer thought of among his countrymen, but an unconditional surrender of all that haunted inferior life with fears of religious pollution, and superior, with hateful visions of tithes and church lands again required for church purposes. The country, however, being thoroughly united and marshalled under its hereditary heads, did not supinely rest upon an enthusiastic resolution. It took the field, and remained in a formidable military attitude, in spite of royal endeavours on the other side, until its objects were completely gained amidst the ruins of the falling monarchy. Thus when a revolutionary English party committed itself irreconcilably against the throne, it had an ally provided within the island, and without co-operation from that quarter, its own success appeared highly problematical. That co-operation, however, to any sufficient extent, was unattainable, unless England would embrace the Presbyterian system. Thus, really, the southern church, although rendered unpopular from several causes, owed its actual fall to the exigencies of desperate politicians, then uppermost in the country. Had they thought themselves able to dispense with aid from Scotland, English episcopacy might have been purged by the national troubles, instead of overthrown.

§ 7. When, accordingly, the famous *Long Parliament* met¹,

⁹ "Especially at Aberdeen, where it was opposed with much ability by the clergymen and professors of that city." Russell, ii. 144. ¹ Nov. 3. 1640.

although it manifested from the first a rancorous hatred of the primate and others of his order, with a determination to reduce all clergymen so as to satisfy democratical views of their inferiority and Puritanical notions of clerical efficiency, yet it evidently was not pervaded for some time with any determination to supersede an episcopal polity by a presbyterian. On the third day of the session was, indeed, appointed a committee of the whole house to take cognisance of religion, which within a month gave birth to a sub-committee "for providing preaching ministers, and removing scandalous ones."² But this proved very much of an engine for the selfish purposes of party politicians. Even among the unhappy clergymen, stigmatised as "scandalous," many were, probably, rather offensive to their enemies by hostility to the tide of revolution than by any fair objections to their personal habits. The bulk, however, of those whom this committee visited with ruin, really could be charged with little solid or important, besides *malignancy*, a compendious term of reproach which merely meant affection to the monarch and hatred of his oppressors.³ Thus, if the more moderate portion of the House of Commons had seen a reasonable prospect of succeeding, without extraneous aid, in reducing the regal power within satisfactory limits, and the violent encroaching spirits of the house had been likely to secure, by English means alone, sufficient gratifications for their own pride and cupidity, the church might have kept her liturgy, and some sort of bishops. With the former, indeed, it probably would have been rendered allowable to mingle extemporaneous prayers, and the latter, undoubtedly, must have descended to a level endurable by envious insolence, and must have been re-arranged so as to place considerable pecuniary advantages within reach of party leaders. But Charles proved an enemy that often bade fair to baffle the Parliament, and hence its more violent members were unable to escape many hours of uneasiness, if not of despondence. The Scots were, therefore, felt of vital importance to turn the scale, and nothing would satisfy that fanatical

² "The bare convening of a clergyman before the committee (and this was always in the power of the meanest and most profligate parishioner to do) was sufficient to give him the character

of a *scandalous minister*." Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Lond. 1714, p. 64.

³ "Few, or none of the loyal clergy escaped the lash." *Ibid*.

abhorrence of episcopacy, which drove them into war, short of English adhesion to their vaunted covenant.

§ 8. When this was formally imposed upon the nation, in 1643, it became a new instrument for ejecting the clergy from their benefices, and by its means the ruling party involved in ruin such obnoxious members of the clerical body as had hitherto avoided spoliation. A fifth of their livings might, indeed, be reserved for the future subsistence of their wives and families, but loud complaints were made as to evasions of an obligation to pay this pittance.⁴ The triumphant party, however, which showed this degree of regard for the maintenance of helpless dependants upon despoiled incumbents, showed none to their religious prepossessions. In 1645, the use of the liturgy was prohibited, even in private houses, under a penalty of five pounds, and thus the church of England was, equally with that of Rome, denied any toleration.⁵ Under this prohibition it continued until the Restoration, the army, which insisted upon toleration for Protestant sectarianism, having nothing but hatred for the principles of that religious establishment which recent troubles had subverted. Nevertheless, episcopal clergymen of talent continually came before the public in ways favourable to the ultimate success of their order, though not immediately connected with it. In particular, the London Polyglot appeared under Cromwell, being completed near the end of the year 1657. The Protector allowed paper for it to be imported duty free⁶, and seems to have wished that the work should be dedicated to himself. Yet its editor was that well-known scholar, Brian Walton, eventually bishop of Chester, who had made himself obnoxious to the revolutionary party, and had been stripped of his preferments by it. Cromwell also claims the distinction of a ready attention to Protestant distress, wherever it might occur. Not only did he interpose the irresistible weight of his authority, when the petty court of Turin turned anew the tide of persecution upon its Waldensian subjects, but also the powerful monarchy of France was alive to the imprudence of disregarding him when he remonstrated against oppressions inflicted

⁴ Fuller, b. xi. p. 230.

⁵ Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 28.

⁶ "A similar privilege was conceded to the editors of the *Critici Sacri*."

(Todd's *Brian Walton*, i. 60.) It has been said that the work was at first actually dedicated to Cromwell, but this does not appear to be the fact. *Ibid.* 84.

upon the unfortunate Huguenots in the south of that kingdom.⁷ If we might implicitly believe dissenting authorities, the Protectorate, and the years immediately bordering upon it, were likewise the season when England was much more virtuous and religious than at any other time.⁸ But some of the virtues, then unusually conspicuous, were of the class closely connected with worldly prudence, and hence fallacious marks of sterling excellence, unless combined with good qualities of a more private and disinterested character in a proportion above the average. This happy excess is necessarily very rare, and it does not seem to have been attained in any remarkable degree by the religious professors of the Commonwealth. Hence their claims to an excellence really above that of other Christian communities have been successfully resisted, and even derided by opponents. As to their outward religious profession, it undoubtedly differed from that of serious men ordinarily by the use of a peculiar phraseology, and by making a great point of certain habits and abstinences. But in such distinctions is nothing absolutely incompatible either with interested practices, proud and angry feelings, or such a degree of personal indulgence as is not publicly offensive. Hence dissenting representations of public religion and morality, when the church was overthrown, have fairly been considered as formed upon a very uncertain estimate. To the loud and disputable religious claims of that day have, however, been attributed, with great probability, the infamous facility with which men of fashion rushed into the other extreme so shamelessly and completely when the old system was restored.

§ 9. In Ireland the church was pretty completely overthrown so early as the autumn of 1641. Then unexpectedly occurred the horrid Irish massacre, from which it was expected Protestantism never would have recovered in that country, and for which, after a few years, Cromwell exacted ample vengeance.⁹

⁷ Cromwell's *Memoirs of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell*, Lond. 1820, p. 622.

⁸ "It does not admit of reasonable doubt that the strength and prevalence of religion during the period in question was far greater than at any former age." Price's *Hist. of Prot. Nonconf.* ii. 644. See also Neal, iii. 46.

⁹ The English government had been rendered uneasy before the close of 1640,

by 'numerous arrivals in Ireland from the continent, but English difficulties rendered the knowledge of this fact useless. The place at which the rebellion seems chiefly to have been arranged was an old Franciscan convent in Westmeath. "Through the rest of the island not one note of fear or of preparation interrupted the awful tranquillity of that summer" of 1641. Phelan, 315.

To what extent Protestant blood was shed in this ferocious outbreak, and in the rebellious movements consequent upon it, has been disputed. Some accounts make more than three hundred thousand adherents of a scriptural faith to have been slain in the massacre, and within the two succeeding years of trouble. Romish extenuation would fain bring the whole number of sufferers down to eight thousand: but the computations appearing most worthy of reliance, take those who fell during the first slaughter at forty thousand. To this number must however, be added the frightful sacrifice of Protestant life which continued during most of the two following years. The whole period between the Irish massacre and the king's violent death was, indeed, marked by feeble endeavours to uphold the established worship, but really Romanism had gained full possession of the land, and Romish prelates acted as if the church were legally their own. As a preliminary to an entire seizure of the establishment, they held two synods, one provincial at Armagh, another, national, at Kilkenny, which pronounced the series of treacherous and sanguinary atrocities by which the island was polluted and disgraced, a just and lawful war. When the Long Parliament established its powers, papal exertions against episcopal Protestantism were seconded by a prohibition of the Common Prayer, and orders to supersede it by the Directory in all the churches of Dublin.¹⁰ The country, probably, was inaccessible to Protestantism in any form.

§ 10. As the Presbyterians, disgusted by the prevalence of independency, had concurred with the royalists in restoring Charles II., they were at first sanguine as to the success of their cherished plans for remodelling the church. What was called a *Comprehension*, seemed to them not only a desirable, but also a practicable object. Nor was the king, seemingly, unfavourable to such a plan. His declaration from Breda promising such liberty to tender consciences as was consistent with the public peace¹, was naturally taken as a pledge of a policy essentially tolerant. He meant, however, toleration to be general, and consequently to include Romanists.² But the Presbyterians only thought of themselves, and Charles's appointment of eight eminent divines, with two or three of less note, from their body, among the royal chaplains, appeared an evidence

¹⁰ Mant, 585.

¹ See the paragraph in Collier, ii. 870.

² Neal, iii. 49.

of his disposition to befriend the party which had served him so importantly. But of the Presbyterian chaplains, only five ever had the honour of preaching before him, and they not more than once³: nor were sufficient indications wanting, as soon as the royal authority seemed pretty firmly established, that the ancient religious establishment, with such modifications, perhaps, as recent and present circumstances dictated, would soon regain its former position in the country. The incumbents, however, of benefices, of which the former possessors had died since ejection, were still allowed to retain them, notwithstanding any defects of their ecclesiastical character; and upon the whole, such an appearance of moderation characterized all the king's earlier proceedings, as readily led low-churchmen into confident expectations of some ultimate settlement that coincided with their own interests. Charles himself, probably, regarded with weariness and contempt the speculative opinions of both parties. It is now well known, that such religious opinions as he possessed were favourable to Rome. But as he could not allow even a hint of such predilections to transpire without hazarding the gaiety and splendour which he valued above all things, his mind naturally inclined towards prelacy. It was the system of ecclesiastical polity identified with that of the church to which he was secretly attached; it was dear to most of his own warmest friends, and as a national institution, it was all but coeval with the monarchy itself. Presbyterianism, on the other hand, notwithstanding its recent services to the throne, was identified with all the bitterest mortifications and sufferings of his life, was odious to his firmest adherents, and treated with the fiercest intolerance the only form of religious belief that had taken the least hold upon his affections. In such a case, it was easy to see, that, without some such reaction in the public mind as appeared far from likely during the first months after the Restoration, Presbyterian hopes would quickly be found fallacious. As it was, however, neither decent nor politic to dash them on the ground without an appearance of treating them with due attention, Charles announced, in the October after his return, a design of placing a review of the Common Prayer under consideration of an equal number of divines of the episcopal and the presbyterian parties. This pledge was redeemed in the following spring,

³ Collier, ii. 871.

when the commissioners nominated met each other at the bishop of London's apartments in the Savoy. From the place of meeting, this memorable transaction is known as the *Savoy Conference*. When the two parties confronted each other, the bishops fairly enough treated the whole business as intended merely for the satisfaction of their opponents, having no wishes of their own for any alteration. They desired, accordingly, a full statement in writing of every thing that the Presbyterian managers recommended, and utterly refused to enter at once upon those oral discussions which the latter pressed upon them. In adopting this course, they are charged by opponents with an artful intention of drawing from the Presbyterians such a catalogue of objections as would exhaust public patience, and make the party seem incapable of any satisfaction, unless its own very wide expectations were consulted at the expense of those entertained by all the world besides. If any such management were contemplated, it certainly was very much forwarded by Presbyterian indiscretion. Not only were numerous exceptions to the liturgy presented, but also Baxter, perhaps the ablest and most influential man of his party, offered for consideration a new liturgy drawn up by himself within the compass of a single fortnight just before. His brethren had examined and approved it; but such a hasty composition could obviously maintain no sort of competition with the concentrated liturgical labours of ages which the Common Prayer comprises, and its appearance before the episcopal commissioners was, therefore, an undeniable indiscretion in the Presbyterian party.⁴ Baxter's own reason for preparing it rather makes the case worse. He wished to leave, he says, a standing memorial, that neither he nor his brethren objected to a stated form of prayer.⁵ Thus he substantiated the common objection to his own party, and to similar opponents of existing institutions, that they have no real objection to the objects of their opposition, but only to see them vested in any other hands than their own. Besides preparing this liturgy, Baxter also drew up what he called a *Petition for Peace*, which is, in fact, a document of considerable power, urging the impossibility of Presbyterian conformity, and the evils that must result both to clergy and laity if it should be pressed. He evidently threatens, rather than entreats, and upon the

⁴ "This gave great offence." Neal, iii. 87.

⁵ Short's *Sketch of the Hist. Ch. Engl.* Lond. 1838, p. 491.

whole the services of this, their ablest champion, were disadvantageous to the Presbyterian party, by making it appear unlikely to rest satisfied with any thing short of that exclusive ascendancy for which it had contended ever since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. The episcopal party, however, notwithstanding the unpromising nature of the opposition with which it had to grapple, answered the numerous objections presented with great care and minuteness.⁶ But no real progress was made in considering the need of any alterations in the liturgy, until a long paper controversy had nearly exhausted the time allowed in the commission. Then, to render the proceedings productive of some definite end, a disputation took place as to the liturgical expectations of the Presbyterian party. This, however, speedily bore an interminable aspect from the branching off of objections into the two heads of inexpediency and sinfulness. To cut it short, Bp. Cosin produced a paper which called upon the Presbyterians to state in writing the matters considered sinful. This was answered by a charge, that the Common Prayer-Book was flatly sinful, and contrary to the Word of God, in requiring ministers to use the sign of the cross in baptism, to wear surplices, to pronounce all the baptized regenerate, to admit unfit persons to the Eucharist, to insist upon kneeling when it was received, to absolve the unfit, to speak of all persons buried as those whom God has taken to himself, and to subscribe all the public formularies of the church as free from any thing contrary to the Word of God. A debate ensued upon kneeling at the Sacrament, which produced a great deal of noise, heat, and subtle syllogistic argumentation, giving the town an opportunity of ridiculing the two principal disputants, but leaving both parties just as irreconcilable as ever. The Episcopalians being by far the more numerous when the dispute concluded, the sinfulness of kneeling was denied by a great majority. The Presbyterians having thus utterly failed of impressing their views of sinfulness upon the other party, and there being evidently no greater chance of effecting this in any of the remaining cases, they proceeded to urge the general good behaviour of their body, the services that it had rendered in the Restoration, and the danger of disregarding it from a mere regard to the spiritual wants of the nation. The bishops,

⁶ The answers may be seen in Collier, ii. 897.

however, denied any power to entertain such questions, professing themselves authorized only to make those alterations in the liturgy which were necessary, and adding, that in strict accuracy, they knew of none that could be made bearing that character.⁷ In this manner the conference broke up, the time allowed by the commission having expired, and both parties having left it with an increase of mutual dissatisfaction. Still the government was desirous of showing a desire to consider the dissenting body; and accordingly, a royal message came down to Convocation in the following November, enjoining a review of the book of Common Prayer. After a month's attention this review was completed, and signed unanimously in both houses. It made various additions and alterations in the Liturgy, leaving it as it has been used ever since, with the exception of some small particulars, made in Parliament, while the Act of uniformity was under consideration in the following year, and referred by both houses to a committee of three bishops. In the service-book thus finally arranged, the non-conformists were considered, in taking the sentences, the epistles and gospels, and other extracts from the last version of Scripture, in several alterations of the Communion-service, in the addition of a general thanksgiving, and in various verbal alterations.⁸

§ 11. In Ireland, Presbyterian divines were established both in Ulster, which contained numerous families from Scotland, and in Dublin with its neighbourhood. Immediately on the Restoration, these clergymen made exertions for a continuance in their benefices, and entertained hopes of success. But the government quickly undeceived them. Eight of the prelacy survived, and of these, Bramhall, bishop of Derry, the most able man of the party, was nominated to Armagh in the August immediately following Charles's return; to the general satisfaction of all who valued the ecclesiastical system which late troubles had overthrown. His formal appointment was deferred until the following January. Before the end of that month, twelve prelates were consecrated by him at the same time. The see of Kildare continued unsupplied, its revenues having been alienated a century before. But a prebend in St.

⁷ Neal, iii. 91.

⁸ Short's *Sketch*, 547. The old version is retained in the Psalms, and Decalogue.

See Cardwell's *Hist. of Conferences*, Oxf. 1840, p. 298.

Patrick's cathedral was annexed to it almost immediately afterwards, and by the consecration of a prelate to it in March of the same year, 1661, the episcopate of Ireland received a complement of four archbishops and seventeen bishops. Eventually the latter were eighteen, and thus they continued until the act of 1833 came into operation. In restoring the church to her temporalities, Charles II. placed the bishops in full possession of all those estates which they or their predecessors had enjoyed in the year 1641, the time when the Irish massacre laid their order in the dust, and exposed its endowments to pillage from various quarters. It may be hastily supposed, that such a mass of property once more vested in the church ought to have produced a general re-enlightenment of the people, and thus have drawn them extensively away from a religion like Romanism, which pretends to no sufficient scriptural authority, and labours under the disadvantage of enjoining or encouraging many things that appear forbidden in Scripture to every reader of it who has neither a bias in his mind, nor a gloss in his hand. But when Ireland regained the religious advantages wrested from her in 1641, she was by no means in a condition to profit adequately by them. The Romish priesthood retained its hold upon the country, and the national establishment had to struggle with such difficulties as paralysed its efforts. Its churches were generally in ruins, the revenues to support the clergy had been, by various means, so enormously alienated, that two or more contiguous benefices, sometimes even eight or nine, were put together, for the sake of supplying the incumbent with a respectable maintenance, Romish hostility hemmed it every where, and in Ulster, Presbyterian hostility was little less formidable, especially after the act of uniformity passed, which in Ireland was not until 1665. In the face of all these discouragements, however, some progress was made in reconciling the nation to the church of England, and the Irish were upon the point of receiving the benefit of religious instruction extensively through the press, in their own language, when Charles II. died; and the succession of a violent Romanist revived all the hopes, however sanguine, of the papal party.⁹ It is true

⁹ Mant, 671. Before the settlement of religion in Ireland is dismissed, it may be useful to mention a judicious expedient by which Abp. Bramhall evaded

the inconvenience of insisting upon re-ordination, which was found in both islands a most formidable obstacle to the conformity of Presbyterian incum-

that these hopes were dashed, within a very short interval, to the ground, but this disappointment was embittered by new confiscations, which again linked Protestant opinions with a galling sense of pecuniary pillage.

§ 12. Early in the reign of Charles II. the English clergy receded from the practice of taxing themselves. Their constitutional right to do this had been regularly exercised in convocation, from time immemorial, until the late days of the commonwealth. They had then been included in money bills, like all other inhabitants of the country. On the Restoration, the ancient practice was revived, but it gave no pleasure to the clerical body. While taxed in common with their neighbours, clergymen underwent no higher burdens: when taxed apart, they found the court expect more of them than of other men, and that influential persons of their own order were quite willing to force or cajole them into the fulfilment of such expectations. As usual with mankind under any disagreeable pressure, the clergy attributed this court-subserviency of their leaders to interested motives, feeling sure that their money would not be so

bents. "When the benefices were called at the visitation, several appeared, and exhibited only such titles as they had received from the late powers. He told them they were no legal titles; but in regard he heard well of them, he was willing to make such to them by institution and induction; which they humbly acknowledged, and intreated his lordship to do. But desiring to see their letters of orders, some had no other but their certificates of ordination by some Presbyterian classes, which, he told them, did not qualify them for any preferment in the church. Whereupon the question immediately arose, *Are we not ministers of the Gospel?* To which his grace answered, that that was not the question: at least, he desired, for peace sake, of which he hoped they were ministers too, that that might not be the question for that time. *I dispute not, said he, the value of your ordination; nor those acts you have exercised by virtue of it: what you are, or might do, here when there was no law, or in other churches abroad. But we are now to consider ourselves as a national church, limited by law, which, among other things, takes chief care to prescribe about ordination: and I do not know how you could recover the means of the church, if any should refuse to pay you your tythes, if you*

are not ordained as the law of this church requireth. And I am desirous that she may have your labours, and you such portions of her revenue as shall be allotted you in a legal way. By this means he gained such as were learned and sober, and for the rest it was not much matter.

"Just as I was about to close up this particular, I received full assurance of all that I offered in it, which, for the reader's sake, I thought fit to add, being the very words which his Grace caused to be inserted into the letters of one Mr. Edward Parkinson, whom he ordained at that time, and from whom I had them by my reverend brother and neighbour, the Lord Bishop of Killaloe. *Non annihilantes priores ordines, (si quos habuit,) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorum determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forensicarum condemnantes, quos proprio judici relinquimus: sed solummodo supplentes, quicquid prius defuit per canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum; et providentes paci Ecclesiæ, ut schismatis tollatur occasio, et conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ullo modo dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actus suos Presbyterianes tanquam invalidos aversentur: in cujus rei testimonium, &c.*" Bp. Vesey's *Life of Primate Bramhall*, cited by Bishop Mant, 624.

freely bestowed, if the parties thus ready with it, had not reason to reckon upon more than an equivalent in their own particular cases, by means of royal patronage. The prevalence of these feelings led Archbishop Sheldon and the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, in 1664, to propose that separate taxation of the clergy should henceforward cease. In order to render this abandonment of an ancient right more palatable to the body chiefly affected by it, two out of four subsidies, previously granted, were remitted. It had, however, been the practice ever since the Reformation, to confirm the grant of clerical subsidies by act of Parliament, and as the four last granted were so confirmed, it became necessary to obtain parliamentary authority for remitting two of them. The act for doing this contains a saving clause, in which the constitutional rights of the clergy are expressly reserved.¹ Their power of taxing themselves is therefore dormant, not abolished. So long, however, as they are placed upon a footing of perfect equality with other men, they have no reason even to wish it revived; and its revival must necessarily be attended with a loss of the privilege of voting for members of parliament, which clergymen had never exercised before they gave up the practice of taxing themselves.²

§ 13. The reign of Charles II. is remarkable for three penal enactments against separation from the national church, which were long conspicuous in English politics, and of which the last

¹ "Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be drawn into example to the prejudice of the ancient rights belonging unto the lords spiritual and temporal or clergy of this realm, or unto either of the universities, or unto any colleges, schools, alms-houses, hospitals, or cinque ports." Kennet's *Complete Hist. Engl.* iii. 255.

² "Whether this great change in the manner of taxing, now introduced, and likely to continue, be more to the interest, or to the prejudice of the church and clergy of England, is not so easy to determine: though excepting the former independence of the state of the clergy, and the danger of being oppressed when they shall hereafter fall under the displeasure of a House of Commons, we must confess that they have hitherto been better dealt with than while they taxed themselves, and they seem only to

have lost the benefit of presenting their articles of grievances, and obtaining the more easy redress of them as a reward of their liberality to the crown. Nay, the clergy have gained one privilege, that of all rectors and vicars voting for members of Parliament, which they never did till their money was now given by the lay commons; and therefore they ought to be now represented by them, and ought, for the same reason, to lose their votes in all parliamentary elections, if ever they could reassume the practice of taxing themselves. There is a clause that does sufficiently reserve that right: but supposing the clergy should think fit to claim it, it is a great question whether the House of Commons will allow it: who, being now in possession of the custom of taxing the clergy, may not be willing to relinquish that custom." *Ibid.*

remained in active operation until the year 1829. These are the Corporation and Test Acts, and the Act by which Romanists were disabled from sitting in either house of parliament. The *Corporation Act* was passed in 1661, as it is averred by dissenting authorities, in consequence of rumours of revolutionary movements among the non-conforming Protestants, which were either grossly exaggerated, or altogether invented by the church party, for the purpose of oppressing its capital enemy.³ The real origin of this act appears to have been the obvious policy of following a precedent supplied by the late republican times. It had then been the practice to expel from corporations all magistrates who were suspected of disaffection to the ruling powers, and refused to subscribe the covenant.⁴ The new government, while dubious of stability, naturally thought functionaries who owed office to this purgative process, highly dangerous to itself, and not unreasonably sought protection against them by tests of its own. It accordingly provided by the *Corporation Act*, that the king might appoint commissioners to regulate corporations, and expel members of them either improperly admitted, or holding obnoxious principles. All such as remained, or should hereafter be elected, were to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, to make a declaration against taking arms against the king on any pretence whatever, and to renounce the covenant as an unlawful oath. Hereafter none were to be eligible to corporate offices who should not have received the sacrament in the established church within the year previous to election. In virtue of this Act, commissioners were immediately appointed, who, within two years, effectually turned the tables upon the church's enemies, weeding all of them out of corporations with as much industry as they themselves had employed in the same way against the other party a few years before.⁵ The *Test Act*, as it is commonly called, was passed in 1673, and Protestant dissenters fell under its lash, although they concurred in its enactment, and it was introduced merely as a security against Romanism. It was entitled, *An Act to prevent dangers which happen from Popish Recusants*. The Duke of York and the Romish influence about the throne were the objects to which it really referred, and Protestant non-conformists were so much disquieted by the dangers threatening

³ Neal, iii. 83.⁴ Hume, xi. 206.⁵ Neal, iii. 84.

a scriptural faith from this cause, that they generously submitted to exclusion themselves, (if very stiff in their opinions,) for the sake of excluding those who were anxious to nullify the Reformation altogether.⁶ The Act required all officers both civil and military to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and besides to make a declaration against transubstantiation, in an open court of justice: being additionally bound to receive the sacrament at church within six months after admission. In these provisions undoubtedly there was nothing to which an orthodox Protestant dissenter needed to feel an insurmountable objection. Nor, in fact, was it unusual with those who were acknowledged and attached members of dissenting congregations to *qualify*, as taking the sacrament for an official purpose was popularly called, when first placed in office. Perhaps even a Romanist, well informed and liberal, might have taken every part of this test for an especial purpose, without violating his conscience, except the disavowal of transubstantiation. Upon that doctrine, however, his religious position turns, and to disclaim it is conversion, or apostasy, as men would say, according to their different views. In 1678 a test was provided still more severe, and of a wider operation. It was an act for *disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament*. This is the Act which occasioned such long political contests in the earlier years of the nineteenth century, and of which the repeal was popularly called *Catholic emancipation*. It allowed none to vote, or give a proxy, or sit in parliament, without taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, renouncing transubstantiation, “in the presence of God,” and declaring “the invocation of the Virgin and other saints, and the sacrifice of the mass, to be superstitious and idolatrous.”⁷ This act had no creditable origin, being passed during the national fever of the popish plot. But however infamous might have been the man who pretended to supply evidence of this conspiracy, and however senseless the nation in believing him, it should in justice be remembered that a popish plot really had some existence, the king himself being implicated in it, both because his religious predilections were all of a Romish cast, and he was mean enough to be corrupted by

⁶ Alderman Love, a Dissenter, and member for the city, said, “We are willing to lie under the severity of the laws for a time, rather than clog a more

necessary work with our concerns.” *Ibid.* 189.

⁷ Butler’s *Hist. Mem.* ii. 46.

French gold. Nor, probably, would Oates have found any opening for his fictions had not something of the reality transpired.

§ 14. It has been debated whether James II. meant chiefly the establishment of Popery or that of arbitrary power. There can, however, be no question that he entertained both views during his brief and infatuated reign; and it seems probable, that if he had been assured of attaining the one on condition of abandoning the other, with a power of choosing which was to prevail, his choice would have fallen upon religion. Had mere politics been his principal aim, he would have hardly given up himself so completely as he did, to the counsels of headstrong priests, in defiance of the coolness manifested by many lay Romanists⁸, and even by the court of Rome itself.⁹ But it is plain that he ascended the throne with a fixed determination to patronize exclusively such as favoured, if they did not profess, his own religion, and most likely, besides, with an intention and expectation of bringing about its re-establishment. It is, indeed, true that he spoke at first very favourably of the Church of England.¹ He reckoned however, upon it as a political engine, and fancied that some of those doctrines of passive obedience which had of late been discreditably advocated among the clergy, might be found interwoven in its very constitution.² He also, very probably, reckoned upon those liberal views of Romanism, and approximation to some of its principles and usages, which had prevailed ever since the days of Laud, as evidences that a regular reconciliation with Rome might be rendered sufficiently palatable to the high church party. But the church, although, on principle, favourable to established authority, can never be reckoned upon by it, when arrayed against herself. Resistance then becomes as much a matter of principle as obedience would be under opposite circumstances.

⁸ "Many" (Romanists) "aware that the spirit of discontent was stirring, deprecated any alteration which might afterwards provoke a reaction." Lingard, xiii. 58.

⁹ "It was previously" (to a nuncio's arrival) "known to James and his more zealous advisers, that the pontiff disapproved of their ardour and precipitancy." *Ibid.* 73.

¹ James said, in his speech to the privy council, on his accession, "I know

the principles of the Church of England are for monarchy, and the members of it have shown themselves good and loyal subjects: therefore, I shall always take care to defend and support it." Kennet, iii. 427.

² The king said in his interview with the bishops, which led to their commitment: "The dispensing power was never questioned by men of the Church of England." D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, 161.

Nor are persons of the Anglican communion, because free from that extreme abhorrence of Popery which many Protestants have professed, and because favourable to certain principles and usages which Romanists derive from high antiquity, at all disposed for a surrender of those vital points which the Reformation denounced, and which Romish theologians never have succeeded in identifying satisfactorily with catholic antiquity. These insurmountable obstacles to their success were, however, neither observed by James, nor by those priestly advisers who possessed his ear. The latter, accordingly, and indeed Romanists generally, courted observation, and assumed an obtrusive tone of confidence almost immediately after the king's accession.³ This indiscreet contempt of public opinion not only occasioned general disgust and alarm, but also drove the clergy into such polemic preparations as hunted Popery out of every subterfuge, by the time that James had ended his senseless attempts to force it upon the country.⁴ It was the fear of this argumentative and scholarly storm that impelled him into his first aggressive attempt upon the church in an order against controversial sermons.⁵ For this he had a precedent of his brother's. A similar order had been issued soon after the Restoration: but its object then was to restrain Episcopalians and Presbyterians from mutually inflaming the public mind. Now, the object sought was to prepare the way for an enemy that threatened every shade of Protestant belief with extermination. Such an object the church courageously resisted, and in spite of royal displeasure, clerical attacks upon Popery became every day more strenuous and able. To repress this activity, John Sharp, dean of Norwich, and rector of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, eventually archbishop of York, was singled out for an example. He had preached, in May 1686, upon the true nature of the Catholic church, and reflected upon those who left the church of England for that of Rome. This was the king's own case, although no notice was taken of it particularly, the whole question being treated abstractedly, and pro-

³ Neal, iii. 265.

⁴ "The discourses and other writings which were then composed, form collectively, perhaps, the most powerful bulwark against those adversaries which has ever been produced. They have been collected under the title of a *Pre-*

servative against Popery, in three folio volumes, and form a highly valuable repository of theological learning, most creditable to the erudition, the zeal, and the industry of the members of our national church." D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, 132.

⁵ Dated March 5, 1686. Kennet, 454.

bably it did not enter into the preacher's mind while preparing his sermon.⁶ He was, however, highly popular in the pulpit, and every way an influential divine; and his diocesan, Henry Compton, bishop of London, received a royal order to suspend him. The prelate respectfully declined, alleging that he was called upon to do a judicial act without any necessary preliminary of judicial forms; but he recommended Sharp to abstain from preaching until the king should be willing to let him resume it, and this recommendation was unhesitatingly taken. While, however, the business was in progress, James had been so rash and ill advised as to set up an *Ecclesiastical Commission*⁷, which was justly deemed little or nothing else than a revival of the High Commission Court, abolished, with every similar judicature, by statute, in the 17th of Charles I.⁸ This tribunal suspended Bishop Compton, and thus placed before the country one of the principal churchmen, who was a man of family, and had lately shown very just views of his public duties, as a victim of arbitrary power, and a martyr to the Protestant religion. While people were brooding indignantly over his wrongs, their excitement was increased by conduct in other quarters of an opposite description, and by the king's injudicious patronage of it. At every time men will be found ready with such alleged convictions as make for their interests: it is greatly to the credit of the Church of England that no great number of such men has ever been found within her pale when her principles, position, and efficiency were at stake. Of course the reign of James II. supplied some such. An open conversion to Popery, or that advocacy of its pretensions which may colourably pass for liberal and enlightened, were modes of remedying defects of professional eminence, or influential patronage, so very easy and obvious, that the reign of James II. was certain to bring forward clergymen thus recommended. The master of University college, Oxford, and

⁶ Newcome's *Life of Abp. Sharp*, Lond. 1825, i. 70.

⁷ Kennet states, that although this new court did not open until August, yet the commission for erecting it was issued in April. The biographer of Abp. Sharp, however, asserts that Bp. Compton objected to its cognizance of his case, as being a judicature established after the matter charged occurred, and that the

chancellor did not deny the correctness of the dates, but merely claimed a retrospective operation for the court. Newcome's *Sharp*, i. 68.

⁸ It was pleaded, that another act, 13 *Car. 2*, had authorized the present court, though not with those extraordinary powers that had been exercised by the old high commission. Kennet, iii. 456.

a few other ecclesiastics of less note, accordingly, soon came before the public, as enlightened by the same religious convictions that awakened such lively interest in the royal patron. In their favour, James dispensed with the tests, that must otherwise have deprived them of preferment. His power to confer this indulgence was declared an integral part of the kingly prerogative by nearly all the judges; and a general acquiescence of the nation in their decision seemed at one time likely to be ultimately gained. James was thus decoyed into further violations of statute law and the rights of individuals, covering every such act of infatuation with the illimitable mantle of his dispensing power. In this way both universities were arrayed against him; and after the unsuccessful trial of the seven bishops, nearly all England loathed his administration, as incurably hostile both to sound religion and constitutional rights. It is true, that he had, at one time, obtained considerable popularity among the Dissenters by suspending the penal laws in their favour, including the Test Act. They were thus left at liberty to worship God publicly in their own way, and acquired that influence in corporations which their body, lying as it does very much among certain classes of traders, is sure to possess when its energies are left unfettered. But then their liberty was shared by the Romanists, whom they abhorred, and felt no disposition to tolerate, and who, they felt certain, would drive them again into the fires of Smithfield, if ever Popery should regain its old ascendancy. To bring this about, however, they considered as James's only aim, not any liberal views of leaving all men to follow freely a religion of their own. Hence the Dissenters had no sooner their former power in corporations, or something near it, than they used it against the crown; willingly listening to schemes of toleration or comprehension by which the church party proposed to unite the whole Protestant body, if it could be freed from existing dangers.⁹ While James thus held sovereignty by a mere thread, the birth of a male heir accomplished his ruin. As his own age was considerably advanced, and both his

⁹ "Sir John Shorter, the new lord mayor, and a Protestant dissenter, thought fit to qualify himself for this office according to law, though the test was suspended, and the king had signified

to the mayor that he was at liberty, and might use what form of worship he thought best in Guildhall." Neal, iii. 290.

daughters were staunch Protestants, the common course of nature might soon relieve the nation from any further apprehensions for its religion. But an infant, certain to be educated in all the violence of Romish prejudice, with a Romish mother too, who might long be regent, offered a prospect which zealous Protestantism would not face. Before the birth of this unfortunate child, rumours had been eagerly circulated, and seemingly were generally credited, that a supposititious male heir was to crown the king's delinquencies, and ensure, if the nation would allow it, a firm establishment for tyranny and popery.¹ When James really reached the ruin which his folly had so industriously prepared, and was pressing forward with the most humiliating retractations, he offered sufficient evidence of the young prince's lawful birth. But nothing was less desired by the nation than conviction of that kind: hence the spuriousness of the Pretender's origin was long a standing article of popular belief in England. His legitimacy was embarrassing to national prepossessions in favour of hereditary right, and unquestionably his admission to the throne would have jeopardied both the religion and the liberties of Englishmen. His appearance, accordingly, on the theatre of life, instantly sealed the fate of that infatuated government which sanguine Romanism thought only waiting for such an event to become permanently consolidated.

§ 15. Soon after the revolution, it was unanimously voted in the convention parliament², that popery on the throne has been proved by experience inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant nation. Papists were, therefore, virtually declared incapable of the English sceptre. But inherent exclusion from royal power having thus been proclaimed against the religious principles which drove James from his country, the claims of those which were so largely concerned in raising William to the sovereignty could not in equity or with safety be overlooked. Nor, indeed, was the indisposition to favour the scruples of non-conformity nearly so great as it

¹ "While the bishops were in the Tower and the Princess Anne at Bath, the queen was declared to be delivered of a prince, on Sunday, June 10, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning. This mysterious birth was conducted with great artifice or great im-

prudence; no care had been taken to satisfy the Protestant part of the nation that the queen was with child, though it was ridiculed in pamphlets dispersed about Whitehall." *Ibid.* 305.

² Jan. 29, 1689.

had been during the violence of that re-action which naturally exasperated high-church prejudices in most of Charles the Second's reign. On the contrary, schemes of toleration and of comprehension were in agitation among the heads of the church and their friends, before James had been driven from the land which loathed his austere temper, dull understanding, Romish bigotry, and loose indulgences. The church, indeed, had obviously fallen into urgent need of assistance from every Protestant quarter, and the Dissenters had shewn themselves magnanimous enough to make common cause with their ancient rival and oppressor, rather than fall into the snares of that party which was hostile to a scriptural faith altogether. Hence the king recommended some such qualification for office as would lay it open to all Protestants able and willing to take it. A bill was accordingly brought into the House of Lords for abrogating the former oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and substituting other oaths in their place. This occasioned a committee for drawing up reasons explanatory of the proposed abrogation, and for preparing a clause to abolish the sacramental test on admission to office. The design, however, miscarried by a very great majority. Nor was another motion more successful, which condemned any other than religious motives in receiving the sacrament, and admitted the reception of it in dissenting congregations within twelve months before or after, as a sufficient security on the taking of office.⁴ Thus the Test Act was continued in force. But notwithstanding, the revolution ended the substantial hardships of orthodox Protestant Dissenters. The *Toleration Act* was passed with little difficulty⁵, though, as might be reasonably expected, not entirely to the satisfaction of all the church party. By it, separate congregations and absence from church were exempted from the penalties of existing statutes, on condition that parties claiming such indulgence should take the oath of allegiance, and subscribe the declaration against popery. Dissenting ministers also were to subscribe the doctrinal articles of the church of England, but Quakers were freed from this condition. Neither Papists, nor anti-Trinitarians, were to be included within this measure of toleration. In practice, this

³ Abp. Sancroft himself was engaged upon deliberations of this kind. D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, 197.

⁴ Kennet, iii. 518.

⁵ It received the royal assent May 24, 1689. *Ibid.* 550.

Act secured, within a few years, more than its letter strictly warranted, subscription to doctrinal articles gradually becoming obsolete, and the Protestant Dissenter being thus really left in the unfettered exercise of his own discretion.

§ 16. The scheme of a comprehension, or a religious arrangement satisfactory to Dissenters, proved a total failure. The subject was introduced into the upper House, while the bill for toleration was under discussion, and some of the peers earnestly contended for the appointment of a committee, such as had been contemplated under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., in which laymen should be blended with ecclesiastics, for the preparation of some well-digested plan for altering the liturgy and canons, and improving ecclesiastical courts. This was, however, opposed by Burnet, newly made bishop of Salisbury, under a conviction that it would increase the dissatisfaction, already rising among the clergy and their warmest friends.⁶ Tillotson also, then clerk of the closet, and much consulted by the king, objected to the plan, as likely to confirm the Romish jeers of worshipping God by act of parliament. He recommended that nothing should be done by the legislature in this delicate matter, which had not been previously approved by convocation, and that a committee of divines should be appointed by royal authority to consider what alterations this latter might advantageously discuss.⁷ The Commons proved as unwilling to enter upon the plan of comprehension as any high churchman could desire, ending a debate upon the bill for it sent down from the upper House, by an address to the crown to summon a convocation and advise with it on ecclesiastical affairs. When this body met, it displayed immediately a spirit highly unfavourable to the proposed comprehension. Tillotson was meant by the crown for prolocutor of the lower House: but it chose Dr. Jane, regius professor of divinity at Oxford, who had rendered himself conspicuous in the ill-judged proceedings there of 1683, which committed the university to the doctrine of passive obedience, and who now closed his opening speech with the unbending language of England's ancient baronage, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*.⁸ This sentence became the watch-word of his party⁹, and it was the party that

⁶ Neal, iii. 319.

⁸ Kennet, iii. 552.

⁷ Nichols, *Defensio Eccl. Angl.* Lond.

⁹ Nichols, 99.

1707, p. 95.

prevailed. Thirty divines, of whom ten were prelates, were appointed, by royal authority, according to Tillotson's plan, for the preparation of matters to be considered in convocation.¹ They decided upon numerous proposals for alterations², of which some were, perhaps, desirable, but the number was great beyond necessity, and it became evident that a majority of the assembled clergy would receive none of them. Hence the revised liturgy was never publicly brought forward.³ This determination of the clergy, to abide pertinaciously by existing formularies, might have arisen partly from a factious spirit of opposition to the court, and an illiberal hatred of Dissenters. But it is unlikely that such low motives were alone in operation. Even with the knowledge of the past that men then possessed, there must have reasonably seemed to many, no great probability of devising any plan which would satisfy all scruples. The increased experience of another century has shown that any such expectation must have proved utterly futile. Numerous, besides, as were the proposed alterations, more were pretty certain to be started in the course of debate, if the assembly had not been so stiffly opposed to innovation altogether, and thus a liturgy and a body of canons might have come before the country, differing materially from those which had been heretofore in use. By this means, however, a great advantage would have been given to the non-juring schism. It might have represented itself as the real church of England, while the body which legally bore that name, and took the profits of benefices, was little or nothing else than a factious company of selfish men, who were ready to surrender any thing if they could only secure wealth for themselves, and place under a ban of proscription the great mass of competitors for preferment. It is, accordingly, far from certain that the hand of improvement was then arrested as absolutely needless and injurious. On the contrary, it seems that many merely thought the time unsuitable for innovation⁴, and the actual state of parties entitles their view to respectful consideration.

¹ Sept. 13, 1689. D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, 199.

² An account of these may be seen in Nichols (95), Bp. Short's *Sketch of the Hist. Ch. Engl.* (586), and Neal's *Hist. Pur.* iii. 322. Some of the proposed alterations are verbal, and not material :

but a discretion was to be left as to the surplice, baptismal sponsors, and kneeling at the sacrament, which could hardly have failed of leading to embarrassment and irregularity.

³ Kennet, iii. 552.

⁴ "Some that were named in the

§ 17. Among the reasons which induced the convocation to doubt the seasonableness of alterations in the church, was the state of episcopacy in Scotland.⁵ When William's declaration of October 10 became known in that country, all the bishops but two prepared an address to James, and commissioned two of their body to present it to him in London. This document, which is dated November 3, has been loudly censured as a perfect model of profane flattery and hypocritical time-serving.⁶ It is not, however, in fact, very different from the pieces usually presented to princes in that age, not even from one that the Presbyterian synod of Fife addressed to Charles II.⁷ When this particular address reached London, the unfortunate sovereign whom it was meant to support and console had taken flight; and as communications were not very rapid in those days, the prelates entrusted with it were very much at a loss to know what was best to be done. William still felt himself in a highly uncertain position, and would have been very glad to conciliate the episcopal party in Scotland. He had, besides, found it much more important than representations made to him on the continent by its opponents led him to expect. He came over with a notion that the country was all but wholly Presbyterian. He now discovered that this was untrue, except as to the trading and inferior classes; the gentry, with their connexions and dependents, being chiefly Episcopalians.⁸ Hence he was anxious to make a friend of the church, and would probably have saved it, had not adverse incidents driven him another way. Rose, bishop of Edinburgh, however, one of the prelates deputed to wait upon James, had

commission did either not appear, or did soon desert their other brethren, upon a high notion, either that no alterations ought to be made, or at least that this was not a seasonable time for making them: of which number were Dr. Jane, regius professor of divinity at Oxford, and some others." Kennet, 551.

⁵ "Sed plurimis in synodo agentibus, suspicio nullo modo evellenda insederat, quod Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ hoc commento insidiæ parentur, Quod res episcopalis, in Scotia modo eversa, jam in Angliā impeteretur. Vereri, ne a Regis legatis multi in societatem nefariam perducti fuerint, aut saltem callidorum hominum fallaciis illusi." Nichols, 98.

⁶ "This letter breathes forth the true

spirit of our Scots prelates since the Reformation, save only they want occasion to discover their persecuting spirit, and here run into the other evil of vile flattery and adulation, and in some things border upon blasphemy." Woodrow's *Hist. of the Sufferings of the Ch. of Scotl.* Edinb. 1722, ii. 646.

⁷ "Who, if in any thing to be enjoined we cannot give active obedience, we hope will be pacified by our passive obedience, which we resolve to yield as our God calleth us, rather than to sin against him." Russell's *Hist. of the Ch. in Scotl.* ii. 332.

⁸ Bp. Compton's speech to Bp. Rose. *Ibid.* 340.

an interview with him, which must have been felt as highly unsatisfactory. He had, indeed, already spoken with indiscreet warmth in favour of the fallen monarch to Bishop Compton, and this language most probably found its way to court. William was naturally mortified and offended, although Rose had no commission from his brethren or those of his communion to the successful invader, and therefore could only speak his private sentiments. In Scotland, however, the episcopalian party was almost immediately after confirmed in disaffection to the new government, by finding itself in certain districts left defenceless at the mercy of fanatical mobs. No sooner did intelligence of James's ruin reach the western counties, which had been the principal seat of Cameronian excesses, than the wild populace rose upon the unfortunate clergy, and drove them from their cures and homes, with every circumstance of indignity and spoliation.⁹ It is hardly doubtful that the new unsettled government had not sufficient means to repress this execrable spirit of outrage. But men under the extremity of suffering do not stop to make such allowances. They only feel the smart of their own miseries, and complain of remissness or hostility in that government which was instituted and is paid to protect them from such hardships. The government in this case too, had one for its head who was educated a Presbyterian, and who felt soreness and embarrassment from the very party which was now hunted down by lawless Presbyterian mobs. Thus the Episcopalians became daily more alienated from the new administration, and this, in turn, as it gained strength, grew unfavourable to episcopacy. Hence the convention parliament, which assembled after the English precedent, not only declared in its *Claim of Right*, on the 11th of April, 1689, that no papist could lawfully be sovereign, but also that "prelacy was a great and insupportable grievance and trouble, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people." The natural tendency of such a vote being the increase of alienation on both sides, and the crown finding its interest more likely to be promoted by taking part against episcopacy, that form of ecclesiastical polity was easily abolished

⁹ "It has been already stated that about two hundred incumbents, with their families, were expelled in the course of the winter of 1688, and ex-

posed to all the pains and privations which cold, hunger, and a fanatical multitude could inflict." *Ibid.* 352.

in Scotland, by act of parliament, on the 22nd of the following July. It was impossible that such events should not occasion disgust and alarm among the steadier of the English episcopalians. They could not hear of the miseries which their unfortunate brethren had undergone in the last winter in the western Scottish counties, from the unrestrained violence of fanatical mobs, and of the legislative proscription of their church in the following spring and summer, without a suspicion that their own condition might prove precarious. Whatever faults, therefore, might be committed by individuals met in convocation upon the scheme of comprehension, more allowance is fairly claimable for them than has commonly been made. With an enemy triumphant in North Britain, and clamouring at the gates in South, cautious men might well consider the next autumn as time unseasonable for tempting his boldness by showing a ready disposition to make him new concessions.

§ 18. The reign of William III. is especially worthy of notice in a student of ecclesiastical history, because it placed the British throne on a basis essentially Protestant. The legislature assumed a power of selecting such a line of succession among individuals descended from the ancient royal family as should render a return to Romanism impossible in the sovereign. A clause added to the *Bill of Rights* in the House of Lords provides not only that every person in communion with the church of Rome, or marrying a papist, shall for ever be incapable of the crown, but also that in case of any British sovereign's apostasy to Popery, the people shall be absolved from their allegiance, and the next heir shall immediately succeed, if a Protestant, just as if the royal personage reconciled to the church of Rome, or marrying a papist, had actually died.¹ This act was passed towards the close of 1689. In the earlier part of that year, the crown had been settled upon the reigning sovereigns, William and Mary, and their issue, failing which, upon the Princess Anne and her issue. The king was desirous of a further entail upon the Hanover family, being personally partial to it, and then intent upon gaining over its head to a close participation of his

¹ Kennet, iii. 546.

foreign policy. A motion to this effect passed the Lords, but the Commons rejected it, chiefly, as it seems, because, from the Princess Anne's known situation, it was likely to be found unnecessary. She was, in fact, shortly after delivered of a prince, immediately created Duke of Gloucester, and thus all further precautions against a popish successor became for the present superfluous. The royal boy, however, died in July, 1700, and thus a new arrangement became essential to the public tranquillity. Hence was passed in the following year the *Act of Settlement*, which received the royal assent on the 12th of June, 1701.² By this enactment the British crown was settled, in case of the Princess Anne's death without issue, upon Sophia, widow of Ernest Augustus, elector of Hanover³, and her issue, being Protestants. This lady was youngest daughter of Frederic the Fifth, elector Palatine, and eventually chosen, to his own great detriment, king of Bohemia. Her mother was Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I. To say nothing, however, of James the Second's proscribed issue, there was then a grand-daughter of Charles I. alive, namely, Anne, Duchess of Savoy, daughter of Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans. There were also other members of the Palatine family, whose claims by seniority stood before Sophia's. In fact, there were about forty individuals then living descended from James I.⁴ But all of them, except the dowager electress, were Romanists, her nearest connexions of the Palatine family having apostatised from that scriptural religion for which their house had undergone so much.⁵ If, however, a prospect were opened of succeeding to the English throne, some of these individuals might probably have been found quite willing to talk of undue haste in embracing popery, and to make a profession of

² Halliday's *Hist. of the House of Guelf*. Lond. 1821, p. 145.

³ William of England induced the emperor to raise him to the electoral dignity in 1692. But the elevation gave offence in some quarters, and on allegation of informality it was not universally admitted. *Ibid.* 141.

⁴ *Ibid.* 145.

⁵ "Though many of her family were rigid members of the Roman catholic church, she" (Sophia) "was educated a protestant, under the care of her cousin,

the Princess of Orange, and she remained firmly attached to the doctrines and principles of that faith." (*Ibid.* 165.) She was born on the 13th of October, 1630, married in 1658, left a widow in 1698, and died on the 8th of June, 1714. Queen Anne died on the first of the following August. Sophia's son, the elector George Lewis, had now become heir to the British throne, and under the designation of George I. was its first occupant of the Hanoverian family. ✓

Protestantism. But the English parliament wisely refused interested minds any temptation to a conformity which was likely to prove hollow and insidious, by settling the crown upon an individual whose religious position had never afforded any ground for suspicion.⁶ The *Act of Settlement* was therefore a political arrangement of the highest importance to the religious world. It secured from the pestilent operations of a Romish confessional, a throne which was rising in power throughout the eighteenth century, and which has now no equal in Europe, except in France and Russia. Had not allegiance to the British sovereign been made conditional, the temptation of matrimonial connexions with the principal royal houses abroad might have introduced again artful Jesuits, with all the seductive blandishments of paganised Christianity, so germane to the corrupt nature of man, into the families of our sovereigns. But by guarding effectually against any such contingency, the *Bill of Rights* and the *Act of Settlement* have opposed a solid bulwark to the range of Romish sophistry and ambition.

⁶ "These last" (others of the Palatine family) "had abjured the Reformed faith, of which their ancestors had been the strenuous assertors; but it seemed not improbable that some one might return to it." (Hallam's *Const. Hist.* iii. 244.) "While the bill regulating the succession" (that of 1689) "was in the House of Commons, a *proviso* was offered by Mr. Godolphin, that nothing in this Act is intended to be drawn into example or consequence hereafter, to

prejudice the right of any Protestant prince or princess, in their hereditary succession to the imperial crown of these realms. This was much opposed by the whigs; both because it tended to let in the son of James II. if he should become a Protestant, and for a more secret reason, that they did not like to recognise the continuance of any hereditary right. It was rejected by 179 to 125." *Ibid.* note.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE ARMINIANS OR REMONSTRANTS.

§ 1. The name of Arminians.—§ 2. Their origin.—§ 3. Their progress.—§ 4. The five points.—§ 5, 6. Maurice resolves on their destruction.—§ 7. Opinion of the synod of Dort.—§ 8. Condition after the synod of Dort.—§ 9. Recalled from exile.—§ 10. Early and later theology of the Arminians.—§ 11. Its aim, and principal heads.—§ 12. Their Confession of Faith.—§ 13. Present state of the Arminians.

§ 1. FROM the bosom of the Reformed church, to its great injury, there originated in the present century two sects, the *Arminians* and the *Quakers*; the former owing its birth to an excessive regard for human reason, and the latter to a neglect of it. The *Arminians* derived their name and their rise from *James Harmensen*, or, (as he chose to be called in Latin,) *James Arminius*; first a minister of the Gospel at Amsterdam, and then professor of theology at Leyden; a man whom even his enemies commend for his ingenuousness, acuteness, and piety.¹

¹ The fullest account given of him is by Caspar Brandt, in his *Historia Vitæ Jac. Arminii*, Leyden, 1724, 8vo. and republished, with a preface and some notes, by me; Brunsw. 1725, 8vo. Add the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. et Critique*, tom i. p. 471, &c. [and the Creed of Arminius, with a brief sketch of his life and times, by M. Stuart, in the *Biblical Repertory*, Andover, 1831, vol. i. No. ii. p. 226—308. *Tr.*] The entire works of Arminius have been repeatedly published, in a moderate-sized 4to volume. I use the edition of Frankfort 1634, 4to. Those who wish to discover and estimate correctly the genius of the man, should read especially his *Disputationes* both the public and the private. His manner of teaching partakes somewhat of the dark scholasticism of his age; and yet it approximates to that simplicity and perspicuity, which his followers have regarded, and still regard, as among the primary excellences of a theologian.

The historians of the sect, and its Confessions, are treated of by Jo. Christ. Köcher, *Biblioth. Theol. Symbol.* p. 481, &c. [See also G. S. Franck's *Diss. Theologica de Historia Dogmatum Arminianorum*, Keil, 1813, 8vo. *Tr.*]—Among their Confessions may be reckoned,—I. Their *Remonstrance*, in 1610, which was presented to the States, in vindication of Arminius and other divines accused of error, and was first printed in 1617.—II. Their proper *Confession*, of 1621, which Saml. Episcopius set forth.—III. Their *Apology*, in 1629, in reply to the confutation of their Confessions by the Leyden divines, set forth by Episcopius.—IV. Their *Catechism*, of 1640, by Jo. Uytenbogaerd.—V. Lastly, their *Acta et Scripta Synodalia Dordracena*, Harderwyck, (or rather, printed on board a ship,) 1620, 4to. These are very different from the *Acta Synodi Dodr.* published at Dort in folio. *Schl.*

They are also called *Remonstrants*, from the petition which they presented to the states of Holland and West Friesland, in 1610, which was entitled a *Remonstrance*. And as the friends of Calvinism presented another petition, in opposition to this, under the title of a *Counter-Remonstrance*, they obtained the name of *Contra-Remonstrants*.

§ 2. *Arminius*, though trained from infancy in the Genevan doctrines, and even educated in the academy of Geneva itself, when arrived at manhood, abandoned the common doctrine of the majority in the Reformed church, respecting predestination and the divine decrees, and went over to the side of those who believe that the love of God and the merits of our Saviour concern the whole human race.² Time and reflection having confirmed him in these sentiments, he thought himself required by duty and candour, to profess them publicly, when called to the office of a professor at Leyden, and to oppose the opinions of *Calvin*, which were embraced by most of the Dutch divines. And this he was the more bold to do, because he knew that many persons besides himself, and some of them men of the highest respectability, were averse from the Genevan opinions on this subject; neither were the teachers required, either by the *Belgic Confession*, or by any other public law, to think and teach just as *Calvin* did. *Arminius* inculcated what he deemed true, not without effect: for he persuaded great numbers to adopt his sentiments. But at the same time he drew on himself immense odium from the Calvinistic school, which then flourished greatly in Holland. In particular, *Francis Gomar*, his colleague, was very hostile to him. Such was the commencement of this long and most intricate controversy. But *Arminius* died, in 1609, just as it began to become serious and spread itself over the whole United Provinces.³

² The occasion of this change is treated of by Peter Bertius, *Oratio in Funus Arminii*; by Caspar Brandt, *Vita Arminii*, p. 22, and by nearly all the historians of these events. The change took place in 1691, as appears from the famous letter of Arminius to Grynæus, written in this year, (and extant in the *Biblioth. Bremensis Theol. Philologica*, tom. iii. p. 384,) for he there states his doubts.

³ No one has more copiously treated the whole history of the controversy,

and the public schism that arose from it, than Gerhard Brandt, in his excellent work, *The History of the Reformation in Belgium*, written in Dutch, volumes ii. and iii. of which there are extant concise epitomes, both in English and in French. To this may be added Jo. Uytenbogaerd's *Ecclesiastical History*, [of the United Provinces, 1647, fol.] also written in Dutch; Phil. Limborch's *Historia Vitæ Episcopii*, and the *Epistole Clarorum Virorum*, (commonly called, *Epistole Arminianorum*), pub-

§ 3. After the death of *Arminius*, the controversy was carried on, for several years, without any decisive advantage gained by either party. The wishes of the Arminians, who sought only to have their opinions tolerated in the state or republic, were not a little favoured by the first men in the commonwealth, such as *John van Oldenbarneveltdt*, *Hugo Grotius*, *Rembold Hoogerbeets*, and others. For these individuals thought that in their free country, every one might believe what he chose, on subjects not determined by the *Belgic Confession*: and they used every means to bring the Calvinists to bear with moderation the dissent of the opposite party. And even Prince *Maurice* of Orange, the head of the commonwealth, and who afterwards became the capital enemy of the Arminians, together with his mother and the court, was at first not averse from these views. Hence the conference between the parties at the Hague in 1611: hence also the discussion at Delft in 1613: and likewise the edict of the States of Holland in 1614, in favour of peace; and all the other efforts to reconcile brethren, whom religion had separated from each other.⁴ But the suspicion of the Calvinists that the Arminians aimed at the overthrow of all religion, was so far from being allayed by these measures that it daily became more confirmed; and they censured without reserve the efforts of the magistrates to maintain the public peace by their authority.⁵ And whoever regards truth more than every other consideration, must acknowledge, that the Arminians were not sufficiently cautious in avoiding intercourse and familiarity with persons who were eager to advance opinions that were a very wide departure

lished by Limborch. Such as wish for a shorter narrative, may consult Phil. Limborch's *Relatio Historica de Origine et Progressu Controversiarum in Fœderato Belgio de Prædestinatione et Capitibus annexis*, which is subjoined to the latter editions of his *Theologia Christiana*. But all these were Arminians. Such as think proper to hear also the contrary party, may consult Jac. Trigland's *Ecclesiastical History*, written in Dutch, and some of the numerous writings which have been published against the Remonstrants.

⁴ The authors who treat particularly of these events are mentioned by the writers of the general history; and we therefore omit to name them. Yet Michael le Vassor, who in the i. and ii. volumes of his *Histoire de Louis XIII.*

has particularly treated of these troubles, deserves especially to be read. [But still more, Van Wagenaer, *History of the United Netherlands*, vol. iv. p. 311, &c. of the German translation. *Sch.*]

⁵ The conduct of the magistrates, who sought to quiet the commotions by their interposition, and who not only employed persuasion, but likewise commands, was eloquently and learnedly defended by Hugo Grotius, in two treatises. The one, which is in every body's hands and has been often printed, is a general treatise, entitled *De Jure summarum Potestatum circa Sacra*: the other descends to particulars, and is entitled, *Ordinum Hollandiæ et Westfrisiæ Pietas a multorum Calumniis vindicta*. Lugd. Bat. 1613, 4to.

from the Reformed religion; and in this way they gave the greatest occasion to their adversaries of suspecting every thing bad and pernicious to the public religion.

§ 4. The whole controversy, however, which assumed, after the council at Dort, a very different form, and was enlarged by many additions, was at this time confined to the doctrines of grace and predestination; and was comprehended by the Remonstrants in the five propositions, which are so well known under the name of the *Five Points*. For the Arminians taught.—I. That God, before the foundation of the world, or from eternity, decreed to bestow eternal salvation on those who he foresaw would keep their faith in Christ Jesus inviolate until death; and on the other hand, to consign over to eternal punishments the unbelieving, who resist the invitations of God to the end of their lives.—II. That Jesus Christ, by his death, made expiation for the sins of all and every one of mankind: yet that none but believers can become partakers of this divine benefit.—III. That no one can, of himself, or by the powers of his free will, produce or generate in his own mind faith; but that it is necessary a man, who is by nature evil, and incompetent (*ineptus*) both to think and to do good, should be born again, and renewed by God, for Christ's sake, through the Holy Spirit.—IV. That this divine grace or energy, which heals the soul of man, commences, advances, and perfects all that can be called truly good in man: and therefore all good works are ascribable to no one except to God only, and to his grace: yet that this grace compels no man against his will; though it may be repelled by his perverse will.—V. That those who are united to Christ by faith, are furnished with strength abundantly to overcome the snares of the devil and the allurements of sin: but whether they can fall from this state of grace, and lose their faith, or not, does not yet sufficiently appear, and must be ascertained by a careful examination of the holy Scriptures. The last of these propositions the Arminians afterwards so modified, as to assert explicitly that it is possible a man should lose his faith, and fall from a state of grace.⁶ At

⁶ The history of these Five Articles, especially among the English, was written by Peter Heylin, and translated from English into Dutch by Gerhard Brandt, and published at Rotterdam,

1687, 8vo. [These Articles were exhibited by the Remonstrants in the conference at the Hague, in the year 1611, or two years after the death of Arminius. *Tr.*]

that time therefore, if we may judge of men's meaning by their statements and declarations, the Arminians very much resembled the Lutherans. The Calvinists, however, maintain that the opinions of the Arminians are not to be learned from their declarations, but that their language must be interpreted by their secret sentiments: for they assert that the Arminians, under these specious representations, instilled the poison of Socinianism and Pelagianism into honest and unsuspecting minds. God is the judge of men's hearts: yet if it were allowable to estimate the import of these propositions by what the leading men of the sect have taught more recently, it would be very difficult wholly to disprove that judgment of the Calvinists. For whatever the Arminians may say, the doctrines taught since the synod of Dort by their principal doctors, respecting grace, and the points connected with it, approach much nearer to the sentiments of those called Pelagians and Semi-Pelagians than to those professed by the Lutherans.

§ 5. The Arminians, supported by the friendship of the magistrates, viewed their cause as by no means desperate, when suddenly an unexpected storm laid it entirely prostrate. There arose first concealed ill-will, and afterwards hostility, between the principal administrators of the new Belgic republic. On the one hand were *John van Oldenbarneveltdt*, a very distinguished man, *Hugo Grotius*, and *Rembold Hoogerbeets*; and on the other, the Stadtholder, *Maurice* prince of Orange. According to some authors, *Maurice* wished to be created Count of Holland; a design which his father *William* had before entertained⁷: according to others, he only wished to obtain

⁷ That *Maurice* aimed at the dignity of Count of Holland, is stated by *Lewis Aubrey*, from the representations of his father *Benjamin Aubrey*, the French ambassador to Holland, in his *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Hollande et des autres Provinces Unies*, sect. ii. p. 216, ed. Paris, 1697, 8vo. According to *Aubrey*, *Oldenbarneveltdt* disapproved and resisted this design of the prince; and *Maurice* revenged this temerity by the capital punishment of this great patriot. The truth of this statement is opposed at great length by *Mich. le Vasseur*, in his *Histoire de Louis XIII.* tom. ii. pt. ii. p. 123, &c. But *John le Clerc*, in his *Biblioth. Choisie*, tom. ii. p. 134, &c., and in his *Historia Provin-*

ciarum Belgii Fœderati, takes great pains to substantiate the truth of this statement of *Aubrey*, or rather of his father: and he also shows that *Maurice's* father had the same designs. It is not necessary we should decide this dispute. It is sufficient for our purpose, that *Maurice* was viewed, by *Oldenbarneveltdt* and his friends, as wishing to subvert the liberties of his country, and to obtain supreme power (which no one denies); and that this was the cause of *Oldenbarneveltdt's* eagerness to weaken the influence of *Maurice*, and to check the progress of his power; whence arose the indignation of *Maurice*, and the calamities of the Arminians, who adhered to *Oldenbarneveltdt* and *Grotius*.

more authority and power than appeared consistent with the liberties of the state: at least (as no one denies), he was thought by the leading men to be seeking supreme dominion, which would overthrow liberty. The heads of the Batavian republic, whom we have mentioned, and who were also the patrons of the Arminians, resisted these designs. The Remonstrants were strenuous on the side of their friends, because all their hopes of safety centered in them: and on the other hand their adversaries accommodated themselves to the views and wishes of the prince, and inflamed his already irritated mind, by various new suspicions. He therefore, kindling with indignation, resolved on the destruction of those who guided the commonwealth by their counsels, and of the Arminians who were their supporters; and at the same time joined himself to the party of the Calvinists. Those leading men in the republic above mentioned, were therefore thrown into prison. *Oldenbarneveldt*, a man of great respectability, and venerable both for his gray hairs and for his long and faithful public services, was consigned to a capital punishment. *Grotius* and *Hoogerbeets* were condemned to perpetual imprisonment^s, under I know

^s That the general course of events was such as is here stated, will not be denied at the present day, when the times of excitement have gone by, even by the patrons of Calvinistic sentiments, who are ingenuous. And they may grant this without injury to their cause. For if their predecessors, (though I wish neither to deny nor to affirm the fact,) while guarding and defending their religious opinions, either from the customs of the age, or from the ebullitions of passion, were not so considerate and provident as they should have been, no candid and wise man will thence infer, that present parties are bad men, or their cause an iniquitous one. Because it is well known, that many bad things are often done by men by no means bad, and that a good cause is often defended in an unjustifiable manner. For illustration and confirmation of the facts here concisely stated, the best authorities, in addition to those already mentioned, are John le Clerc, in his *Historia Provinciarum Belgii Fœderati*, and his *Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. ii. p. 134, &c. and Hugo Grotius, in his *Apologeticum eorum, qui Hollandiæ Westfrisiæque et vicinis quibusdam na-*

tionibus ex legibus præfuerunt ante mutationem quæ evenit A.D. 1618, Paris, 1640. 12mo, and often republished. The *Life of John van Oldenbarneveldt*, written in Dutch, was printed at the Hague, 1648, 4to. A history of the trial of the three celebrated Dutchmen above named, was elegantly compiled from authentic documents, by Gerhard Brandt, entitled, *Historie van de Rechtspleginge gehouden in den Jaaren, 1618 et 1619, omtrent de drie gevangene Heeren Johan van Oldenbarneveld, Rombout Hoogerbeets, Hugo de Groot*; of which I have before me the third edition, with notes, Rotterdam, 1723, 4to. This whole subject receives also much light from the history of the life and actions of Hugo Grotius, very carefully compiled, chiefly from unpublished papers, by Caspar Brandt and Adrian Cattenburg. This great and noble work was published in two large volumes, entitled, *Historie van het Leven des Heeren Huig de Groot beschreven tot den Anfang van zyn Gesandtschap wegens de Koninginne en Kroone van Zueden aan't Hof van Vranckryck, door Casp. Brandt, en vervolgt tot zyn Doodt door Adrian van Cattenburgh*, Dordrecht en Amsterd.

not what pretence.⁹ The cause of the Arminians could not be brought before a civil tribunal, because their alleged offence was not against the laws but the religion of the country. To procure their condemnation, therefore, a more religious tribunal, or a council, must be called; agreeably to the practice of the Genevans, who think that all spiritual matters and controversies should be decided in ecclesiastical councils.

§ 6. Without delay, delegates were assembled, at the instance of *Maurice*¹, at Dort, a city in Holland, from the United Provinces, and from Hesse, England, the Palatinate, Bremen, and Switzerland, who held, in the years 1618 and 1619, what is called the Synod of Dort. Before it appeared to defend their cause the leading men of the Arminian sect; at the head of whom, and their chief orator, was *Simon Episcopius*, a disciple of *Arminius*, and professor of theology at Leyden, a man distinguished, as his enemies admit, for acuteness, learning, and

1727, 2 vols. folio. Those who wish to get a near view and full knowledge of this great man, must by all means consult this great work; for all the other accounts of his life that are extant are insipid and unanimated, presenting only a shadow of this great hero. Nor is the most recent Life of Grotius, in French, by Burigny, (republished, from the Paris edition, in Holland, 1753, 2 vols. 8vo,) much better; at least it does not satisfy one who is desirous of a thorough knowledge of the transactions. ["There appeared in Holland a warm vindication of the memory of this great man, in a work published at Delft, in 1727, and entitled, *Grotii Manes ab iniquis Obtrectionibus vindicati; accedit Scriptorum ejus tum editorum tum ineditorum, Conspectus triplex*. See the following note." *Macl.*]

⁹ ["Dr. Mosheim, however impartial, seems to have consulted more the authors of one side than of the other; probably because they are more numerous and more universally known. When he published this history, the world was not favoured with the *Letters, Memoirs, and Negotiations of Sir Dudley Carleton*, which Lord Royston (now Earl of Hardwick) drew forth some years ago from his inestimable treasure of historical manuscripts, and presented to the public, or rather at first to a select number of persons, to whom he distributed a small number of copies of these *Negotiations*, printed at his own expense. They were

soon translated both into Dutch and French; and though it cannot be affirmed that the spirit of party is nowhere discoverable in them, yet they contain anecdotes with respect both to Oldenbarneveldt and Grotius, that the Arminians and the other patrons of these two great men have been studious to conceal. These anecdotes, though they may not be at all sufficient to justify the severities exercised against these eminent men, would, however, have prevented Dr. Mosheim from saying, that he knew not under what pretext they were arrested." *Macl.* — Mosheim's Latin is, "*crimini nescio quorum nomine*;" which Schlegel here understands to mean, upon some unimportant charges. *Tr.*]

¹ ["Our author always forgets to mention the order issued out by the *States General*, for the convocation of this famous synod; and by his manner of expressing himself, and particularly by the phrase *Mauritio auctore*, would seem to insinuate that it was by the prince that this assembly was called together.—The legitimacy of the manner of convoking this synod was questioned by Oldenbarneveldt, who maintained that the *States General* had no sort of authority in matters of religion, not even the power of assembling a synod, affirming that this was an act of *sovereignty* that belonged to each province separately and respectively." See Carleton's Letters, &c. *Macl.*]

fluency. But scarcely had *Episcopus* saluted the judges in a grave and eloquent address, when difficulties arose to interrupt the whole impending discussion. The Arminians wished to commence the defence of their cause by attacking the sentiments of their adversaries the Calvinists: this the judges disapproved, deciding that the accused must first explain and prove their own doctrines, before they proceeded to confute those who differed from them. Perhaps the Arminians hoped that a full exposure of the odious consequences which they could attach to the Calvinistic doctrine, would enkindle in the minds of the people present a hatred of it; while the Calvinists feared, lest the mighty genius and fine eloquence of *Episcopus* might injure their cause in the view of the multitude.² As the Arminians could by no means be persuaded to comply with the wishes of the synod, they were dismissed from the council, and complained that they had been treated unjustly. But the judges, after examining their published writings, pronounced them, though absent and unheard, guilty of corrupting theology, and holding pestilential errors: and in conformity with this sentence, that they should be excluded from the communion of the church, and be deprived of authority to teach. That there was fault on both sides in this matter, no candid and good man will deny: but which party was more in the wrong, this is not the place to discuss.³

² [Perhaps also another reason why both parties were so stiff on this point was, that the members of the synod were not themselves of one mind in regard to the doctrine of predestination; for some of them were Supralapsarians, and others Infralapsarians: and in general, the doctrine of reprobation presented so many difficult points, that the members of the synod deemed it advisable to prescribe to the Remonstrants the mode of confutation and defence, and thus to retain in their own hands the direction of the whole discussion: while the Remonstrants hoped, perhaps, that the diversity of opinion among the members of the synod would prove advantageous to them if they could have liberty to expatiate widely on the doctrine of reprobation, and divide somewhat the votes of the judges. This is no improbable conjecture of Van Wagenaer, in his *Geschiede de Vereinigten Nederlande*, vol. iv. p. 451. *Schl.*]

³ The writers on the council of Dort are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. xi. p. 723. The most copious of them all is Gerhard Brandt, in his *History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, vol. ii. and iii. But as he was himself an Arminian, with his narration should be compared the work of James Leydecker, in which the purity and integrity of the synod of Dort are vindicated, in answer to Brandt: *Eere van de Nationale Synode van Dordrecht Voorgestaan en Bevestigd tegen de Beschuldigingen van G. Brandt*, vol. i. Amster. 1705, vol. ii. 1707, 4to. After formally comparing them, I did not find any very enormous errors in Brandt: nor do these two writers disagree so much about the facts, as about the causes and import of the facts. John Hales, an Englishman, who belonged to neither party, has related simply what he saw: and his *Letters*, written from the scene of this council I myself published some time ago, with

§ 7. We cannot here descant upon either the purity and virtues, or the iniquity and faults, of the fathers at Dort. In extolling the former, the Calvinists, and in exaggerating the latter, the Arminians—if I do not misjudge—are over zealous and active.⁴ That among the judges of the Arminians, there were men who were not only learned, but also honest and religious, who acted in great sincerity, and who had no suspicion that they were doing any thing wrong, is not to be doubted at all. On the other hand, these facts are too clear and obvious to escape the sight of any one:—I. That the destruction of the Arminian sect was determined upon before the council was called⁵; and that

notes, Hamburg, 1724, 8vo. [He was chaplain to the English ambassador at the Hague, Sir Dudley Carleton, and was king James's secret envoy, sent to watch the movements of the synod. His letters, addressed to Carleton, were published under the title of the *Golden Remains of the ever memorable John Hales of Eton College*, 1659, 4to. Dr. Mosheim translated them into Latin, prefixed a long preface, and added some notes. *Tr.*]

⁴ All that the Arminians deemed faulty in this council, they collected in a concise and neatly written book, frequently printed, *Nulliteyten, Mishandelinghen, end onbylliche Proceduren des nationalen Synodi gehouden binnen Dordrecht, anno 1618, 1619, in't korte ende rouwe afgehorpen*, 1619, 4to.

⁵ [MacLaine says, "This assertion is of too weighty a nature to be advanced without sufficient proof. Our author quotes no authority for it."—Schlegel replies, "The proofs lie in the whole progress of the events. And a man must be ignorant of the human heart, and wholly unacquainted with the history of ecclesiastical councils, not to draw the natural conclusion, from what preceded the council, that the condemnation of the Arminians was already determined on, before the council was convened at Dort. The election of Bogermann, who possessed the soul of an Inquisitor, to the presidency of the synod, would lead us to no other conclusion. The assessors of the president, and the scribes of the council, were known to be zealous Contra-Remonstrants. And so early as the year 1617, in the month of July, the Contra-Remonstrants declared, at the Hague, "that they regarded the Remonstrants, and those who embraced

the sentiments of the Remonstrants, to be false teachers (*pro falsis doctoribus*); and that they only waited for a national synod, of which there then appeared to be a bright prospect, so that in it there might be made a legitimate secession from the Remonstrants, which should be put in execution after an ecclesiastical trial. See Phil. a Limborch's *Relatio Historica de Origine et Progressu Controversiarum in Fœderato Belgio*, p. 18. The provincial synods, that were held before the synod of Dort, so arranged every thing as to give the Contra-Remonstrants the upper hand. In particular, they deposed Remonstrant ministers, as *e.g.* Uytenbogaart, Grevinchovius, and others. And in electing ministers to attend the national synod, the Remonstrants were wholly passed by; and only from the district of Utrecht were two Remonstrant delegates sent to Dort, and even these were excluded, as soon as the cause of the Remonstrants came on. See Limborch, *loc. cit.* and Wagenaer's *History of the United Netherlands*, (in German,) vol. iv. p. 446, &c. Thus far Schlegel.—Undoubtedly, nearly or quite every minister in Holland had an opinion formed, with regard to the correctness of the doctrines of the Remonstrants, and the propriety of permitting their propagation. It could not be otherwise, as these opinions had been preached and published, abundantly, for ten years, and had been the great theme of discussion among theologians. In such circumstances, to be ignorant of the Arminian doctrines, or to have no opinion concerning them, would have been altogether unbecoming in a clergyman. It was therefore a thing of course, and no reproach upon their characters, that the Divines at Dort should come together with opinions already

these fathers were called together, not to inquire whether this sect might be tolerated or not, but to promulge a sentence long before passed, with some becoming formality, with the appearance of justice, and with the consent of the foreign theologians. — II. That the enemies and accusers of the Arminians were their judges; and that the president of the council, *John Bogermann*⁶, exceeded almost all others in hatred of this sect. — III. That neither the Dutch nor the foreign divines had liberty to decide according to their own pleasure, but were obliged to decide according to the instructions which they brought with them from their princes and magistrates.⁷ — IV. That, in the council itself, the voice of the illustrious and very honourable men who appeared as the legates of *Maurice* and the States-General, had more influence than that of the theologians who sat as the judges. — V. That the promise made to the Arminians when summoned before the council, *that they should have liberty to state, explain, and defend their opinions as far as they were able, and deemed it necessary*, was violated by the council.⁸

made up, on the *theological* questions they were to discuss. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Bogermann was minister of Leeuwarden, an avowed enemy of the Arminians, who had already written against them, and who was so full of the persecuting spirit of Beza, that he had translated into Dutch Beza's book, *de Hæreticis a Magistratu puniendis*. And his whole behaviour at the synod showed that he was better qualified to be the papal legate at a council of Trent than the moderator of a Protestant synod. *Schl.*—Bogermann was doubtless too zealous, and in several instances too severe and passionate in his speeches. But his intolerant spirit was the spirit of the age. Christian forbearance and tenderness towards the erring was then nowhere well understood and duly practised. *Tr.*]

⁷ [“Here our author has fallen into a palpable mistake. The Dutch divines had no commission, but from their respective consistories, or subordinate ecclesiastical assemblies; nor are *they* ever the depositaries of the orders of their magistrates, who have lay deputies to represent them both in provincial and national synods. As to the English and other *foreign* doctors that appeared in the synod of Dort, the case perhaps

may have been somewhat different.” *Macl.*]

⁸ See Mich, le Vassor's *Histoire du Règne de Louis XIII.*, tom. iii. livr. xii. p. 365, 366, and my notes on J. Hale's *Historia Concilii Dordraceni*, p. 394—400. — [The words of the promise were, “*Liberum illis fore, ut proponant, explicent, et defendant, quantum possent et necessarium judicarent, opiniones SUAS.*” This promise, the Arminians contended, gave them liberty to state so many of their own doctrines, and in such an order, as they pleased; and also to state their views of the sentiments or doctrines of their opposers, and to refute them, as fully and in such a manner as they pleased. Whether this was a fair and reasonable construction of the words of the promise, and such a construction as the synod was bound to admit, the reader will judge. Yet it was the refusal of this and the requiring the Remonstrants to state and defend only *their own* sentiments, and to proceed in regard to them methodically, that the Remonstrants complained of, as a violation of the promise made them. See the Remonstrants' views of a proper council, presented to the Synod, December 10th; the decree of the Synod of the 29th Dec., and the Synod's explanation of it, December 29;

§ 8. The Arminians, being adjudged enemies of their country and of religion, were subjected to severe animadversion. First, they were all deprived both of their sacred and their civil offices; and then, their preachers were ordered to refrain from preaching altogether. Such as would not submit to this order, were ignominiously sent into exile, and subjected to other punishments and indignities. Hence many retired to Antwerp, and others to France: and a large body of them emigrated to Holstein, by the invitation of *Frederic* duke of Holstein, and built the handsome town of *Frederickstadt* in the duchy of Sleswick. In that town the Arminians still live in tranquillity, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion. The leaders of this colony were men of distinction in Holland, especially *Adrian van der Wahl*, the first governor of the town of *Frederickstadt*.⁹ Among the clergymen who accompanied this colony, the most distinguished were, the famous *Conrad Vorstius*, who drew a great deal of odium upon the Arminians by his sentiments, which were none too remote from those of the Socinians; *Nicholas Grevinchovius*, a man of acuteness, who had been a pastor at Rotterdam; *Simon Goulart*; *John Grevius*; *Marcus Walther*; *John Narsius*; and others.¹

§ 9. *Maurice*, under whose government the Arminians suffered so greatly, died in 1625. By the clemency of his brother and successor, *Frederick Henry*, the Arminian exiles were recalled, and restored to their former reputation and tranquillity. Those therefore returned who had retired to France and to the Spanish Netherlands: and they established congregations distinct from the Reformed, in various places, and particularly at Rotterdam and Amsterdam. In order to have a seminary for their own sect and religion, they founded a distinguished school at Amsterdam, in which two professors train up young men

and also the communication of the Remonstrants to the Synod, on the 21st of January: all which documents are given by the Remonstrants themselves, in their *Acta et Scripta Synodalia Dordracena*, pt. i. pp. 4, &c. 140, &c. 159, &c. *Tr.*]

⁹ The history of this colony may be learned from the noted *Epistolæ præstantium et eruditorum virorum ecclesiasticæ et theologicæ*, published by Phil. Limborch and Christ. Hartsoecker; the latest ed.

Amsterd. 1704, fol. Compare Jo. Möller's *Introductio in Histor. Chersonesus Cimbricæ*, pt. ii. p. 108, &c. and Eric Pontoppidan's *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. iii. p. 714, &c.

¹ Concerning Vorstius, Jo. Möller treats very fully, in his *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 931, &c. He also treats expressly of the other persons here mentioned; *Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 242. 247. 249. 255. 576.

for the ministry, the one teaching theology, and the other history, philosophy, and the learned languages. *Simon Episcopus* was the first professor of Arminian theology; and since him, these offices have been filled, down to the present time, by men highly famed for learning and genius, namely, *Stephen Curcellæus*, *Arnold Poellenburg*, *Philip Limborch*, *John le Clerc*, *Adrian van Cattenburg*², and *John James Wetstein*.

§ 10. The Remonstrants, as we have seen, differed at first from the Reformed in nothing, except the five propositions concerning grace and predestination; and it was on this ground that they were condemned at the synod of Dort. They more-

² Of these and the other Arminian writers, *Adrian van Cattenburg* treats expressly, in his *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Remonstrantium*, Amsterd. 1728, 4to. [*Episcopus* was born at Amsterdam, a pupil of Arminius, and after the deposition of Vorstius, his successor at Leyden; an eloquent and acute man, who, being full of theological scepticism, began to question many of the received opinions, *e. g.* the doctrine of original sin. He died in 1643, as professor in the Arminian Gymnasium at Amsterdam. His life, written by *Limborch*, and his writings, were published by *Curcellæus* and *Poellenburg*, Amsterd. 1650. 1665, 2 vols. fol.—*Curcellæus* (*Courcelles*) was born at Geneva, of French parentage, and early showed a propensity towards Arminianism, which he defended against the decrees of Dort. He died in 1659, an Arminian professor at Amsterdam. His theological works were published collectively by *Limborch*, Amsterd. 1675, fol. His fine edition of the Greek New Testament, with various readings, is well known.—*Pöllenburg* was born at Horn, in the Netherlands, where he became a preacher. Thence he was removed to Amsterdam as a preacher; was made successor to *Curcellæus* in his professorship there, and died in 1666.—*Limborch* was brother's grandson to *Simon Episcopus*, first a preacher at Gouda, and then at Amsterdam, and lastly professor there; where he also died in 1712. He was a modest theologian, who united great learning with extraordinary clearness of style in his writings. This is manifest by his *Theologia Christiana*. Also his *Amica Collatio cum erudito Judeo de Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, his *Historia Inquisitionis*, and his collection of the

Epistles of Remonstrants, are important works; as likewise his very temperately written *Relatio Historica de Origine et Progressu Controversiar. in Fœderato Belgio de Prædestinatione et capitib. annexis*.—*Le Clerc* was born and educated at Geneva, and professor of Hebrew, philosophy, and the fine arts, and afterwards of church history, in the Arminian Gymnasium at Amsterdam; and died in 1736, aged 79. His *Epistole Theologicæ*, under the name of *Liberius de S. Amore*; *Sentimens de quelques Théologiens d'Hollande sur l'Histoire Critique du V. T.*, par *R. Simon*; his Journals (periodical works, containing analyses and reviews of works, with original essays interspersed), namely, *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*, (1686—1693, in 26 dense vols. 12mo,) *Bibliothèque Choisie*, (1703—1713, in 28 vols. 12mo,) *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, (1714—1727, in 29 vols. 12mo,) his *Commentaries on the Old Testament*; *Ars Critica*; *Harmony of the Gospels*; *Histoire des Provinces unies des Pays bas*, (from 1560 to 1728, in 3 vols. fol.—his *Historia Litteraria duorum primorum a Christo Sæculorum*, 1716, 4to,) and his editions of classical and other authors, have procured him a great name among the learned.—*Cattenburg* was professor of theology, in the Arminian Gymnasium at Amsterdam till the year 1730. He wrote *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Remonstrantium*; *Spicilegium Theologiæ Christianæ Limborchianæ*; and some works explanatory of the Bible.—*Wetstein* succeeded *Le Clerc*, after being deposed at Basle, and died in 1754 (aged 61). His critical edition of the New Testament, (1751—2, in 2 vols. fol.) is well known. *Schl.*]

over so explained those five propositions, that they seemed to teach precisely what the Lutherans do. But from the time of the synod of Dort, and still more, after the exiles were allowed to return to their country, they professed an entirely new species of religion, different from the views of all other sects of Christians. For most of them not only gave such an explanation of these propositions as seemed to differ very little from the views of those who deny that a man needs any divine aid in order to his conversion and living a holy life, but they also lowered down very much most of the doctrines of Christianity by subjecting them to the modifications of reason and ingenuity. *James Arminius*, the parent of the sect, undoubtedly invented this form of theology, and taught it to his followers³; but it

³ It is a common opinion, that the early Arminians, who flourished before the synod of Dort, were much purer and more sound than the later ones, who lived and taught after that council; and that Arminius himself only rejected Calvin's doctrine of absolute decrees, and its necessary consequences, while in every thing else he agreed with the Reformed: but that his disciples, and especially Episcopius, boldly passed the limits which their master had wisely established, and went over to the camp of the Pelagians and Socinians. But it appears to me very clear, that Arminius himself revolved in his own mind, and taught to his disciples, that form of religion which his followers afterwards professed; and that the latter, especially Episcopius, only perfected what their master taught them, and casting off fear, explained it more clearly. I have as a witness, besides others of less authority, Arminius himself, who, in his *Will*, drawn up a little before his death, explicitly declares, that his aim was to bring all sects of Christians, with the exception of the Papists, into one community and brotherhood. We will cite his words, from Peter Bertius' *Funeral Oration on Arminius*, p. 15. "Ea proposui atque docui——quæ ad propagationem, amplificationemque veritatis, religionis Christianæ, veri Dei cultus, communis pietatis, et sanctæ inter homines conversationis, denique ad convenientem Christiano nomini tranquillitatem et pacem juxta verbum Dei possent conferre, excludens ex iis Papatum, cum quo nulla unitas fidei,

nullum pietatis aut Christianæ pacis vinculum servari potest." Now what, I ask, is this, but that very Arminianism of more recent times, which extends so widely the boundaries of the Christian church, that all sects may live harmoniously within them, whatever opinions they may hold, except only the professors of the Romish religion? — [The opinion, that Arminius himself was very nearly orthodox, and *not an Arminian*, in the common acceptation of the term, has been recently advocated by professor Stuart of Andover, in an article expressly On the Creed of Arminius, in the *Biblical Repository*, No. II. Andover, 1831. See p. 293 and 301. To such a conclusion the learned professor is led, principally, by an artful and imposing statement, made by Arminius to the magistrates of Holland in the year 1608, one year before his death, on which Mr. Stuart puts the most favourable construction the words will bear. But from a careful comparison of this declaration of Arminius with the original *Five Articles* of the Arminian creed, (which were drawn up almost in the very words of Arminius so early as the year 1610, and exhibited by the Remonstrants in the conference at Hague in 1611, and were afterwards, together with a full explanation and vindication of each article, laid before the synod of Dort in 1617, changing, however, the dubitation of the *fifth* article into a positive denial of the saints' perseverance,) it will, I think, appear manifest, that Arminius himself actually differed from the *orthodox* of that day on all the five points,

was *Simon Episcopius*, the first master in the Arminian school after its founder, and a very ingenious man, who digested and polished it, and reduced it to a regular system.⁴

§ 11. The whole system of the Remonstrants is directed to this one single object, to unite the hearts of Christians, who are divided by a variety of sentiments and opinions, and to gather them into one fraternity or family, notwithstanding they may differ in many points of doctrine and worship. To accomplish this object, they maintain that *Christ* does not require of his followers to *believe* much, but to *do* much, or to cultivate love and virtue: and they give a very broad definition of a true Christian. For, according to them, every person belongs to the kingdom of Christ, who—I. receives the holy Scriptures, and particularly the New Testament, as the rule of his faith, whatever may be the interpretation he gives to those books:—II. is opposed to the worship of many gods, and to whatever is connected with such an abomination:—III. leads an upright life, conformable to the divine law: and IV. never troubles or disturbs those who differ from him on religious subjects, or who interpret the books of the New Testament in a different manner from what he does. By these principles a wide door is opened to all who honour Christ, though very much at variance in sentiments, to enter into the Arminian communion. Yet the papists are excluded from it because they think it right to persecute and to put to death such as oppose the Roman prelate.⁵ And,

and that he agreed substantially with the Remonstrants on all those doctrines for which they were condemned in the synod of Dort. And that such was the fact, appears to have been assumed without hesitation, by the principal writers of that and following age, both Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants, *Tr.*]

⁴ A life of this celebrated man, which is well worth reading, was composed by Philip Limborch, and first published in Dutch, and then, more full and complete, in Latin, Amsterd. 1701, 8vo.

⁵ In place of all others, may here be read, the tract of Simon Episcopius, entitled, *Verus Theologus Remonstrans, sive Veræ Remonstrantium Theologiæ de errantibus dilucida declaratio*, which is extant in his *Opera*, tom. i. p. 508, &c., and, like the rest of his productions, is neatly and perspicuously written. John

le Clerc sums up the doctrines of his sect, in the Dedication of his Latin translation of Hammond's New Testament, which is addressed to the learned among the Remonstrants, in this manner, p. 3: "Profiteri soletis — eos duntaxat a vobis excludi, qui (I.) idololatria sunt contaminati, (II.) qui minime habent Scripturam pro fidei norma, (III.) qui impuris moribus sancta Christi præcepta conculcant, (IV.) aut qui denique alios religionis causa vexant." — Many tell us, that the Arminians regard as brethren, all who merely assent to what is called the *Apostles' Creed*. But a very competent witness, John le Clerc, shows that this is a mistake: *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, tom. xxv. p. 119. "Ils se trompent: Ils (les Arminiens) offrent la communion à tous ceux qui reçoivent l'Ecriture Sainte comme la seule règle

indeed, if other Christians would abide by these precepts, the great diversities of opinion among them would, clearly, be no obstacle to their mutual love and concord.

§ 12. It hence appears, that the Arminian community was composed of persons of various descriptions; and that it had, properly, no fixed and stable form of religion, or, to use a common phrase, no *system* of religion. They would not, indeed, wish to be thought destitute of a bond of union, and therefore they show us a sort of Confession of faith, drawn up with sufficient neatness, by *Simon Episcopius*, for the most part in the very words of the sacred writers, and which they represent as their formula and rule of faith.⁶ But as none of their teachers are so tied to this formula, by oath or promise, as not to be at liberty to depart from it; and on the contrary, as every one, from the constitution of the sect, is allowed to construe it according to his own pleasure,—and it is capable of different expositions,—it must be manifest, that we cannot determine at all, from this Confession, what they approve and what they reject. And hence their public teachers advance very different sentiments respecting the most weighty doctrines of the Christian religion.⁷ Nor do they in scarcely any thing take one fixed and uniform course, except in regard to the doctrines of predestination and grace. For they all continue to assert, most carefully, though in a very different manner from their fathers, the doctrine which excluded their predecessors from the pale of the Reformed church; namely, that the love of God embraces the whole human race, and that no one perishes through any eternal and insuperable decree of God, but all merely by their own fault. Whoever attacks this doctrine attacks the whole school or sect: but one who may assail any other doctrines contained in the writings of Arminians, must know that he has no controversy with the Arminian *church*, the theology of which, with few exceptions, is unsettled and fluctuating, but only with some

de la foi et des mœurs, et qui ne sont ni idolâtres ni persécuteurs.”

⁶ This Confession is extant in Latin, Dutch, and German. The Latin may be seen in the Works of Episcopius, tom. ii. pt. ii. p. 69; where also, p. 97, may be seen an *Apology* for this Confession, by the same Episcopius, written against the divines of the university of Leyden.

⁷ This any one may see, with his own eyes, by only comparing together the writings of Episcopius, Curcellæus, Limborch, Le Clerc, and Cattenburg. [Those Arminians who agree with the Reformed in all doctrinal points, except the Five Articles contained in their remonstrance, are, for distinction's sake, called *Quinquarticulans*. *Schl.*]

of its doctors, who do not all interpret and explain in the same manner, even that one doctrine of the universal love of God to mankind, which especially separates the Arminians from the Reformed.

§ 13. The Arminian community, at the present time, is very small, if compared with the Reformed: and, if common report be true, it is decreasing continually. They have at present [1753] thirty-four congregations in Holland, some smaller, and some larger; over which are forty-four ministers: out of Holland they have one at Frederickstadt. But the principles adopted by their founders have spread with wonderful rapidity over many nations, and gained the approbation of vast numbers. For, to say nothing of the English, who adopted the Arminian doctrines concerning grace and predestination as early as the times of *William Laud*, and who, on the restoration of *Charles II.*, assented in great measure to the other Arminian tenets; who is so ignorant of the state of the world as not to know, that in many of the courts of Protestant princes, and almost every where among those who pretend to be wise, this sentiment, which is the basis of Arminianism, is prevalent; namely, that very few things are necessary to be believed in order to salvation; and that every one is to be allowed to think as he pleases, concerning God and religion, provided he lives a pious and upright life? The Hollanders themselves, though they acknowledge that the sect which their fathers condemned is gradually declining in numbers and strength, yet publicly lament that its opinions are spreading further and further, and that even those to whose care the decrees of the council of Dort were entrusted, are corrupted by them. How much inclined towards them are many of the Swiss, especially the Genevans, and also many of the French, is very well known.⁸ The form of church government and the

⁸ [Dr. Maclaine has here a long and elaborate note on the tendency of the Leibnitian and Wolfian philosophy to support Calvinism. The reasoning is ingenious and good. But the effects actually produced by this philosophy seem to be greatly overrated, when he says, "that the progress of Arminianism has been greatly retarded, nay, that its cause daily declines in Germany and several parts of Switzerland,

in consequence of the ascendant which the Leibnitian and Wolfian philosophy hath gained in these countries, and particularly among the clergy and men of learning." When Dr. Maclaine wrote thus, about the year 1763, the Germans were going fast into what is called German *neology*, and the Swiss approximating towards Socinianism; and the philosophy he speaks of, was rapidly waning. *Tr.*]

mode of worship among the Arminians are very nearly the same as among the Reformed of the *Presbyterian* churches. Yet the leaders of the sect, as they neglect no means tending to preserve and strengthen their communion with the English church, so they show themselves very friendly to episcopal government; and they do not hesitate to affirm that they regard it as a holy form, very ancient and preferable to the other forms of government.⁹

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS.

§ 1. Origin of the Quakers. George Fox.—§ 2. First movements of the sect under Cromwell.—§ 3. Progress in the times of Charles II. and James II.—§ 4. Propagation out of England.—§ 5. Their controversies.—§ 6. Their religion generally.—§ 7. First principle.—§ 8. Its consequences.—§ 9. Concerning Christ.—§ 10. Discipline and worship.—§ 11. Moral doctrines.—§ 12. Form of Government.

§ 1. THOSE who in English are called *Quakers*, are in Latin called *Trementes* or *Tremuli*. This name was given them, in the year 1650, by *Gervas Bennet*, a justice of the peace in Derbyshire¹; but whether because their whole body trembled before they began to speak on religious subjects, or because *Fox* and his associates said that a man ought to tremble at hearing the Word of God, does not sufficiently appear. In the mean time they suffer themselves to be called by this name, provided it be correctly understood. They prefer, however, to be named, from their primary doctrine, *Children* or *Confessors of the light*. In familiar discourse they call each other *Friends*.²

⁹ Hence,—to omit many other things which place this beyond doubt,—they have taken so much pains to show, that Hugo Grotius, their hero and almost their oracle, commended the English church in the highest degree, and that he preferred it before all others. See the collection of proofs for this, by John le Clerc, subjoined to his edition of Grotius, book, *de Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, p. 376. ed. Hague, 1724, 8vo.

¹ See George [William] Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, p. 23, [vol. i. p. 43. ed. Lond. 1811. Daniel Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 32, &c. ed. Boston, 1817, p. 60, 61; where see Toulmin's note. *Tr.*]

² Sewel, *loc. cit.* p. 624. [vol. ii. p. 589, ed. Lond. 1811; also Dan. Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 60, 61. ed. Boston, 1817. *Tr.*]

The origin of the sect falls on those times in English history when civil war raged universally, and when every one who had conceived in his mind a new form, either of civil government or of religion, came forth with it from his obscure retreat into public view. Its parent was *George Fox*, a shoemaker, a man naturally very gloomy, shunning society, and peculiarly fitted to form visionary conceptions. As early as the year 1647, when he was twenty-three years old, he travelled over some of the counties of England, giving out that he was full of the Spirit, and exhorting the people to attend to the voice of the divine word, which lies concealed in the hearts of all. After *Charles I.* was beheaded, when both civil and ecclesiastical laws seemed to be extinguished together, he attempted greater things. For having acquired numerous disciples and friends among persons of a similar temperament with himself, and of both sexes, in connexion with them he set all England in commotion, nay, in 1650, he broke up assemblies for the public worship of God, where he was able, as being useless and not truly Christian.³ For this reason he and his associates were

³ [Fox and his adherents looked upon all worship of God, that did not proceed immediately from the impulse of the Spirit within, as abominable in the sight of God. Hence he had no reverence for the religious worship of most of the sects of Christians around him. Yet it does not appear that he felt it to be his duty to attempt, forcibly, to interrupt or suppress such worship. But feeling bound always to obey the impulse of the Spirit, and supposing himself to have this impulse while in or near the places of worship, he sometimes was led to speak in them, to the annoyance of the congregation, and was treated as a disturber of public worship. Three instances are mentioned, all occurring in the year 1649. The first was at Nottingham, and is thus related by Sewel, vol. i. p. 36, ed. 1811. He "went away to the steeple-house where the priest took for his text these words of the apostle Peter, *We have a most (more) sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts.* And he told the people that this was the *Scripture*, by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. G. Fox, hearing this, felt such mighty

power and godly zeal working in him, that he was made to cry out, O! no, it is not the *Scripture*, but it is the *Holy Spirit*, by which the holy men of God gave forth the *Scriptures*, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments, are to be tried. That was *it*, which led into all truth, and gave the knowledge thereof. For the Jews had the *Scriptures*, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning-star, and persecuted him and his apostles, though they took upon them to try their doctrine by the *Scriptures*; but they erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they did it without the Holy Ghost. Thus speaking, the officers came and took him away, and put him in a nasty stinking prison."—The next instance was at Mansfield, and is thus related by the same author, vol. i. p. 38. "Whilst G. Fox was in this place, he was moved to go to the steeple-house, and declare there the truth to the priest and the people; which doing, the people fell upon him, and struck him down, almost smothering him, for he was cruelly beaten and bruised with their hands, bibles, and sticks. Then they hauled him out, though hardly able to stand, and put him into the stocks, where he

several times thrown into prison, and chastised by the magistrates.⁴

sat some hours; and they brought horsewhips, threatening to whip him. After some time they had him before the magistrates, at a knight's house, who, seeing how ill he had been used, set him at liberty, after much threatening. But the rude multitude stoned him out of the town."—The third instance occurred at Market Bosworth, and is thus concisely stated by Sewel, vol. i. p. 39, &c. "Coming into the public place of worship, he (Fox) found Nathaniel Stephens preaching, who, as hath been said already, was priest of the town where G. Fox was born; here G. Fox taking occasion to speak, Stephens told the people he was mad, and that they should not hear him, though he had said before to one colonel Purfoy concerning him, that there was never such a plant bred in England. The people now being stirred up by this priest, fell upon G. Fox and his friends, and stoned them out of the town." See a Refutation of erroneous statements, &c. by authority of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, dated New Bedford, 12th month 9, 1811, subjoined to Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* ed. New York, 1824, vol. iv. p. 295, &c. Neal's *Hist. of Purit.* ed. Toulmin, Boston, 1817, vol. iv. p. 58, 59. *Tr.*]

⁴ Besides the common historians of this century, see especially, Gerh. Croesius (Crœse), a Dutch clergyman's, *Historia Quakeriana tribus libris comprehensa*, ed. 2. Amsterd. 1703, 8vo. On this, however, Kohlhans [under the name of Philalethes], a doctor of physic, a Lutheran who became a Quaker, published *Dilucidationes*, (explanations), Amsterd. 1696, 8vo. And undoubtedly, Crœse's book, though neatly written, contains numerous errors. Yet the French History of the Quakers, *Histoire abrégée de la Naissance et du Progrès du Kouakerisme, avec celle de ses Dogmes*, Cologne, 1692, 12mo, is much worse. For the author does not so much state what he found to be facts, as heap together things true and false, without discrimination, in order to produce a ludicrous account. See Gerh. Crœse's *Hist. Quakeriana*, lib. ii. p. 322 and 376, and John le Clerc's *Bibliothèque Universelle et Hist.* tom. xxii. p. 53, &c. But

altogether the most full and authentic, being derived from numerous credible documents and in part from the writings of Fox himself, is the Quaker, George [William] Sewel's *History of the Christian People called Quakers*, [first written in Dutch, and translated by the author into English, Lond. 1722, fol. and 1811, 2 vols. 8vo,] translated from the English into German, and printed 1742, fol. This work exhibits great research, as well as fidelity: yet on points dishonourable or [disadvantageous to the Quakers, he dissembles, conceals, and beclouds not a little. Still, the statements of Sewel are sufficient to enable a discerning and impartial man to form a just estimate of this sect. Voltaire also has treated of the religion, the morals, and the history of these people, though rather to amuse than to enlighten the reader, in four letters, written with his usual elegance: *Mélanges de Littérature et de Philosophie; Œuvres*, tom. iv. cap. iii.—vi. p. 160, &c. [With which compare *A Letter from one of the people called Quakers* (Josiah Martin) to Francis de Voltaire, Lond. 1742.] In general, what he says is true and to be relied on, being derived from Andrew Pitt, a Quaker of London: but the witty man, to render his account more entertaining, has adorned it with poetic colouring, and added some things of his own. From these works, chiefly, was compiled, though not with due accuracy, the Dissertation on the Religion of the Quakers, in that splendid work, *Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tom. iv. p. 124, &c. Among us, Fred. Ern. Meis published a small German work concerning this sect, especially the English portion of it, *Entwurf des Kirchen-Ordnung und Gebräuche der Quacker in Engelland*, 1715, 8vo. [Later works are, John Gough's *History of the people called Quakers*, Lond. 1789, 3 vols. 8vo. Thomas Clarkson's *Portraiture of Quakerism*, 3 vols. 8vo, Lond. and New York, 1806. A Summary of the history, doctrines, and discipline of Friends, written at the desire of the Meeting for Suffering in London, 1800, and subjoined to Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* ed. New York, 1824, vol. iv. p. 307—327; also Joshua Toulmin, D.D.

§ 2. The first association of Quakers was composed, in great measure, of infatuated and fanatical persons; and therefore committed many acts which the more temperate Quakers of the present day extenuate indeed, but by no means commend or approve. For most of them, both male and female, declaimed vehemently against all other religions; assailed the public worship and the ministers of religion with insult and abuse; treated the commands of magistrates and the laws with contempt, under the pretence of conscience and a divine impulse; and greatly disturbed both the church and the state. It is therefore not strange that many of them often suffered severe punishments for their rashness and folly.⁵ *Cromwell,*

Supplements annexed to his edition of Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 296—308. 518—552. and vol. v. p. 126—140. 245—261. *Tr.*]

⁵ See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 153, &c. [ed. 1817, p. 174, &c.] Sewel's *Hist. of the Quakers*, in various places. [Mr. Neal, in the passage just named, gives account of the offensive conduct of some of the first Quakers, and of the punishments to which they were subjected. And Dr. Toulmin, in his notes, corrects the statements of Neal, and vindicates the Quakers. The story of James Nayler is there stated. This honest enthusiast, who had been an admired speaker among the Quakers, very improperly suffered some misguided individuals to style him the *everlasting Son of righteousness; the Prince of peace; the only begotten Son of God; the fairest among ten thousand*. He likewise allowed some of them to kiss his feet, when imprisoned at Exeter; and after his release to conduct him in triumph to Bristol; one man walking bare-headed before him; another, a woman, leading his horse; and others spreading their scarfs and handkerchiefs in the way, and crying, *Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts; Hosanna in the highest; holy, holy, is the Lord God of Israel*. The magistrates of Bristol caused him to be apprehended, and transmitted him to the parliament, who tried him for blasphemy. He alleged that these honours were not paid to him, but to *Christ who dwelt in him*, and said, "If they had it from the Lord, what had I to do to reprove them? If the Father has moved them to give these honours to *Christ*, I may not deny them; if they have given them to any other but to

Christ, I disown them." "*I do abhor, that any honours due to God, should be given to me, as I am a creature*;" but it pleased the Lord to set me up as a *sign* of the coming of the righteous One, and what has been done to me passing through the town, I was commanded by the power of the Lord to suffer to be done to the outward man as a sign; but I abhor any honour as a creature." Manifest as it was that the man was beside himself, and had no intention to allow divine honours to be paid to himself, he was condemned to be branded, have his tongue bored with a hot iron, sit in the pillory, be whipped through the streets of London and Bristol, and thence to be imprisoned during the pleasure of parliament: and this cruel sentence was executed. But during his imprisonment he came to his senses, and very fully and penitently acknowledged his fault. The great body of Quakers at the time expressly disapproved his conduct; and they promptly ejected him from their community, but afterwards upon his repentance restored him. Such in substance is the famous case of James Nayler; which, though a solitary case and disapproved at the time by the mass of the Quakers, has continued to this day to occasion high censure to be cast upon the whole sect.—That the early Quakers sometimes mistook the conclusions of their own minds for suggestions of the Spirit, and that they needlessly adopted odious singularities, or did not comply so far as they ought with the customs and usages of society, nor treat the religion of others with that respect and decorum which are necessary to the peace of a community in which various

though otherwise not hostile to any sect, yet was afraid of this turbulent multitude; and at first he determined to suppress it. But when he perceived that all his promises and his threatenings could make no impression on them, he prudently refrained, and deemed it advisable merely to take care that they should not excite seditions among the people, and weaken the foundations of his power.⁶

§ 3. Gradually, however, the excessive ardour of the rising sect subsided, as was natural to expect; and that divine light to which the Quakers made pretensions by degrees ceased to disturb the commonwealth. In the reign of *Charles II.* both their religion and their discipline assumed a more definite and

religions are tolerated, many will think to be very manifest. Yet, on the other hand, there was doubtless a great want of candour and forbearance towards them. Their errors were magnified, and their indiscretions punished as high-handed crimes. One of their own writers (Gough, *Hist. of the Quakers*, vol. i. p. 139, &c.) says, “A Christian exhortation to an assembly, after the priest had done and the worship was over, was denominated *interrupting* public worship, and disturbing *the priest in his office*; an honest testimony against sin in the streets or markets was styled a *breach of the peace*; and their appearing before the magistrates covered, a *contempt of authority*: hence proceeded *fines, imprisonments, and spoiling of goods*.”—Dr. Mosheim’s representation of the modern Quakers as more moderate and decorous than their fathers in the days of Cromwell seems to be in general correct. Yet the author of a refutation of erroneous statements relative to the society of Quakers, (in Mosheim’s *Eccl. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 304, &c.) makes the following remarks, which are worthy of being inserted here. “Dr. Mosheim has in several instances endeavoured to impress the reader with the idea that the ancient and modern Quakers were entirely different people, both in respect to their principles and conduct. This is the more worthy of notice, as it is an error not by any means peculiar to him, but which in a degree prevails very generally. We view the modern Quakers with our own proper vision, and through a medium cleared from the discolourations of that through which we view the ancient; they appear to us a quiet,

orderly, moral, and religious people. But in the accounts transmitted to us by their enemies, we view the ancient Quakers through a discoloured medium, a vision extremely acrimonious, and tinged with bile; and they appear to us fanatic, turbulent, and riotous. If we were to imagine to ourselves the modern Quakers passing through our country, as they actually do, seeking and conversing with sober inquirers, appointing meetings for religious worship; and if at the same time we were to imagine a mob of dissolute and enraged rabble at their heels, scoffing and beating them with sticks and stones, to interrupt their meetings, without the least marks of violence or even of defensive resistance to any on their part;—if we imagine some unworthy ministers and magistrates rather instigating their fury, the latter sending them to prison, charged with the riots to which themselves had been accessory; the Quakers submitting to all, with a patience unconquerable, yet pursuing their mission with undeviating perseverance, not to be paralleled in history since the days of the first promulgators of the Christian faith;—we might then perhaps view a true picture of the ancient Quakers; their principles, their doctrine, and their manners being the same.” *Tr.*]

⁶ Clarendon tells us, in his *History of the Rebellion and of the civil Wars in England*, [French ed.] vol. vi. p. 437, that the Quakers remained always violent enemies to Cromwell. See Sewel, *loc. cit.* book iii. pp. 91. 113. 148, 149, &c. [ed. 1811. vol. i. pp. 168. 209. 273. 275, &c.]

fixed character. In this business *Fox* was assisted especially by *Robert Barclay*, a Scotch gentleman, *George Keith* and *Samuel Fisher*; learned men, who had connected themselves with his sect.⁷ For these three men digested and reduced to fixed principles the loose and vague discipline of *Fox*, who was an illiterate man.⁸ Yet for a long time these wiser and more quiet Quakers had to endure even more suffering and calamity in England than the insane and turbulent had experienced; though not so much for their religion as for their manners and customs. For as they would not address magistrates by their honorary titles, and pay them customary respect, as they refused the oath of allegiance to the king; and as they would not pay tithes to the clergy; they were looked upon as bad citizens, and dangerous men, and were often severely punished.⁹

⁷ Respecting Barclay, see *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. et Crit.* tom. i. p. 67, &c. Respecting Keith, see Sewel, *Hist. of the Quakers*, pp. 429. 490. 544. 560. Respecting Fisher, see the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. D. 1750, p. 338, &c. [Robert Barclay was descended from an honourable family, but was not a Knight [as Murdock translated *Eques*]. For the history of him the Quakers refer us to the account of him by William Penn and others, his contemporaries, prefixed to the edition of his works in folio, 1692. For the life of Fisher they refer us to William Penn's account of him, annexed to Fisher's Works, fol. 1679. *Tr.*]

⁸ [The Quakers consider this statement of Mosheim as being unjust to the character of George Fox. And indeed, William Penn, who certainly knew Fox's character well, and was no incompetent judge of men, in his preface to Fox's Journal, says, "He was a man that God endowed with a clear and wonderful depth, a discernment of others' spirits, and very much a master of his own.—In all things he acquitted himself like a man, a new and heavenly-minded man, a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surprised at his questions and answers in natural things, that whilst he was ignorant of useless and sophistical science he had in him the foundation of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it every where." As to the Quaker discipline, their monthly meetings, &c. the records of the sect, they tell us, contain nothing from which it may be inferred

that Barclay, Keith, and Fisher had any share in its formation; or that it was not chiefly, if not wholly, brought into form and operation by Fox. He describes circumstantially his journeys through England to establish the monthly meetings. This was in the year 1667: the very year that Barclay joined the society, being then only nineteen years old. Samuel Fisher died two years before this time, after lying in prison a year and a half. See Jos. G. Bevan's *Refutation of some modern misrepresentations of the Society of Friends*, Lond. 1800, 12mo, and the vindication of the Quakers subjoined to Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* ed. Philad. 1800, and N. York, 1824. *Tr.*]

⁹ See Dan. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. pp. 113. 353. 396. 432. 510. 518. 552. 569. Gilb. Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 271. Sewel, *loc. cit. passim*. [The Quakers were conscientious in all these singularities; and though we may consider them as scrupulous, without good reason, and contrary to the example of Christ and his apostles, who paid tribute to the priests, submitted to civil oaths, and addressed magistrates by their usual titles: yet as they could not think so, they ought to have been indulged. The fact probably was, that many people of that age could not believe that they were actuated merely by scruples of conscience: and others, who did suppose this might be the case, were not disposed to indulge the consciences of those who erred. *Tr.*]—There might be nothing very unreasonable in

Under *James II.*, and especially after the year 1685, they began to see better days; for which they were indebted to the celebrated *William Penn*, who was employed by the king in state affairs of the greatest importance.¹ At length *William III.*, who gave peace to all sects of dissenters from the reigning church, allowed these people also to enjoy public liberty and tranquillity.²

§ 4. Oppressed and persecuted in their own country, the Quakers sought to propagate their sentiments among foreign nations, and to establish for themselves more secure habitations. Attempts were made in Germany, Prussia, France, Italy, Greece, Holland, and Holstein; but generally without effect. Yet the Dutch at length were prevailed upon to allow some families the liberty of residing among them, which they enjoy to the present time. Many of these people, not long after the sect arose, proceeded to America. And afterwards, by a singular turn of things, the seat of its liberties and fortunes was established, as it were, in that quarter of the world. *William Penn*, the son of the English vice-admiral, adopted the Quaker religion in 1668; and in the year 1680 *Charles II.* and the parliament granted to him an extensive province in America, at that time a wilderness, in reward for the great services rendered by his father to the nation. *Penn*, who was a

excusing a few strict religionists for withholding customary formalities, or even declining oaths, but *indulgence* in keeping other men out of their livings is entirely a different question. To say nothing of the hardships to which Quakers might reduce the individuals whose tithes they refused to pay, it is obvious that an escape from such payments would have acted as a bounty upon the spread of quakerism, or upon the rise of other bodies professing scruples of the same profitable character. What would have been said by Quaker creditors, if their debtors had pleaded conscientious objections to paying them? Would they not themselves, at least, have pronounced it unfair to deal with parties whom it was thought unlawful to pay? Upon this estimate of unfairness, it was the bounden duty of Quakers to hire no land as farmers which was not tithe-free. Perhaps a feeling of this kind has operated to make Quakers more generally tradesmen than farmers. There have, however, always been some of them following agriculture,

and they generally, perhaps universally, continue to keep up the form of refusing tithe-payments, with some other exactions. This gives the trouble of getting distress-warrants, which are regularly expected, and as regularly provided for, by setting out certain things to be seized, and the seizures are as regularly reported in due form, as the sufferings which the parties have undergone. All this, however, is mere child's play, and it is no wonder, that as enlightenment extends, more and more people become ashamed of it. English quakerism, in fact, is rapidly on the decline. The fervid fanaticism which once gained it admiration, has evaporated; and many of those who were, or are, connected with it, having become wealthy, have imbibed the enlarged ideas of the wealthier classes generally, and wish to pass undistinguished among them. *Ed.*]

¹ See Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, pp. 538. 546. 552. 564, 591. 605, &c.

² *Œuvres de M. de Voltaire*, tom. iv. p. 182.

man of discernment and also eloquent, conducted a colony of his friends and associates into his new dominions, and there established a republic in form, laws, and regulations, unlike any other in the known world, yet a peaceful and happy one, and which still flourishes in great prosperity.³ The Quakers there are predominant; yet all persons may become citizens, who acknowledge that there is a Supreme Being whose providence is over all human affairs, and who pay Him homage, if not by outward signs, yet by uprightness of life and conduct. The province was named from its proprietor, *Pennsylvania*; and the principal city is called *Philadelphia*.

§ 5. While *Fox* was still alive, there were frequent dissensions and broils among the Quakers, (in the years 1656, 1661, 1683, and other years,) not indeed respecting religion itself, but respecting discipline, customs, and things of minor consequence. But these contests, for the most part, were soon adjusted.⁴ After the death of *Fox*, (which occurred in 1691,) among others, *George Keith* especially, the most learned man of the whole sect, gave occasion to greater commotions. For *Keith* was thought, by the other brethren in *Pennsylvania*, to entertain sentiments not accordant with the truth on several points, but especially in regard to the human nature of Christ. He maintained that our Saviour possessed a two-fold human nature, the one celestial and spiritual, the other terrene and corporeal.⁵ This and the other inventions of *Keith* would, perhaps, have been borne with great moderation, by a people who place all religion in an indescribable sense or instinct, if he had not strongly reprov'd some strange opinions of the American brethren; and in particular, had he not opposed their turning the whole history of our Saviour into an allegory, or a symbolical representation of the duties that religion requires of man. In Europe, indeed, the Quakers dare not deny the truth of the history of Jesus Christ; but in America, where they have nothing to fear, they are said to utter what they think,

³ The charter, the laws, and other papers relating to the establishment of this new commonwealth, were published, [in *Rapin's History, Penn's Works,*] and not long since in the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tom. xv. pt. ii. p. 310, tom. xvi. pt. i. p. 127. Penn himself acquired a high reputation by several productions of his pen and by other

things. Sewel treats of him in places; and Burnet also, in his *History of his own Times*.

⁴ See Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, pp. 126. 132. 262. 429. 529, &c.

⁵ *Cérémonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tom. iv. p. 141, &c. Gerh. Croesius, *Historia Quakeriana*, lib. iii. p. 446, &c.

and to deny any *Christ* who exists without us. This controversy between *Keith* and the other Quakers, which was discussed in several general meetings of the whole sect in England, and even brought before the British parliament, was at last decided in the year 1695, by the exclusion of *Keith* and his adherents from communion in worship. Touched with a sense of injury, after some years, *Keith* returned to the English church.⁶ His friends long held their separate meetings; but if report may be credited, have now become reconciled with the brethren.⁷

⁶ Gilb. Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. ii. p. 290. The commotions about Keith are treated of by William Sewel, *Hist. of the Quakers*, pp. 577. 592. 603. But either he did not understand the true nature of the controversy, (which might be, as he was not a man of learning,) or he designedly perverts and obscures it. More light is thrown on it in the German *Life of Henry Bernh. Küster*, published in Rahtlef's *Gelehrten Europa*, vol. iii. p. 484. For Küster, a man of probity, then lived in America, and was an eye-witness of the transactions.—[Dr. Mosheim appears to have been misinformed respecting George Keith and his controversy with the American Quakers; and therefore, with many others, he has given us Keith's false and slanderous representations as being a true account.—Keith was a Scotchman, born and liberally educated in the Scotch church. How and when he became a Quaker is not known. But for more than five-and-twenty years he travelled, preached, wrote, and suffered among the Quakers of England and Scotland. During this period he was one of their most learned and efficient ministers, and was held by them in high estimation. In the year 1689 he removed to America, and settled in Philadelphia, where he was made master of the principal school among the Quakers. He now attempted to direct and reform the discipline of the society, and to assume a dictation which was offensive to his brethren. Mutual alienation took place; and Keith dealt out his censures both of men and measures with great freedom. A party adhered to him; but the great body of Quakers, whom he was continually assailing, thought proper to lay him under censure in the year 1692. Keith and his party still professed to be in communion with the English Quakers; but when the yearly meeting of Phila-

delphia sent an account of his case to the yearly meeting of London, in the spring of the year 1694, Keith thought proper to appear there, in vindication of his conduct. He asked and obtained a hearing; and the yearly meeting of London, after a full examination of the case, approved entirely of the proceedings of the American Quakers, and excluded Keith from all fellowship, *for his factious and unchristian conduct, and his false criminations of the American brethren*. A few, however, adhered to him in England, and he set up a separate meeting in London, and laboured much during several years to destroy that faith which he had spent so many years in defending and propagating. His misrepresentations of the views of the Quakers were abundant; and they were answered and confuted with no little success from his own former publications. Meeting with but little success in forming a new party, and gradually departing further and further from Quaker principles, he in the year 1700 wholly renounced Quakerism, and became an episcopal clergyman. In this capacity he visited America in the year 1702, hoping to draw many Quakers into the English church. But his former partisans in America, though not yet reconciled with the Quakers, would not follow him into the established church. Being entirely unsuccessful in America, Keith returned to England, became a parish minister, and died a few years after. See Gough's *Hist. of the Quakers*, vol. iii. pp. 317—350. 382—390. 442—455. Sewel's *Hist. of the Quakers*, vol. ii. pp. 493—495, 496, &c. 526—534. 574. *Tr.*]

⁷ See William Roger's *Christian Quaker*, Lond. 1699, 4to, and *The Quakers a divided People*, Lond. 1708, 4to. *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1744, p. 496, &c.

§ 6. The religion of the Quakers appears at first view to be a novel thing; but it is not so in fact. For it is the ancient *mystic theology* which arose in the second century, was fostered by *Origen*, and has been handed down to us by men of various characters and genius; but a little expanded and enlarged by the addition of consequences before not well understood. The well-meaning *Fox*, indeed, did not invent any thing; but all that he taught respecting the internal word or light and its power, he undoubtedly derived either from the books of the *mystics*, a multitude of which were then circulating in England, or from the discourses of some persons initiated in the mystic doctrines. But the doctrines which he brought forward confusedly and rudely, (for he was a man of uncultivated mind, and not adorned and polished with any literature or science,) the sagacity of *Barclay*, *Keith*, *Fisher*, and *Penn* polished, and reduced to such coherency, that they exhibit the appearance of a digested system or body of doctrine. The Quakers, therefore, may be justly pronounced the principal sect of mystics, who have not only embraced the precepts of that arcane wisdom, but have likewise seen whither those precepts lead, and have received also all the consequences that flow from them.⁸

⁸ Most persons think that we are to learn what the Quakers believe and teach from Robert Barclay's Catechism, but especially from his *Apology for the true Christian Divinity*, which was published, Lond. 1676, 4to, and translated into other languages. Nor shall I much object to this opinion, if it be understood to mean that this sect is exceedingly desirous that others should judge of the nature of their religion by these books. But if any would have us believe that these books contain every thing the Quakers regard as true, and that nothing more than these contain was formerly taught among them, or is now taught, he may be easily confuted from numerous publications. For Barclay assumed the office of an *advocate*, not that of a teacher; and of course he explains the sentiments of his sect, just as those do who undertake to defend an odious cause. In the first place, he is silent on points of Christianity of the utmost importance, concerning which it is very desirable to know the true sentiments of the Quakers; and he exhibits a really mutilated

system of theology. For it is the practice of advocates to pass over the things that cannot easily be placed in an advantageous light, and to take up only such things as ingenuity and eloquence can make appear plausible and excellent. In the next place, he touches upon several things, the full exposition of which would bring much odium on the Quakers, only cursorily and slightly; which is also an indication of a bad cause. Lastly, and to go no further, the things which he cannot deny or conceal he explains in the most delicate and cautious manner, in common, ordinary phraseology, not very definite, avoiding carefully all the appropriate and almost consecrated terms adopted by the sect. Now it will not be very difficult for one who will take such a course, to give a specious appearance to any the most absurd doctrines. And it is well known that in this way the doctrine of Spinoza has been disguised and painted up by some of his disciples. There are other writers of this sect who express their sentiments much more clearly and

§ 7. Their fundamental doctrine, therefore, and that on which all their other doctrines depend, is that very ancient song of the mystic school: That there lurks in the minds of all men, a portion of the divine reason or nature, or a spark of that wisdom which is in God Himself. That whoever is desirous of true happiness and eternal salvation must, by turning his thoughts inward, and away from external objects, (or by contemplation and weakening the empire of the senses, draw forth, kindle, and inflame this *hidden, divine spark*, which is oppressed and suffocated by the mass of the body and by the darkness of the flesh, with which our souls are surrounded. That whoever shall do so will find a wonderful light rise upon him, or a celestial voice break upon him, out of the inmost recesses of his soul, which will instruct him in all divine truth, and be the surest pledge of union with the supreme God. This natural treasure of mankind is called by various names; very often by that of a *divine light*; sometimes a *ray of eternal wisdom*; sometimes, *celestial sophia*; concerning whose nuptials under a female garb, with man, some of this class of people speak in magnificent terms. The terms best known among us are, *the internal Word*, and *Christ within us*. For, as they hold the sentiment of the ancient mystics and of *Origen*, that *Christ* is the *reason* and *wisdom* of God, and suppose all

freely; among whom William Penn and George Whitehead, very celebrated men, deserve to be read preferably to all others. Among their other works there is one entitled, *The Christian Quaker and his Divine Testimony vindicated, by Scripture, Reason, and Authorities, against the injurious attempts that have been lately made by several adversaries*; Lond. 1674, small folio. Penn wrote the first part, and Whitehead the second. There is also extant, in Sewel's History, p. 578, a *Confession of Faith*, which the Quakers published in 1693, in the midst of the controversy with Keith. But it is very cautiously drawn up, and a great part of it ambiguous. — [Dr. Toulmin thinks that Dr. Mosheim is here uncandid and unjust towards Barclay; and that he has exposed himself to the just animadversions of Gough, in his *History of the Quakers*, vol. ii. pp. 401—406. See Toulmin's note to Neal, vol. v. p. 253, ed. Boston, 1817. Not having Barclay's Apology before me, I will pass no judg-

ment on the justice or injustice of Dr. Mosheim's statements. But I will say, that I do not understand him to charge Barclay with direct and wilful misrepresentations; but only with so far acting the *advocate*, that his book is not the best guide to a full and correct knowledge of the sentiments of the Quakers: and consequently, that it is necessary to consult other works, such as the writings of Penn and Whitehead, if we would fully and truly understand the Quaker system. Now this may be so, while still the *Vindication of the Quakers by the Committee representing the yearly meeting of Friends in Philadelphia, A.D. 1799*, may very honestly and truly say, "As to our tenets and history, we refer to Fox, Barclay, Penn, Sewel, Gough, &c., and declare that we never had, nor now have, any other doctrines to publish, and that there are no religious opinions or practices among us which have not been made known to the world." *Tr.*]

men to be furnished with a particle of the divine wisdom, they are obliged to maintain that *Christ*, or the *Word of God*, resides, acts, and speaks in all persons.⁹

§ 8. Whatever other singular and strange sentiments they may hold, all originated from this one principle, as their prolific source. Because Christ resides in every son of Adam, therefore: I. All religion consists in man's averting his mind from external objects, weakening the empire of the senses, turning himself inward upon himself, and listening with his whole attention to what the Christ in his breast, or the internal light dictates and enjoins.—II. The external word, that is, holy Scripture, does not enlighten and guide men to salvation; for words and syllables, being lifeless things, cannot have power to illumine the soul of man, and to unite it to God. The only effect of the inspired books, upon one who reads them, is, to excite and stimulate him to attend to the internal word, and to seek the school of Christ teaching within him. Or, to express the same thing in other words; the Bible is a mute guide, which by signs points and directs to the living master residing in the soul.—III. Those who are destitute of this written word, Pagans, Jews, Mahumedans, and the barbarous nations, want, indeed, some aid for obtaining salvation, but not the way or the discipline of salvation itself. For if they would give heed to the internal teacher, who is never silent when the man listens to him, they might abundantly learn from him whatever is necessary to be known and to be done.—IV. The kingdom of Jesus Christ, therefore, is of vast extent, and embraces the whole human race. For all men carry Christ in their souls; and by him, though living in the greatest barbarism, and

⁹ Yet the modern Quakers, as appears from the writings of Josiah Martin and others, are ignorant of the true sentiments of their forefathers, and perpetually confound this inherent and imate light with that light of the Holy Spirit which is shed on the minds of the pious.—[This declaration of Dr. Mosheim clearly shows that he did not understand the fundamental principle of the Quakers, which is essentially different from that of the ancient mystics. The *particle of the divine nature*, which the mystics supposed to be a constituent part of man, at his first creation, or a *natural principle* in all men, and which was sufficient to enlighten, guide, and

sanctify them, provided the influences of the *body* or of *sense* could be counteracted, was quite a different thing from the *internal light* of the Quakers. For the latter was supposed to be a *revelation* made to the soul by *Christ*, acting through the Holy Spirit. It was therefore *grace*, not *nature*; a divine communication to fallen men, and not an original principle in their natural constitutions: and its influences and operations were moral, not physical. It is therefore not strange, that the Quakers should complain of this and the following sections, as totally misrepresenting their fundamental principles. *Tr.*]

totally ignorant of the Christian religion, they may become wise and happy, both in this life and in that to come. They who live virtuously and restrain the cravings of lust, whether they are Jews, Mahumedans, or Pagans, may become united to God through Christ residing in their souls, in this world, and be united to him for ever. — V. The principal reason why men do not perceive and hear Christ present within them, is the heavy, dark body, composed of vicious matter, with which they are enveloped. And hence all possible care must be taken, that this connexion of soul and body do not blunt the mind, disturb its operations, and by means of the senses fill it with images of external things. And on this account, it is not to be supposed, that when the souls of men shall have escaped this prison, God will again thrust them into it; but what the Scriptures tell us of the resurrection of our bodies, must either be understood figuratively, or be referred to new and celestial bodies.¹

§ 9. These things show that the religion of the Quakers can conveniently dispense with a *Christ without*; and with all that Christians believe, from the holy Scriptures, concerning his divine origin, life, merits, sufferings, and atonement. Because the whole ground of salvation lies in the *Christ within*. Not a few of them, therefore, as we learn from very credible authors,

¹ These propositions all Quakers admit, or at least, *ought* to admit, if they would not entirely depart from the first principles of their system. The doctrines concerning which they disagree and dispute among themselves, we here pass over, lest we should appear disposed to render the sect odious. [It is so far from being true, that “all Quakers admit these propositions,” that they declare them to be mere fictions of Dr. Mosheim, or consequences which he, and not they, deduce from their first principle. And, indeed, they seem to be a philosophical creed, essentially diverse from the true belief of the Quakers. See the preceding note. According to the belief of the Quakers, the conflicting principles in sinful men are not a *particle of the divine nature* opposed and weighed down by the *material body*; but are, *divine grace*, or the gracious operations of the Holy Spirit, conflicting with the corrupt *nature of fallen men*. This *divine grace*, they hold, indeed, as the Arminians also do, to be universal, or to be afforded to all man-

kind as soon as they become moral agents. They likewise believe, with the Arminians, that the teachings and influences of this grace are sufficient, if duly improved, to lead those, who have not the Scriptures, to holiness and to salvation. Neither is it true that they deny the resurrection of the body; though they seem to have an idea, that the future spiritual body will so differ from the present body, that it cannot be called the *same*. Thus Henry Tuke, (as quoted in Rees's *Cyclopædia*, article *Quakers*,) says: “The doctrine of the resurrection of the dead is so connected with the Christian religion, that it will be also proper to say something on this subject. In explaining our belief of this doctrine, we refer to the 15th chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. In this chapter, (verses 40. 42. 44. 50.) is clearly laid down the *resurrection of a body*, though not of the *same body* that dies. Here we rest our belief in this mystery, without desiring to pry into it beyond what is revealed to us.” *Tr.*]

once fell into the absurdity of maintaining that the whole Scripture narrative respecting Jesus Christ, is not the history of the Son of God, clothed in human nature, but the history of Christ within us, decorated with poetic imagery and allegory. This opinion, if we may give credit to very respectable witnesses, is so far from having become extinct among them, that on the contrary it still prevails and is taught in America. But the Europeans, either from the force of truth, or compelled by fear, maintain, that the divine *wisdom* or *reason* descended into the son of the Virgin *Mary*, and by him instructed mankind; and that this divine man actually did and suffered what he is recorded to have done and suffered. At the same time, they express themselves very ambiguously respecting many things pertaining to Christ: in particular, respecting the fruits of his sufferings and death, their statements are so loose and meagre, that it is altogether uncertain and dubious, what and how great they suppose these fruits to be. Besides, they have not renounced wholly the [figurative] interpretation of the history of Christ, above mentioned; for they press us hard to grant that the things which occurred in regard to our Saviour, while resident among men, are signs and emblems of the things which may occur, and must occur, in relation to the Christ within, in order that man may partake of salvation. And hence they are accustomed, with the mystics their preceptors, to talk much, in lofty terms and inflated style, of *Christ's* being born, living, dying, and rising to life, in the hearts of saints.²

² [In answer to most of the allegations in this section, the Quakers refer us, triumphantly, to the following extracts from their declaration or Confession of faith, drawn up in the year 1693, and preserved by Sewel, *Hist. of the Quakers*, vol. ii. p. 497, &c. "We sincerely profess faith in God, by his only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, as being our only *light* and *life*, our only *way* to the Father, and our only *Mediator* and *Advocate* with the Father:—That God created all things, and made the worlds, by his Son, Jesus Christ; he being that powerful and living *Word* of God, by whom all things were made; and that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, are *One*, in divine Being inseparable; one true, living, and eternal God, blessed for ever:—Yet that this Word or son of God, in the fulness

of time, *took flesh*, became *perfect man*, according to the flesh, descended and came of the seed of Abraham and David, but was miraculously conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; and also further, declared powerfully to be the Son of God, according to the Spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the dead:—That *as man*, *Christ died for our sins*, rose again, and was received up into glory in the heavens; he having, *in his dying for all*, *been that one, great, universal offering and sacrifice for peace, atonement, and reconciliation, between God and man*; and he is the *propitiation*, not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world: We were *reconciled by his death*, but *saved by his life*:—That divine honour and *worship* is due to the Son of God; and that he is, in true faith, to be

§ 10. From the same source which has been mentioned, [namely, the ancient mystic theology,] has flowed their discipline and practice. They assemble, indeed, on the days in which other Christians generally assemble for religious purposes. But they neither observe festival days, nor use ceremonies and rites, nor suffer religion to be fettered by any positive institutions; placing it wholly in the worship of Christ hidden in the heart. Such as please teach in their assemblies, both men and women: for who may deny to persons, in whom *Christ* dwells and speaks, liberty to address and instruct the brethren? Prayers, hymns, and the other exercises which distinguish the public assemblies of other Christians, are unknown and discarded by them: and not without reason, since they believe with the mystics, that to pray truly, is not to utter the desires of our hearts in a set form of words, but to collect the mind, recall it from all emotion and thought, and fix it wholly on a present Deity. Neither do they baptize new members of their community; nor renew the remembrance of Christ's death, and the benefits of it, in the Lord's Supper. For they suppose both institutions to be Judaical; and to have been formerly used by the Saviour, only to represent to the eye, in visible imagery, by baptism the mystical purification of the soul, and by the holy supper the spiritual nourishment of the soul.

§ 11. The system of morals adopted by them is beyond measure austere and forbidding. It is chiefly comprehended in these two precepts:—I. Whatever can afford us pleasure, produce agreeable emotions, or gratify the senses, must either be wholly avoided, or, if by the laws of nature this is impossible, must be so tempered and checked by reason and reflection, that it may not corrupt the soul.³ Because, as the mind ought to be always and exclusively attentive to the voice and the intimations of the teacher within, it should be separated from the intercourse and contagion of the body and corporeal things.—II. It is criminal to follow the customs, fashions, and manners,

prayed unto, and the name of the Lord Jesus Christ called upon, (as the primitive Christians did,) because of the glorious union or oneness of the Father and the Son." *Tr.*]

³ [The first part of this precept, (total avoidance of pleasures,) the

Quakers themselves say, "is no tenet of the Quakers." To the latter part of the precept they make no objection; believing it to be coincident with the apostle James' direction, "To keep himself unspotted by the world." *Tr.*]

that are generally received in society. Hence they are easily distinguished from other people by their outward deportment and manner of life. They do not salute those whom they meet, never use the customary language of politeness and civility; never show respect to magistrates and to men of rank by any bodily gestures, or the use of honorary titles; never defend their lives, their property, or their reputations, against violence and slander; never take an oath; never seek redress in civil courts, or prosecute those who injure them: on the contrary, they distinguish themselves from all their fellow-citizens, by their aspect and demeanour, by their dress, which is very simple and rustic, by their phrasology, their diet, and other outward things. It is however affirmed, by persons of credibility, that the Quakers, especially the prosperous Quaker merchants of England, have already departed considerably from these austere rules of life, and are gradually departing further and further; nay, that they explain and shape much more wisely the religious system of their predecessors. It is also well attested, that very many of them have but an imperfect knowledge of the religion transmitted to them by their fathers.

§ 12. This sect, at its commencement, had no organization and government. But afterwards the leading men perceived that their community could not subsist and escape falling into great disorder, unless it had regulations and men to superintend its affairs. Hence boards of elders were established, who discuss and regulate every thing involving doubt and difficulty, and carefully watch that no one conduct himself amiss, or do any thing injurious to the society. To these elders people who think of marrying give in their names: to them all births and deaths in the society are reported: to them such as wish publicly to address the people exhibit their discourses, and in some instances, written out, that the elders may see whether they will enlighten and edify.⁴ For they do not allow, as they once did, every one at his pleasure to declaim before the people; since the very indiscreet orations of many have brought much

⁴ [This duty of their elders the Quakers deny; declaring that their speakers never write their discourses; and that no such practice as that here described, exists among them. Their speakers, however, have a kind of license or approbation; or at least,

when they travel abroad, they carry some testimonials. And it is well known that they have standing committees to superintend all publications relating to the history and doctrines of the society. *Tr.*]

reproach and ridicule upon the society. There are also, in the larger congregations, especially in London, certain persons, whose duty it is to exhort the people, if it should so happen that no one of the assembly is disposed to instruct and exhort the brethren; lest, as often happened, for want of an orator the meeting should break up without a word said.⁵ It is not indeed necessary that there should be any speaking in the Quaker assemblies. For the brethren do not come together to listen to an external teacher, but to attend to the voice of that teacher which each one carries in his own breast; or, as they express it, *to commune with themselves*.⁶ But as these silent meetings afforded occasion to their enemies to rail and deride, they have now appointed fixed speakers; to whom also they give a small compensation for their services.⁷ The Quakers annually hold a general convention of their whole society, at London, the week before Whit-Sunday, in which all their congregations are represented; and by this convention all important questions are examined and decided. The Quakers at this day complain of many grievances: but these all originate solely from their refusal to pay tithes.

⁵ [Here again the Quakers, through Mr. Bevan of London, deny the existence of such subsidiary speakers in their congregation. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Ut in semet ipsos introvertant.] Sewel, *Hist. of the Quakers*, p. 612.

⁷ [Here also Dr. Mosheim was mis-

informed. Mr. Bevan says: "Except a few clerks of this kind, (that is, who keep voluminous records, &c.) and persons who have the care of meeting-houses, none receive any stipend or gratuity for their services in our religious society. *Tr.*"]

SUPPLEMENT
RELATING TO THE DOCTRINES AND DISCIPLINE
OF THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, COMMONLY CALLED QUAKERS.*

CHAPTER I.
DOCTRINE.

General Belief. — Universal and saving Light. — Worship. — Ministry. — Women's preaching. — Baptism and the Supper. — Universal Grace. — Perfection. — Oaths and War. — Government. — Deportment. — Conclusion.

WE agree with other professors of the Christian name in the belief of one eternal God, the Creator and the Preserver of the universe; and in Jesus Christ his Son, the Messiah, and Mediator of the new covenant.¹

When we speak of the gracious display of the love of God to mankind, in the miraculous conception, birth, life, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Saviour, we prefer the use of such terms as we find in Scripture; and contented with that knowledge which Divine Wisdom hath seen meet to reveal, we attempt not to explain those mysteries which remain

* [Dr. Mosheim's account of the Quakers is so very faulty, that the American editions of the work have generally been accompanied with other statements, derived from other and better authorities. In the preceding notes many of the mistakes of Dr. Mosheim have been pointed out. But still it is believed, that full justice will not be done to the principles of this sect, without allowing them to express their religious views in their own language.

The following Supplement is therefore annexed, being part of a "Summary of the History, Doctrine, and Discipline of Friends, written at the desire of the Yearly Meeting for sufferings in London;" first published in a small work by Joseph Gurney Bevan, Lond. 1800, 12mo. and afterwards annexed to the 4th vol. of Macclaine's *Mosheim*, ed. New York, 1824. *Tr.*]

¹ Heb. xii. 24.

under the veil; nevertheless we acknowledge and assert the divinity of Christ, who is the wisdom and power of God unto salvation.²

To Christ alone we give the title of the Word of God³, and not to the Scriptures; although we highly esteem these sacred writings, in subordination to the Spirit⁴, from which they were given forth; and we hold, with the apostle Paul, that they are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.⁵

We reverence those most excellent precepts which are recorded in Scripture to have been delivered by our great Lord, and we firmly believe that they are practicable, and binding on every Christian; and that in the life to come every man will be rewarded according to his works.⁶ And further it is our belief, that, in order to enable mankind to put in practice these sacred precepts, many of which are contradictory to the unregenerate will of man⁷, every man coming into the world is endued with a measure of light, grace, or good Spirit of Christ; by which, as it is attended to, he is enabled to distinguish good from evil, and to correct the disorderly passions and corrupt propensities of his nature, which mere reason is altogether insufficient to overcome. For all that belongs to man is fallible, and within the reach of temptation; but this divine grace, which comes by him who hath overcome the world⁸, is, to those who humbly and sincerely seek it, an all-sufficient and present help in time of need. By this the snares of the enemy are detected, his allurements avoided, and deliverance is experienced through faith in its effectual operation: whereby the soul is translated out of the kingdom of darkness, and from under the power of Satan, into the marvellous light and kingdom of the Son of God.

Being thus persuaded that man, without the Spirit of Christ inwardly revealed, can do nothing to the glory of God, or to effect his own salvation; we think this influence especially necessary to the performance of the highest act of which the human mind is capable; even the worship of the Father of lights and of spirits in spirit and in truth: therefore we con-

² 1 Cor. i. 24.

³ John, i. 1.

⁴ 2 Pet. i. 21.

⁵ 2 Tim. iii. 15.

⁶ Matt. xvi. 27.

⁷ John, i. 9.

⁸ Ibid. xvi. 33.

sider as obstructions to pure worship all forms which divert the attention of the mind from the secret influence of this unction from the Holy One.⁹ Yet, although true worship is not confined to time and place, we think it incumbent on Christians to meet often together¹, in testimony of their dependence on the Heavenly Father, and for a renewal of their spiritual strength: nevertheless, in the performance of worship, we dare not depend for our acceptance with him, on a formal repetition of the words and experiences of others; but we believe it to be our duty to lay aside the activity of the imagination, and to wait in silence to have a true sight of our condition bestowed upon us; believing even a single sigh², arising from such a sense of our infirmities, and the need we have of divine help, to be more acceptable to God than any performances, however specious, which originate in the will of man.

From what has been said respecting worship, it follows that the ministry which we approve must have its origin from the same source: for that which is needful for man's own direction, and for his acceptance with God³, must be eminently so to enable him to be helpful to others. Accordingly we believe that the renewed assistance of the light and power of Christ is indispensably necessary for all true ministry; and that this holy influence is not at our command, or to be procured by study, but is the free gift of God to chosen and devoted servants. Hence arises our testimony against preaching for hire, in contradiction to Christ's positive command, "Freely ye have received, freely give;"⁴ and hence our conscientious refusal to support such ministry by tithes or other means.

As we dare not encourage any ministry but that which we believe to spring from the influence of the Holy Spirit, so neither dare we attempt to restrain this influence to persons of any condition in life, or to the male sex alone; but, as male and female are one in Christ, we allow such of the female sex as we believe to be endued with a right qualification for the ministry to exercise their gifts for the general edification of the church: and this liberty we esteem a peculiar mark of the gospel dispensation, as foretold by the prophet Joel⁵, and noticed by the apostle Peter.⁶

⁹ 1 John, ii. 20, 27.

¹ Heb. x. 25.

² Rom. viii. 26.

³ Jer. xxiii. 30 to 32.

⁴ Matt. x. 8.

⁵ Joel, ii. 28, 29.

⁶ Acts, ii. 16, 17.

There are two ceremonies in use among most professors of the Christian name, Water-baptism, and what is termed the Lord's Supper. The first of these is generally esteemed the essential means of initiation into the church of Christ; and the latter of maintaining communion with Him. But as we have been convinced that nothing short of his redeeming power, inwardly revealed, can set the soul free from the thralldom of sin; by this power alone we believe salvation to be effected. We hold that as there is one Lord and one faith⁷, so his baptism is one in nature and operation; that nothing short of it can make us living members of his mystical body; and that the baptism with water, administered by his forerunner John, belonged, as the latter confessed, to an inferior and decreasing dispensation.⁸

With respect to the other rite, we believe that communion between Christ and his church is not maintained by that nor any other external performance, but only by a real participation of his divine nature¹ through faith; that this is the supper alluded to in the Revelation², “Behold I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me;” and that where the substance is attained, it is unnecessary to attend to the shadow; which doth not confer grace, and concerning which opinions so different, and animosities so violent, have arisen.

Now, as we thus believe that the grace of God, which comes by Jesus Christ, is alone sufficient for salvation, we can neither admit that it is conferred on a few only, whilst others are left without it: nor, thus asserting its universality, can we limit its operation to a partial cleansing of the soul from sin, even in this life. We entertain worthier notions both of the power and goodness of our heavenly Father, and believe that He doth vouchsafe to assist the obedient to experience a total surrender of the natural will, to the guidance of his pure unerring Spirit; through whose renewed assistance they are enabled to bring forth fruits unto holiness, and to stand perfect in their present rank.³

There are not many of our tenets more generally known

⁷ Eph. iv. 5.

⁸ John, iii. 30.

¹ 2 Pet. i. 4.

² Rev. viii. 20.

³ Matt. v. 48. Eph. iv. 13. Col. iv. 12.

than our testimony against oaths and against war. With respect to the former of these, we abide literally by Christ's positive injunction, delivered in his sermon on the mount, "Swear not at all."⁴ From the same sacred collection of the most excellent precepts of moral and religious duty, from the example of our Lord Himself⁵, and from the correspondent convictions of his Spirit in our hearts, we are confirmed in the belief that wars and fightings are, in their origin and effects, utterly repugnant to the Gospel, which still breathes peace and good-will to men. We also are clearly of the judgment, that if the benevolence of the Gospel were generally prevalent in the minds of men, it would effectually prevent them from oppressing, much more enslaving, their brethren (of whatever colour or complexion), for whom, as for themselves, Christ died; and would even influence their conduct in their treatment of the brute creation: which would no longer groan, the victims of their avarice, or of their false ideas of pleasure.

Some of our tenets have in former times, as hath been shown, subjected our Friends to much suffering from government, though to the salutary purposes of government our principles are a security. They inculcate submission to the laws in all cases wherein conscience is not violated. But we hold that as Christ's kingdom is not of this world, it is not the business of the civil magistrate to interfere in matters of religion; but to maintain the external peace and good order of the community. We therefore think persecution, even in the smallest degree, unwarrantable. We are careful in requiring our members not to be concerned in illicit trade, nor in any manner to defraud the revenue.

It is well known that the society, from its first appearance, has disused those names of the months and days, which having been given in honour of the heroes or false gods of the heathen, originated in their flattery or superstition; and the custom of speaking to a single person in the plural number, as having arisen also from motives of adulation. Compliments, superfluity of apparel and furniture, outward shows of rejoicing and mourning, and the observation of days and times, we esteem to be incompatible with the simplicity and sincerity of a Chris-

⁴ Matt. v. 34.

⁵ Matt. v. 39. 44, &c. ch. xxvi. 52, 53. Luke, xxii. 51. John, xviii. 11.

tian life; and public diversions, gaming, and other vain amusements of the world, we cannot but condemn. They are a waste of that time which is given us for nobler purposes; and divert the attention of the mind from the sober duties of life, and from the reproofs of instruction, by which we are guided to an everlasting inheritance.

To conclude, although we have exhibited the several tenets which distinguish our religious society, as objects of our belief, yet we are sensible that a true and living faith is not produced in the mind of man by his own effort, but is the free gift of God⁶ in Christ Jesus, nourished and increased by the progressive operation of his Spirit in our hearts, and our proportionate obedience.⁷ Therefore, although for the preservation of the testimonies given us to bear, and for the peace and good order of the society, we deem it necessary that those who are admitted into membership with us, should be previously convinced of those doctrines which we esteem essential; yet we require no formal subscription to any articles, either as a condition of membership, or a qualification for the service of the church. We prefer the judging of men by their fruits, and depending on the aid of Him, who, by his prophet, hath promised to be “a spirit of judgment to him that sitteth in judgment.”⁸ Without this, there is a danger of receiving numbers into outward communion, without any addition to that spiritual sheepfold, whereof our blessed Lord declared Himself to be both the door and the shepherd⁹; that is, such as know his voice, and follow him in the paths of obedience.

⁶ Eph. ii. 8.

⁷ John, vii. 17.

⁸ Isaiah, xxviii. 6.

⁹ John, x. 7. 11.

CHAPTER II.

DISCIPLINE.

Its purposes. — Meetings for Discipline. — MONTHLY MEETINGS. — Poor. — Convinced Persons. — Certificates of Removal. — Overseers. — Mode of dealing with offenders. — Arbitration. — Marriages. — Births and Burials. — QUARTERLY MEETINGS. — Queries. — Appeals. — THE YEARLY MEETING. — Women's Meetings. — Meetings of Ministers and Elders. — Certificates to Ministers. — THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS. — Conclusion.

THE purposes which our discipline hath chiefly in view are, the relief of the poor, — the maintenance of good order, — the support of the testimonies which we believe it is our duty to bear to the world, — and the help and recovery of such as are overtaken in faults.

In the practice of discipline we think it indispensable that the order recommended by Christ Himself be invariably observed¹: “If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother; but if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word may be established: and if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church.”

To effect the salutary purposes of discipline, meetings were appointed at an early period of the society, which, from the times of their being held, were called Quarterly-meetings. It was afterwards found expedient² to divide the districts of those meetings, and to meet more frequently; from whence arose Monthly-meetings, subordinate to those held quarterly. At length, in 1669³, a Yearly-meeting was established, to superintend, assist, and provide rules for the whole, previously to which general meetings had been occasionally held.

A Monthly-meeting is usually composed of several particular congregations⁴, situated within a convenient distance from

¹ Matt. xviii. 15 to 17.

² Sewel, 485.

³ Fox, 390.

⁴ Where this is the case, it is usual for the members of each congregation to form what is called a preparative

each other. Its business is to provide for the subsistence of the poor, and for the education of their offspring; to judge of the sincerity and fitness of persons appearing to be convinced of the religious principles of the society, and desiring to be admitted into membership⁵; to excite due attention to the discharge of religious and moral duty; and to deal with disorderly members. Monthly-meetings also grant to such of their members as remove into other Monthly-meetings certificates of their membership and conduct; without which they cannot gain membership in such meetings. Each Monthly-meeting is required to appoint certain persons, under the name of overseers, who are to take care that the rules of our discipline be put in practice; and when any case of complaint or disorderly conduct comes to their knowledge, to see that private admonition, agreeably to the Gospel rule before mentioned, be given, previously to its being laid before the Monthly-meeting.

When a case is introduced, it is usual for a small committee to be appointed, to visit the offender, to endeavour to convince him of his error, and to induce him to forsake and condemn it.⁶ If they succeed, the person is by minute declared to have made satisfaction for the offence; if not, he is disowned as a member of the society.⁷

In disputes between individuals, it has long been the decided judgment of the society, that its members should not sue each other at law. It therefore enjoins all to end their differences by speedy and impartial arbitration, agreeably to rules laid down. If any refuse to adopt this mode, or having adopted it, to submit to the award, it is the direction of the Yearly-meeting that such be disowned.

To Monthly-meetings also belongs the allowing of marriages; for our society hath always scrupled to acknowledge the exclu-

meeting, because its business is to prepare whatever may occur among themselves, to be laid before the Monthly-meeting.

⁵ On application of this kind, a small committee is appointed to visit the party and report to the Monthly-meeting; which is directed by our rules not to admit any into membership without allowing a reasonable time to consider their conduct.

⁶ This is generally done by a written

acknowledgement, signed by the offender.

⁷ This is done by what is termed a testimony of denial: which is a paper reciting the offence, and sometimes the steps which have led to it; next the means unavailingly used to reclaim the offender; after that, a clause disowning him; to which is usually added an expression of desire for his repentance, and for his being restored to membership.

sive authority of the priests in the solemnization of marriage. Those who intend to marry appear together, and propose their intention to the Monthly-meetings; and if not attended by their parents and guardians, produce a written certificate of their consent, signed in the presence of witnesses. The meeting then appoints a committee to inquire whether they be clear of other engagements respecting marriage; and if at a subsequent meeting, to which the parties also come and declare the continuance of their intention, no objections be reported, they have the meeting's consent to solemnize their intended marriage. This is done in a public meeting for worship, toward the close whereof the parties stand up, and solemnly take each other for husband and wife. A certificate of the proceedings is then publicly read, and signed by the parties, and afterward by the relations and others as witnesses. Of such marriage the Monthly-meeting keeps a record; as also of the births and burials of its members. A certificate of the date, of the name of the infant, and of its parents, signed by those present at the birth, is the subject of one of these last-mentioned records: and an order for the interment, countersigned by the grave-maker, of the other. The naming of children is without ceremony. Burials are also conducted in a simple manner. The body, followed by the relations and friends, is sometimes, previously to interment, carried to a meeting; and at the grave a pause is generally made; on both which occasions it frequently falls out, that one or more friends present have somewhat to express for the edification of those who attend; but no religious rite is considered as an essential part of burial.

Several Monthly-meetings compose a Quarterly-meeting. At the Quarterly-meeting are produced written answers from the Monthly-meetings, to certain queries respecting the conduct of their members, and the meetings' care over them. The accounts thus received are digested into one, which is sent also, in the form of answers to queries by representatives, to the Yearly-meeting. Appeals from the judgment of Monthly-meetings are brought to the Quarterly-meetings; whose business also is to assist in any difficult case, or where remissness appears in the care of the Monthly-meetings over the individuals who compose them.

The Yearly-meeting has the general superintendence of the

society in the country in which it is established⁸; and therefore, as the accounts which it receives discover the state of inferior meetings, as particular exigencies require, or as the meeting is impressed with a sense of duty, it gives forth its advice, makes such regulations as appear to be requisite, or excites to the observance of those already made; and sometimes appoints committees to visit those Quarterly-meetings which appear to be in need of immediate advice. Appeals from the judgment of Quarterly-meetings are here finally determined; and a brotherly correspondence, by epistles, is maintained with other Yearly-meetings.⁹

In this place it is proper to add, that as we believe that women may be rightly called to the work of the ministry, we also think that to them belongs a share in the support of our Christian discipline; and that some parts of it, wherein their own sex is concerned, devolve on them with peculiar propriety; accordingly they have Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly meetings of their own sex, held at the same time and in the same place with those of the men; but separately, and without the power of making rules: and it may be remarked that during the persecutions, which in the last century occasioned the imprisonment of so many of the men, the care of the poor often fell on the women, and was by them satisfactorily administered.

In order that those who are in the situation of ministers may have the tender sympathy and counsel of those of either sex¹, who, by their experience in the work of religion, are qualified for that service, the Monthly-meetings are advised to select such under the denomination of Elders. These, and ministers approved by their Monthly-meetings², have meetings peculiar to themselves, called Meetings of Ministers and Elders; in which they have an opportunity of exciting each other to a

⁸ There are seven Yearly-meetings, viz. 1, London, to which come representatives from Ireland; 2, New England; 3, New York; 4, Pennsylvania and New Jersey; 5, Maryland; 6, Virginia; 7, the Carolinas and Georgia.

⁹ See the last note.

¹ Fox, 461. 492.

² Those who believe themselves required to speak in meetings for worship are not immediately acknowledged as

ministers by their Monthly-meetings; but time is taken for judgment, that the meeting may be satisfied of their call and qualification. It will also sometimes happen, that such as are not approved will obtrude themselves as ministers to the grief of their brethren; but much forbearance is used towards these, before the disapprobation of the meeting is publicly testified.

discharge of their several duties, and of extending advice to those who may appear to be weak, without any needless exposure. Such meetings are generally held in the compass of each Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly-meeting. They are conducted by rules prescribed by the Yearly-meeting, and have no authority to make any alteration or addition to them. The members of them unite with their brethren in the meetings for discipline, and are equally accountable to the latter for their conduct.

It is to a meeting of this kind in London, called the Second day's Morning-meeting, that the revisal of manuscripts concerning our principles, previously to publication, is intrusted by the Yearly-meeting held in London: and also the granting, in the intervals of the Yearly-meeting, of certificates of approbation to such ministers as are concerned to travel in the work of the ministry in foreign parts; in addition to those granted by their Monthly and Quarterly meetings. When a visit of this kind doth not extend beyond Great Britain, a certificate from the Monthly-meeting of which the minister is a member is sufficient; if to Ireland, the concurrence of the Quarterly meeting is also required. Regulations of similar tendency obtain in other Yearly-meetings.

The Yearly-meeting of London, in the year 1675, appointed a meeting to be held in that city, for the purpose of advising and assisting in cases of suffering for conscience sake, which hath continued with great use to the society to this day. It is composed of friends under the name of correspondents, chosen by the several Quarterly-meetings, and who reside in or near the city. The same meetings also appoint members of their own in the country as correspondents, who are to join their brethren in London on emergency. The names of all these correspondents, previously to their being recorded as such, are submitted to the approbation of the Yearly-meeting. Those of the men who are approved ministers are also members of this meeting, which is called the Meeting for Sufferings; a name arising from its original purpose, which is not yet become entirely obsolete.

The Yearly-meeting has intrusted the Meeting for Sufferings with the care of printing and distributing books, and with the management of its stock³; and, considered as a standing com-

³ This is an occasional voluntary contribution, expended in printing books,

mittee of the Yearly-meeting, it hath a general care of whatever may arise, during the intervals of that meeting, affecting the society, and requiring immediate attention; particularly of those circumstances which may occasion an application to Government.

There is not in any of the meetings which have been mentioned any president, as we believe that Divine Wisdom alone ought to preside; nor hath any member a right to claim pre-eminence over the rest. The office of clerk, with a few exceptions, is undertaken voluntarily by some member; as is also the keeping of the records. Where these are very voluminous, and require a house for their deposit, (as is the case in London, where the general records of the society in Great Britain are kept,) a clerk is hired to have the care of them; but except a few clerks of this kind, and persons who have the care of meeting-houses, none receive any stipend or gratuity for their services in our religious society.

Thus have we given a view of the foundation and establishment of our discipline; by which it will be seen, that it is not (as hath been frequently insinuated) merely the work of modern times; but was the early care and concern of our pious predecessors. We cannot better close this short sketch of it, than by observing, that if the exercise of discipline should in some instances appear to press hard upon those who, neglecting the monitions of divine counsel in their hearts, are also unwilling to be accountable to their brethren; yet, if that great leading and indispensable rule, enjoined by our Lord, be observed by those who undertake to be active in it, “Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,”⁴ it will prevent the censure of the church from falling on any thing but that which really obstructs the truth. Discipline will then promote, in an eminent degree, that love of our neighbour which is the mark of discipleship, and without which a profession of love to God, and to his cause, is a vain pretence. “He,” said the beloved disciple, “that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? And this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God, love his brother also.”⁵

house-rent for clerk, and his wages for keeping records, the passage of ministers who visit their brethren beyond sea, and some incidental charges.

⁴ Matt. vii. 17.

⁵ 1 John, iv. 20, 21.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THE MENNONITES OR ANABAPTISTS.

§ 1. The adverse and the prosperous circumstances of the Mennonites.—§ 2. Union established among them.—§ 3. Sects of the Anabaptists.—§ 4. External form of the Mennonite church.—§ 5. The Uckewallists.—§ 6. The Waterlanders.—§ 7. The Galenists and Apostoolians.

§ 1. THE Mennonites, after numberless trials and sufferings, at length obtained, in this century, the much desired peace and tranquillity: but they obtained it very slowly, and by degrees. For although they were admitted to the privileges of citizens among the Dutch in the preceding century, yet they could not prevail on the English, the Swiss, and the Germans, either by prayers or arguments, to grant them the same privileges, nor to revise the laws in force against them. The enormities of the old Anabaptists were continually floating in the vision of the magistrates; and it did not seem to them possible, that men, who hold that a Christian can never take an oath, without committing great sin, and who think that Christ allows no place in his kingdom for magistrates and civil punishments, could fulfil the duties of good citizens. And hence, not a few examples may be collected from this century, of Anabaptists who were put to death, or suffered other punishments.¹ At the present time, having exhibited numerous proofs of their probity, they live in peace, not only among the Dutch, but also among the English, the Germans, and the Prussians; and

¹ The enactments of the Swiss against the Mennonites, in this century, are stated by Jo. Bapt. Ottius, *Annales Anabapt.* p. 337, &c., and in some other places: and those of the year 1693, by Jo. Henry Hottinger, *Schweizerische Kirchenhistorie*, vol. i. p. 1101. And that, in this eighteenth century, they have not been treated more leniently in the canton of Bern, appears from Herm. Schyn's *Historia Mennonitar.* cap. x. p. 289, &c., where may be seen letters of

the States-General of the United Provinces interceding with that canton in their behalf. In the Palatinate they were grievously persecuted in 1694: when the letters of *William III.*, the king of Great Britain, hushed the tempest. See Herm. Schyn. loc. cit. 265, &c. Some instances of Anabaptists being put to death in England are mentioned by Gilb. Burnet, *Hist. of his own Times*, vol. i.

support themselves and families, by their honest industry, partly as labouring men and artificers, and partly by merchandise.

§ 2. The more wise among them, readily perceiving that this external peace would not be very firm and durable, unless their intestine contests and their old altercations about unimportant matters were terminated, applied themselves, from time to time, with great care, to appease these discords. Nor have their efforts been without effect. A large part of the Flandrians, the Germans, and the Frieslanders, renounced their contests, in 1630, at Amsterdam, and entered into a union; each retaining, however, some of its peculiar sentiments. Afterwards, in 1649, the Flandrians in particular, and the Germans, between whom there had formerly been very much disagreement, renewed this alliance, and strengthened it with new guarantees.² All these Anabaptists went over to the more moderate part of the sect, and softened down and improved the old institutions of *Menno* and his successors.

§ 3. The whole sect of Anabaptists, therefore, forms at the present day two large communities, namely, the *Refined*, that is, the more strict, who are also called the *old Flemings* or *Flandrians*; and the *Gross*, that is, the more lax and mild, who are also commonly called *Waterlanders*. The reasons of these names have been already given. Each of these communities is subdivided into several minor parties. The *Refined*, in particular, besides embracing the two considerable parties of *Groningenists*³, (who are so called, because they hold their stated conventions at Gröningen,) and the *Dantzigers*, or *Prussians*, (so named because they have adopted the customs and church government of the Prussians,) contains a great number of smaller and more obscure parties, which disagree on various subjects, and especially in regard to discipline, customs, and rules of life, and are united in nothing, but in the name and in the common opinions of the early Anabaptists. All these *Refined* Anabaptists are true disciples of *Menno Simonis*; and they retain, though not all with equal strictness, his doctrines respecting the body of Christ, the washing of strangers' feet as

² Herman Schyn. *Plenior deductio Historiæ Mennonit.* p. 41, 42.

³ [The *Groningenists* or old Flemings have gradually laid aside their ancient strictness, both in regard to church-dis-

cipline, and the practice of rebaptizing. At present, they think and teach, just as in the general Anabaptist church. This is a note of the Dutch translator of this History. *Tr.*]

Christ enjoined, the excluding from the church and avoiding as pestilential not only sinners, but also those who even slightly deviate from the ancient simplicity and are stained with some appearance of sin.⁴ At the present day some of their congregations are altering by little and little, and slowly approximating to more moderate sentiments and discipline.

§ 4. All the Anabaptists have, first, *Bishops* or *Elders* who uniformly preside in the consistory [or church session], and have the sole power of administering baptism and the Lord's supper; secondly, *Teachers*, who preach to the congregation; and lastly, *Deacons* and *Deaconesses*. The ministry [or church-session], which governs the church, is composed of these three orders. The more weighty affairs are proposed and discussed in assemblies of the brethren. All ecclesiastical officers are chosen by the suffrages of the brethren; and, except the deacons, are ordained by prayer and the imposition of hands.

§ 5. Among the minor parties of the more strict [the *Refined*] Anabaptists, that from which its founder, *Uke Walles*, a Frieslander, is called the *Uckewallists* or *Ockwallists*, has obtained a celebrity above others. This rustic and very illiterate man not only wished to have the whole ancient and severe discipline of *Menno* retained entire and unaltered, but also taught in the year 1637, in company with *John Leus*, that there is reason to hope for the salvation of *Judas* and the others, who laid violent hands on our Saviour. To give some plausibility and importance to this error, he pretended, that the period between the birth of our Saviour and the descent of the Holy Ghost, which divides, as it were, the Old Testament from the New, was a time of darkness and ignorance, during which the Jews were destitute of all light and divine assistance: and hence he would infer, that the sins and wickednesses which they committed, during this period, were in a great measure excusable, and could not merit severe punishment from the justice of God. Neither the Mennonites nor the magistrates of Gröningen could endure this idle fancy: the former excommunicated him, and the latter banished him from the city. He removed therefore into the adjacent province of East Friesland; and collected a large number of disciples, whose descendants still remain in

⁴ See Simeon Fred. Rues, *Nachrichten von dem Gegenwärtigen Zustande der Mennoniten*; Jena, 1743, 8vo.

the territory of Gröningen, and in Friesland, Lithuania, and Prussia, and hold their meetings apart from the other Mennonites.⁵ Whether they still profess that sentiment which brought so much trouble upon their master, does not appear; for they have very little intercourse with other people. But it is certain that they tread, the most faithfully of all, in the steps of *Menno*, their common preceptor, and exhibit, as it were, a living picture of the first age of Mennonitism.⁶ If any one join them from other sects of Christians, they baptize him anew. Their dress is rustic; nay, worse than rustic: for they will tolerate no appearance or shadow of elegance and ornament. Their beard is long; their hair uncombed; their countenance very gloomy; and their houses and furniture only such as absolute necessity demands. Whoever deviates in the least from this austerity, is forthwith excommunicated, and shunned by all as a pest. Overseers of the church, that is, their *bishops*, who are different from their teachers, must be approved by all their congregations. The washing of feet they regard as a divine rite. They can the more easily keep up this discipline, as they carefully provide, that not a breath of science or learning shall contaminate their pious ignorance.

§ 6. The *Gross* or more moderate Anabaptists consist of the Waterlanders, Flandrians, Frisians, and Germans, who entered into the union already mentioned. They are generally called *Waterlanders*. They have forsaken the more rigid and singular opinions of *Menno*, (whom, however, most of them respect and venerate,) and have approximated to the customs and opinions

⁵ [It is incorrect to represent the followers of *Ucke Walles* as constituting a particular sect, bearing the name of *Uckewallists* or *Oeckewallists*. He was merely a preacher among the old *Flemings*. He may have found some individual persons that would profess his doctrines; but there is no evidence before us, that his particular opinions were embraced by any congregation whatever, and much less by the whole party of the old *Flemings*, or by any considerable part of it. Besides, his doctrines have been unknown among them now for many years. "I testify (writes one of their teachers) that it is not known to me, that there is now any church or congregation among the Mennonites, either here, in East Friesland, or any

where else, that has received or professed these particular and absurd opinions." H. Waerma, *Beknopt Ontwerp*, in the Preface § 24. Emden, 1744, 8vo. So the *Oeckewallists*, as they are called, or the Gröningensians and old *Flemings*, are no longer particular sects among the Baptists. See also note 3, above. This likewise is a note of the Dutch translator of Mosheim. *Tr.*]

⁶ Jo. Bapt. Ottius, *Annales Anabaptist*, p. 266. Herman Schyn, *Plenior Deductio Histor. Mennonit.* p. 43. Joach. Christ. Jehring, *Diss. de Ukonis Walles Vita et Fatis*; in the *Biblioth. Bremensis Theol. Philol.* tom. viii. p. 113, and the preface to the History of the Mennonites, (in German,) p. 11, &c., and the appendix to the same, p. 234, &c.

of other Christians. They are divided into two communities, the *Frieslanders* and the *Waterlanders*; neither of which has any bishops, but only *Elders* and *Deacons*. Each congregation is independent, and has its consistory, composed of the *Elders* and *Deacons*. But the supreme power belongs to the people; without whose consent no business of great importance is transacted. Their elders are learned men; some of them doctors of physic, and others teachers of philosophy. And they now support a professor at Amsterdam, who teaches both philosophy and theology.

§ 7. One of these communities of *Waterlanders*⁷, in the year 1664, became split into two parties; which still continue, and which bear the names of *Galenists* and *Apostoolians*, from the names of their [first] teachers. *Galenus Abrahams de Haan*, a doctor of physic, and a minister among the Mennonites at Amsterdam, a man whom even his enemies applaud for his eloquence and penetration, taught, in accordance with the views of the Arminians, that the Christian religion was not so much a body of truths to be believed, as of precepts to be obeyed; and he would have admission to the church, and to the title and privileges of brethren, be open to all persons, who merely believed the books of the Old and New Testaments to be divinely inspired, and lived pure and holy lives. He adopted this principle, because he himself entertained different views, from the other Mennonites, respecting the divine nature of Jesus Christ, and the redemption of the human race by his merits and death, and was inclined to the side of the Socinians.⁸ Against him, *Samuel Apostool*, besides others, who was likewise a distin-

⁷ [This is either a mistake or a slip of the pen in *Dr. Mosheim*. This schism did not occur in the community of the *Waterlanders*, but in that of the *Flemings*; and among them only at Amsterdam. The church of the Flemings at Amsterdam, in which were the two preachers *Galenus Abrahams de Haan* and *Samuel Apostool*, became at this time divided. Some years afterwards, the *Waterlander* church in the above-named city united with the *Galenists*. Such is the note of the Dutch translator of this work. *Tr.*]

⁸ [*Galenus Abrahams* was accused of this by his opposers. The court of Holland (the States-General) investigated the subject, and acquitted this minister, on the 14th of September, 1663. See

Wagenaer, Amsterdam, part. ii. p. 195, and 237. Note of the Dutch translator. —To the history of the Orthodox or Non-Remonstrant Mennonites, belongs, *The Faith of the true Mennonites or Baptists, gathered from their public Confessions, by Cornelius Ris, minister of the Mennonites at Hoorn, with an explanatory Introduction and Appendix*; Hamburg, 1776, 4to, (in German.) This is properly a translation of the Dutch original, which was published in 1773. It exhibits many correct views in genuine Christianity, in both its theoretical and practical parts; and is free from the doctrine, which is peculiar only to some of the Mennonites, respecting the origin of Christ's human nature. Note of the Dutch translator. *Tr.*]

guished minister of the church at Amsterdam, very strenuously defended, not only the sentiments held by most of the Mennonites in common with other Christians, respecting the divinity of our Saviour, and the influences of his death, but also the well known peculiar sentiment of this sect, respecting the visible church of Christ on earth.⁹ The consequence of this contest was a schism, which some prudent and influential men still labour in vain to remove. The *Galenists* are equally ready, with the Arminians, to admit all sorts of persons into their church, who call themselves Christians; and they are the only Anabaptists [in Holland] who refuse to be called *Mennonites*. The *Apostoolians* admit none to membership, who do not profess to believe the doctrines contained in the public formula of their religion.¹

⁹ See, respecting both [these men], Herman Schyn's *Deductio Plenior Historiæ Mennonit.* cap. xv. p. 318, and cap. xviii. p. 237.

¹ Caspar Commelin, *Description of the city of Amsterdam* (in Dutch), vol. i. p. 500, &c. Stoupa, *La Religion des Hollandois*, p. 20, &c. Henry Lewis Bentheim's *Holländischer Schul- und Kirchen-staat*, pt. i. ch. xix. p. 830. — [As this chapter of Dr. Mosheim's history embraces only the Dutch Baptists or *Mennonites*, it seems proper to add here a brief narrative of the English Baptists. — Most of the *Anabaptists* mentioned in English history prior to the reign of James I. appear to have been either Dutch and other foreign Anabaptists, who endeavoured to establish themselves in England, or small companies of converts made by them in the country. Yet there were probably many individuals among the people, who questioned, or denied, the propriety of infant baptism; and there are some intimations of attempts by such persons to hold conventicles, in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth. But the first regular congregation of English Baptists, appears to have originated from certain English Puritans, who returned from Holland after the death of their pastor, Rev. *John Smith*, who died in 1610. See vol. iii. p. 549, note⁸. These were *General* or *Arminian Baptists*; and may be supposed to have derived many of their opinions from the Mennonites. From this time onward, churches of General Baptists were formed, here and there, in different parts of

England. But in general, they made no great figure, and do not appear to have had much connexion, or to have professed one uniform faith. The *Particular* or *Calvinistic Baptists* trace their origin to a congregation of *Independents*, established in London in the year 1616. This congregation having become very large, and some of them differing from the others on the subject of infant baptism, they agreed to divide. Those who disbelieved in infant baptism were regularly dismissed in 1653, and formed into a new church, under Rev. John Spilsbury. In 1638, several more members were dismissed to Mr. Spilsbury's church. And in 1639, a new Baptist church was formed. Churches of Particular Baptists now multiplied rapidly. In 1646, there were forty-six in and about London. They published a confession of their faith in 1643, which was reprinted in 1644, and 1646; and which was revised in 1689 by a convention of elders and delegates from more than one hundred churches in England and Wales. Besides these, there were at that time, several churches of Calvinistic Baptists, who held to open communion, especially in Bedfordshire, where John Bunyan preached. There were also some *Seventh Day Baptists*. Baptist churches were also planted in Ireland, in the times of the civil wars; and Roger Williams established a Baptist church in Providence in 1639, which was the commencement of this denomination in America. — When Cromwell had usurped the government, he dismissed the principal

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE SOCINIANS AND ARIANS.

§ 1. Flourishing state of the Socinians.—§ 2. Socinians at Altorf.—§ 3. Adversities of the Polish Socinians.—§ 4, 5. Fate of the Exiles.—§ 6. The Arians.

§ 1. THE condition of the Socinians, at the commencement of this century, seemed in many respects to rest on a firm basis. For they not only enjoyed the fullest religious liberty in Transylvania and Luzko [in Volhinia], but they had also, in Poland, a distinguished school at Rakow, furnished with teachers eminent for learning and talents, a printing establishment, numerous congregations, and many patrons, who were men of the highest rank. Elated with this prosperity, they thought proper to make great efforts to extend their church, or to obtain

officers of the army, alleging, among other reasons, that they were all Anabaptists. Yet, during his administration, they had full toleration; indeed his *Tryers* admitted a number of their preachers to become parish ministers of England. On the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, the Baptists, with all other Nonconformists, were exposed to great troubles and persecutions; and at the revolution in 1688, they, with the other Dissenters, obtained free toleration. Among the English Baptists of this century, there were some men of education; but the greater part of their preachers were not men of learning. The Particular Baptists, at their general convention in 1689, made arrangements for the better education of young men for their pulpits; and from their provisions originated afterwards the famous Baptist Academy at Bristol. Before the erection of regular Baptist congregations, and indeed for some time after, it was very common for Baptists and others to belong to the same church, and to worship and commune together. From their first rise, the Baptists were assailed for holding only to adult baptism, and that by immersion; and they were not backward to defend themselves. The severest conflict of the Particular Baptists was

with the Quakers, in the time of William Penn. One of their writers made statements, for which the Quakers accused him of falsehood; which caused violent animosities, and much mutual crimination. The Particular Baptists had also controversies among themselves. One was, respecting their practice of *confirmation*, or imposing hands on those newly baptized. Another related to the propriety of admitting *singing*, as a part of their public worship.—The *Particular Baptists* scarcely differed at all from the *Independents*, except on the mode and subjects of baptism. The *General Baptists*, having no bond of union among themselves, held a considerable diversity of opinions; and as they did not set forth full and explicit accounts of their faith, it is impossible to characterize them, otherwise than by saying, they in general laid little stress on doctrines, and allowed very great liberty of opinion.—See Crosby's *History of the Baptists*. Benedict's *General History of the Baptists*, vol. i. ch. v. Toulmin's *Supplement to Neal's History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 169, &c. vol. iii. p. 543, &c. vol. iv. p. 308, &c. 493, &c. vol. v. p. 115, &c. 239, &c. Bogue and Bennet's *Hist. of Dissenters*, vol. i. p. 147, &c. *Tr.*]

friends and patrons in other countries. And it may be shown by numerous proofs that emissaries of these Polish Socinians, in the beginning of this century, were active in Holland, England, Germany, and Prussia, and that they endeavoured to make proselytes among the great and the learned. For while most other sects endeavour first to make friends among the common people, this sect, which exalts reason alone, has the peculiarity, that it does not much seek the favour and friendship of women, the illiterate, and persons of inferior rank, but labours to recommend itself especially to persons of high rank and eminent talents.

§ 2. Though these missions were, for the most part, committed to men of birth and genius, yet their results, in most places, did not answer the expectations of their projectors. No where did there seem to be a greater prospect of success, than in the university of Altorf, in the territory of Nuremberg. For here *Ernest Sohner*, a physician and Peripatetic philosopher, a man of great acuteness and subtilty, and a professor of philosophy, who had joined the Socinians while he resided in Holland, found it the more easy to instil into the minds of his hearers the doctrines of his new brethren, because he was in high reputation for learning and genuine piety. But after his death, in 1612, this new Socinian party, being deprived of their guide and head, could not manage their affairs so craftily, as to elude the vigilance of the other professors of the university. Hence, the whole matter being fully exposed in 1616, this already mature and daily increasing pest was suddenly arrested and destroyed, by the zealous and dexterous severity of the Nuremberg magistrates. The foreigners, who were infected with the heresy, saved themselves by flight: the infected citizens of Nuremberg allowed themselves to be reclaimed, and returned to correct principles.¹

§ 3. Neither could the Socinian sect long hold that high

¹ A very full and learned history of this whole business, derived chiefly from unpublished documents and papers, was drawn up by a late divine of the university of Altorf, Gustavus George Zeitner, entitled, *Historia Crypto-Socinismi Altorfinæ quondam Academiæ infesti Arcana*; which was published by Gebauer, Leipsic, 1729, 2 vols. 4to. [Sohner kept up a brisk correspondence with the

Polish Socinians; who sent a number of Polish youths to Altorf, with their private tutors, to aid in spreading Socinian principles. It was intended not only to diffuse these principles in and around Altorf, but to communicate them also to other German universities. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. v. p. 625, &c. *Tr.*]

ground which it appeared to occupy in Poland.² The chief pillar that supported it was removed in the year 1638, by a decree of the Polish diet. For in this year some students of the school at Rakow wantonly threw stones at a wooden statue of our Saviour extended on the cross, and demolished it. For this offence the Papists took such severe revenge, that they procured the fatal law to be enacted at Warsaw, which commanded the school at Rakow to be broken up, the instructors to be banished in disgrace, the printing establishment to be destroyed, and the Socinian church to be closed. All this was executed forthwith, and without abatement, in spite of every effort which the powerful patrons of the sect could put forth.³ This first calamity was the harbinger of that dire tempest, which twenty years after completely overthrew the glory and prosperity of the sect. For in a diet at Warsaw, in 1658, all the Socinians, dispersed throughout Poland, were commanded to quit the country; and it was made a capital offence, either to profess their doctrines, or to harbour others who professed them. Three years were allowed to the proscribed, for the disposal of their property, and the settlement of their affairs. But soon after, the cruelty of their enemies reduced it to two years. Finally, in the year 1661, the tremendous edict was renewed; and all the Socinians that remained were most inhumanly driven from Poland, with immense loss, not merely of property, but also of the health and the lives of many persons.⁴

§ 4. A part of the exiles took their course towards Transylvania; and nearly all these perished by divers calamities.⁵ Others were dispersed in the provinces adjacent to Poland, Silesia, Brandenburg, and Prussia, where their posterity still remain, scattered here and there. A considerable number of the more respectable families settled for a time at Creutzberg

² On the flourishing state of the Socinian cause, especially of the Racovian school, under the rectorship of Martin Ruarus, see Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. i. p. 572, in his life of Ruarus, a very learned man of Holstein, who, it appears, had embraced Socinianism.

³ *Epistola de Wissowatii vita*, in Sand's *Bibliotheca Antitrinitaria*, p. 233. Gust. Geo. Zeltner's *Historia Crypto-Socinismi Altorfani*, vol. i. p. 299.

⁴ Stanisł. Lubieniecky, *Historia Reform. Polonicæ*, lib. iii. cap. 17, 18, p. 279, &c. *Æquitis Poloniæ Vindicæ pro Unitariis*.

in Polonia Religionis Libertate: in Sand's *Biblioth. Antitrinit.* p. 267, and many others.

⁵ [Some say there were 380 of these refugees; others say 500. On the borders of Hungary, they were assaulted and plundered, so that when they arrived at Clausenburg in Transylvania, they were almost naked. Disease now attacked them, and carried them nearly all off. See J. G. Walch's *Linleit. in die rel. Streit. aus d. Ev. Luth. Kirche*, vol. iv. p. 275. *Von Einem*.]

in Silesia, under the protection of the Duke of Brieg.⁶ Others went to more distant countries, Holland, England, Holstein, and Denmark, to see if they could obtain a comfortable settlement for themselves and their brethren. The most active and zealous in such embassies was *Stanislaus Lubieniezky*, a very learned Polish gentleman, who rendered himself acceptable to great men, by his eloquence, politeness, and sagacity. In the years 1661 and 1662, he came very near to obtaining a secure residence for the Socinians at Altona, from *Frederic III.* king of Denmark; at Frederickstadt, from *Christ. Albert*, duke of Holstein, 1662; and at Mannheim, from *Charles Lewis*, the elector Palatine. But all his efforts and expectations were frustrated by the remonstrances and entreaties of theologians; in Denmark, by *John Svaning*, bishop of Seeland; in Holstein, by *John Reinboth*, the general superintendent; in the Palatinate, by *John Lewis Fabricius* [doctor and professor of theology at Heidelberg].⁷ The others who undertook such negotiations, had much less success than he: nor could any nation of Europe be persuaded to allow the enemies of Christ's divinity freely to practise their worship among them.

§ 5. Such, therefore, as remain of this unhappy people, live concealed in various countries of Europe, especially in Brandenburg, Prussia, England, and Holland, and hold here and there clandestine meetings for worship: in England, however, it is said, they have public religious meetings, with the connivance of the magistrates.⁸ Some have united themselves with the

⁶ Lubieniezky, *Historia Reform. Polon.* cap. xviii. p. 285, where there is quite a long epistle of the Creutzburgers.

⁷ See Sand's *Bibliotheca Antitrinit.* p. 165. *The Life of Lubieniezky*, prefixed to his *Historia Reformat. Polonica*, p. 7. 8. Jo. Möller's *Introductio in Historiam Cherson. Cimbrica*, pt. ii. p. 105, and *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 487, &c. Jo. Henr. Heidegger's *Life of Jo. Lewis Fabricius*, subjoined to the works of the latter, p. 38.

⁸ The Socinians residing in Brandenburg were accustomed, a few years ago, to meet at stated times at Königswald, a village near Frankfort on the Oder. See Jourdain, (for he is the author of the paper,) *Recueil de Littérature, de Philosophie, et d'Histoire*, p. 44, Amsterd. 1731, 8vo. They also published at Ber-

lin, in 1716, a German confession of their faith, which, with a confutation of it, is printed in *Die Theologischen Heb-Opfern*, part x. p. 852. [In Prussian Brandenburg they found some protection, under the kindness of the electoral stadtholder, Bogislaus, prince von Radzivil, who retained some Socinians at his court: and perhaps they would also have obtained religious freedom under the electoral prince, *Frederic William*, had not the states of the duchy insisted on their expulsion. See Fred. Sam. Bock's *Historia Socinianismi, Prussici*, p. 55, &c., and Hartknoch's *Preussische Kirchenhistorie*, p. 646, &c. By the indulgence of the above-named electoral prince, they obtained religious freedom in Brandenburg, particularly in New Mark, under the hope that this little company would gradually unite itself

Arminians, and others with those Mennonites who are called *Galenists*; for neither of these sects requires its members very explicitly to declare their religious belief. It is also said, that not a few of these dispersed people are members of the society that bears the name of *Collegiants*. Being thus situated, they have not all been able to retain that form of religion which their fathers transmitted to them. Accordingly, both the learned and the unlearned, without restraint, explain variously those doctrines which distinguish them from other sects; yet they all agree in denying the divine Trinity, and the divinity and atonement of our Saviour.⁹

with the Protestant churches. They likewise had churches and schools at Landsberg, down to the end of the seventeenth century. After that they were expelled; the protection of the Schwerin family, which they had hitherto enjoyed, now ceasing.—In Holland, the book of John Vökel, a Socinian, *de Vera Religione*, 1642, was burnt; and the states of Holland in 1653, forbade the publication of Unitarian books, and all religious meetings of Socinians. Yet Andrew Wissowatius procured the famous *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum* to be printed at Amsterdam, though the place is not mentioned on the title-page; and the Socinians have been allowed to reside there, but without the public exercise of their religion. Many of them likewise are concealed among the Mennonites, and the other sects. *Schl.*—"The Socinians in England have never made any figure as a *community*, but have rather been dispersed among that great variety of sects that have arisen in the country, where liberty displays its most glorious fruits, and at the same time exhibits its most striking inconveniences. Besides, few ecclesiastics or writers of any note have adopted the theological system, now under consideration, in all its branches. The Socinian doctrine relating to the design and efficacy of the death of Christ had indeed many abettors in England, during the seventeenth century; and it may be presumed without temerity, that its votaries are rather increased than diminished, in the present; but those divines who have abandoned the *Athanasian* hypothesis, concerning the Trinity of persons in the Godhead, have more generally gone into the *Arian* and *Semi-*

Arian notions of that inexplicable subject, than into those of the Socinians, who deny that Jesus Christ existed before his appearance in the human nature. The famous *John Biddle*, after having maintained, both in public and private, during the reign of Charles I. and the protectorship of Cromwell, the Unitarian system, erected an independent congregation in London, which is the only British church we have heard of, in which all the peculiar doctrines of Socinianism were inculcated." *Macl.*—Since Maclaine wrote, the Socinians, under the name of Unitarians, have become a considerable body in England, their opinions having been placed by several teachers and writers of ability in a favourable point of view. Still their sect has never been extensively popular, and it bears no sort of proportion as to numbers, to either of the two great Methodist bodies. Its chief strength lies in the old congregations formed originally by Presbyterians, which have very generally gone over to it. *Ed.]*

⁹ This is evident from many proofs, and among others, from the example of Samuel Crell, the most learned man among the Socinians a few years since; who although he sustained the office of a teacher among them, yet deviated in many respects from the doctrines of Socinus and of the Racovian Catechism; nor did he wish to be called a Socinian, but an Artemonite. See *Journal Littéraire*, tom. xvii. pt. i. p. 150, and my own remarks on this man, in my *Synagma Diss. ad sanctiores Disciplinas pertinentium*, p. 352. *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, 1750, p. 942. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* tom. ii. pt. ii. p. 88, &c.

§ 6. Kindred with the Socinians, are the *Arians*, some of whom obtained celebrity in this century, as authors, such as *Christopher Sand*, father and son, and *John Biddle*¹; and likewise some of those comprehended under the general appellation of *Antitrinitarians*, or *Unitarians*. For this [latter] name is applied to various sorts of persons, who agree in this only, that they will not admit of any real distinction in the divine nature. The name of *Arians* is likewise given to all those in general, who represent our Saviour to be inferior to God the Father. And as this may be done in various ways, it is manifest that this word, as now used, must have various significations; and that all who are now called *Arians*, do not agree with the ancient Arians; nor do they all hold one and the same sentiment.

¹ Of both the Sands, Arnold [*Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, vol. ii. book xvii. ch. xiii. § 25, p. 176, &c.,] and others give account. Respecting Biddle, see *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* tom. i. pt. ii. p. 288, &c. [Sandius the elder was of Creutzberg in Prussia, studied law, and filled various offices at Königsberg; but was deprived in 1668, because he would not renounce Arianism. After this he lived in retirement, and wrote only some vindications and apologies. Yet he aided his son in the composition of his works; and outliving him, published some of them after his death. The son called himself *Christopher Christopheri Sandius*; and wrote, besides his *Biblioth. Antitrinitariorum*, his *Nucleus Historiæ Ecclesiast.* on the first four centuries, in which he attempts to prove, that the early fathers before the council of Nice held Arian sentiments; and that Athanasius was the first that broached the common belief among Christians respecting the Trinity. He also wrote *Interpretationes Paradoxæ Quatuor Evangeliorum*; *de Origine Animæ*; *Problema Paradoxum de Spiritu Sancto*; and (under the name of Herm. Cingallus) *Scriptura Trinitatis Revelatrix*. The son died in 1680 (aged 40), and the father in 1686. *Schl.*—See also concerning the younger Sand, Rees' *Cyclopædia*, art. Sandius.—John Biddle was born in 1615, educated at Oxford, became master of a free school in Gloucester, 1641. Here he soon became suspected of heresy; and from the year 1644, till his death in 1662, he passed

a large part of his time in various prisons and in exile. Whenever he was at liberty, he wrote and preached in favour of his sentiments, which caused him to be frequently apprehended, and to undergo a criminal prosecution. In the year 1651 he published two catechisms; in which, Mr. Neal says, he maintained, "1. That God is confined to a certain place. 2. That he has a bodily shape. 3. That he has passions. 4. That he is neither omnipotent nor unchangeable. 5. That we are not to believe three persons in the Godhead. 6. That Jesus Christ has not the nature of God, but only a divine lordship. 7. That he was not a priest while upon earth. 8. That there is no deity in the Holy Ghost." According to Dr. Toulmin, these are not formal *propositions*, but only *questions* in his catechisms, to which he subjoins texts of Scripture by way of answer. Thus the first proposition is this question: "Is not God, according to the current of the Scripture, in a certain place, namely, in heaven?" The answer consists of twenty-nine passages of Scripture, which represent God as "looking from heaven," as, "Our Father, who art in heaven," &c. See Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 157, &c. ed. Boston, 1817. Toulmin's *Review of the Life, Character, and Writings of Mr. John Biddle*. Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 411, &c. Rees' *Cyclopædia*, art. *Biddle*. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF SOME MINOR SECTS.

§ 1, 2. The Collegiants.—§ 3. The Labadists.—§ 4. Bourignon and Poiret.—
§ 5. The Philadelphian Society.

§ 1. IT may be proper here to give some account of certain sects which could not be conveniently noticed in the history of the larger communities, but which, for various reasons, should not be passed over in total silence. While the Arminian disputes in Holland were most warm, in the year 1619, arose that class of people who hold sacred conventions twice a year at *Rheinsburg* in Holland, not far from Leyden, and who are known by the name of *Collegiants*. The institution originated from three brothers, by the name of *Koddeus*, or *van der Kodde*; namely, *John James*, *Hadrian*, and *Gisbert*; obscure men, in rural life, but, according to report, pious, well acquainted with their Bibles, and opposed to religious controversies. They were joined by one *Anthony Cornelius*, who was also an illiterate and obscure man. The descendants and followers of these men acquired the name of *Collegiants*, from the circumstance that they called their assemblies *Colleges*. All persons may be admitted into the society, who merely account the Bible a divine book, and endeavour to live according to its precepts, whatever may be their opinions respecting God and the Christian religion. The brethren, who are considerably numerous in most of the cities and villages of Holland, Friesland, and West Friesland, assemble twice a week, namely, on Sundays and Wednesdays; and after singing a hymn, and offering a prayer, they take up some passage of the New Testament, which they illustrate and explain. With the exception of females, whom they do not allow to speak in public, all persons, of whatever rank or order, are at liberty to bring forward their thoughts and offer them to the consideration of the brethren: and all are at liberty to oppose, modestly and soberly, whatever the brethren advance. They have printed lists of the texts of Scripture which are to be

discussed at their several meetings, so that each person may examine the passages at home, and come prepared to speak. Twice a year, the brethren assemble at Rheinsburg, where they have spacious buildings, destined for the education of orphan children, and for the reception of strangers; and there spend four days together, in listening to exhortations to holiness and love, and in celebrating the Lord's Supper. Here also, such as wish it, are baptized; but it is in the ancient manner, immersing the whole body in water. The brethren of Friesland, at the present day, assemble once a year, at Leuwarden, and there observe the holy supper, because Rheinsburg is too distant for them conveniently to go thither. In short, by the *Collegiants*, we are to understand a very large society of persons of every sect and rank, who assume the name of Christians, but entertain different views of Christ; and which is kept together neither by rulers and teachers, nor by ecclesiastical laws, nor by a formula of faith, nor, lastly, by any set of rites, but solely by the desire of improvement in scriptural knowledge and piety.¹

§ 2. In such an association, which allows all its members to think as they please, and which has no formula of faith, dissensions and controversies cannot easily arise. Yet, in the year 1672, there was no little dispute between *John* and *Paul Breitenburg*, merchants of Rotterdam, and *Abraham Lemmermann* and *Francis Cuiper*, merchants of Amsterdam. *John Breitenburg* (or *Bredenburg*, as he is generally called,) had established a peculiar sort of *College*, in which he expounded the religion of reason and nature. This was disapproved of by *Lemmermann* and *Cuiper*, who wished to have reason excluded from any combination with religion. The dispute grew warmer, as *Bredenburg* diverged towards the opinions of *Spinoza*, and defended them, and yet wished to be regarded as a Christian.² Some

¹ See the *Dissertation sur les Usages de ceux qu'on appelle en Hollande Collégiens et Rhinobourgeois*, which is in the splendid work, *Cérémonies religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tom. iv. p. 333, &c. Also a book published by the Collegiants themselves, entitled, *De Oorspronck, Natuur, Handelwoize en Oogmerk der zo genaamde Rynburgsche Vergadering*, Amst. 1736, 4to.

² John Bredenburg and Francis Cuiper are well known among the followers

and the adversaries of Spinoza; but what sort of men they were, has been unknown generally. Bredenburg, a collegiant and a merchant of Rotterdam, openly taught the doctrine of Spinoza, and demonstrated its accordance with reason, mathematically. At the same time, he not only professed to be a Christian, but actually explained, recommended, and defended Christianity in the meetings of the Collegiants, and declared it to be of divine origin. This man of a singular genius

other minor contests arose at the same time. The result of the whole was, that the *Collegiants*, in 1686, were split into two opposing sects, and held their conventions in separate edifices at Rheinsburg. But on the death of the authors of these discords, near the beginning of the next century, the schism began to heal, and the *Collegiants* returned to their former union and harmony.³

§ 3. *John Labadie*, a Frenchman, eloquent, and a man of genius, was first a Jesuit; being dismissed from their society, he joined the Reformed, and sustained the office of a preacher with reputation, in France, Switzerland, and Holland. He at length set up a new sect, which formed a settlement first at Middleburg, in Zealand, and then at Amsterdam, and afterwards, in 1670, established itself at Hervorden, a town in Westphalia, under the patronage of *Elizabeth*, princess Palatine, the abbess of Hervorden; and being driven from that place, it removed to Altona, in 1672; and on the death of its founder in 1674, retired to the castle of Wiewert, in West Friesland: but it has long since become extinct. This sect was joined not only by several men of considerable learning, but also by that Minerva of the seventeenth century, the very learned lady of Utrecht, *Anna Maria Schurmann*. This little community did not wish to be thought to differ from the Reformed, in regard to religious opinions and doctrines, so much as in manners and rules of discipline. For its lawgiver exhibited a rigorous and austere model of sanctity for the imitation of his followers;

reconciled these two contradictory things, by maintaining that reason was opposed to religion; but yet, that we ought to believe in the religion contained in the New Testament Scriptures against the most evident and the most conclusive mathematical demonstrations. He must, therefore, have believed in a twofold truth, theological and mathematical; and have held that to be false in theology, which is true in philosophy. The best account of Bredenburg is given by the learned Jew, Isaac Orobio, in his *Certamen philosophicum propugnata Veritatis divinæ et naturalis adversus Jo. Bredenburgii principia, ex quibus quod religio rationi repugnat, demonstrare nititur*. This book, which contains Bredenburg's demonstrations of the doctrines of Spinoza, was first published,

Amsterd. 1703, 8vo, and then, Brussels, 1731, 4to. Bredenburg's adversary, Francis Cuiper, rendered his name famous by his *Arcana Atheismi detecta*, written in opposition to Bredenburg. Cuiper was a bookseller of Amsterdam, and published among other things, the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum seu Unitariorum*. Those acquainted with literary history, know that Cuiper, on account of that very book above mentioned, which he wrote against Bredenburg, became suspected of Spinozism, notwithstanding he was a Collegiant, and a strenuous defender of Christianity, and of the harmony of reason with religion.

³ Besides those already named, see Simon Fred. Raes, *Nachrichten vom Zustande der Mennoniten*, p. 267, &c.

and conceived, that not only the invisible church, but also the visible, ought to be a community of sanctified persons, earnestly striving after perfection in holiness. Several of his tracts are extant, which show him to have possessed a lively and ardent mind, but not well disciplined and polished; and as persons of such a character are easily betrayed by their natural temperament into errors and faults, I am not sure whether those witnesses are to be wholly disregarded, who charge his life and doctrine with many blemishes.⁴

§ 4. Nearly at the same time, *Antoinette Bourignon de la Porte*, a lady of Flanders, boasted that she was inspired of God, and instructed supernaturally, to restore the Christian religion, which had become extinct and lost among the disputes and contentions of the different sects. This woman, who possessed a voluble tongue, uncommonly ardent feelings, and an inexhaustible imagination, filled the provinces of Holland, and also Holstein (where she spent some years), with the fame of her flights of fancy; and she persuaded some among the learned, as well as the ignorant and unlearned, to believe her declarations. After various sufferings and conflicts, she died at Franeker in Friesland, in the year 1680. It would require a prophet and diviner to make out from her writings, which are numerous, a neat and consistent system of theology. For that divine light which guides persons of this character, never proceeds in a regular and methodical way; and it spreads a thick darkness before the minds of those who investigate truth, not by feeling, but by the understanding. Yet a reflecting person, who is versed in church history, may easily discover

⁴ See Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. iii. p. 35, &c.; and *Isagoge ad Histor. Chersones. Cimbrica*, pt. ii. cap. v. p. 125, &c. Add Godfrey Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, vol. i. pt. i. book xvii. ch. xxxi. p. 1186. Weismann's *Hist. Eccl. Sæculi XVII.* p. 927, and others. Concerning the two celebrated companions and colleagues of Labadie, Peter du Lignon and Peter Yvon, see Möller's *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 472, 1020. [Labadie exhibited through life the character of an indiscreet reformer. To lash the vices of the people, and to purge the churches of their offences against purity, was his great business. But it was his misfor-

tune always to get into difficulty. The irreligious abhorred him, and the pious were dissatisfied with him. Hence he removed from place to place, was at length excommunicated by the French churches in Holland, and set up a church of his own. But this church rendered itself so odious, that it was persecuted, and driven from place to place, so long as Labadie was at the head of it. The charges against him were very numerous and weighty, and respected both his orthodoxy and his morals; but it is questionable whether, if fairly tried, he would be found to be any thing more than a rash, indiscreet, enthusiastical man. *Tr.*]

that this woman, who had not full command of her reason, derived a large part of her oracles from the writings of the mystic doctors; and what she derived from these sources, the extravagance of her fancy made worse than it was before. Neglecting all the details of her system, the substance of it is, that religion consists in an internal *emotion* or sensation of the soul, and not in either knowledge or practice.⁵ Among her patrons, the most distinguished were, *Christian Bartholomew de Cordt*, a priest of the Oratory at Mechlin, a Jansenist, who died on the island of Nordstrand in Jutland⁶; and *Peter Poiret*, a man of penetrating genius, and well versed in the Cartesian philosophy, who has clearly evinced, by his own example, that knowledge and ignorance, reason and superstition, are not so mutually repulsive that they cannot reside in the same breast, and by their united energies engender monstrous productions.⁷

§ 5. Of the same, or at least similar views, the same plans, and the same general character, was *Jane Leade*, who, near the end of the century, blinded not only many of the common people in England, but also some of the better informed, by her visions, her prophecies, her promises, and her doctrines, and thus gave rise to the *Philadelphian Society*. For she believed in general, that all contentions among Christians would wholly cease, and that the church of Christ would become the only, the perfectly united, and the most beautiful church here on earth; provided all would commit their souls to the *internal teacher*, to be moulded, enlightened, and governed by Him, neglecting all other doctrines, precepts, and opinions. And she did not hesitate to give assurance, in the name of God, that such a church as her own imagination had conceived, would be established before the end of the world. And the honest woman might with more confidence give this assurance, as she fully believed

⁵ See Jo. Möller, who treats expressly and fully respecting her, in his *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 85, &c. and in his *Introduct. in Historiam Chersonesi Cimbricæ*, pt. ii. p. 151, &c. Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire Hist. et Crit.* tom. i. p. 639. Godf. Arnold, *Kirchen- und Ketzers-historie*, vol. ii. p. 153, &c. and others.

⁶ See concerning him, Möller's *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 149.

⁷ Poiret systematized and explained the wild and incoherent rhapsodies of Bourignon, in a great work, which he entitled, *L'Économie divine, ou Système universel*; first published in French, Amsterd. 1686, 7 vols. 8vo, and afterwards published in Latin. Respecting this celebrated mystic philosopher, whose various writings procured him notoriety, see the *Bibliotheca Bremensis. Theol. Philol.* tom. iii. pt. i. p. 75.

that her Philadelphian Society was that very church of Christ, in which alone the Holy Spirit resided and reigned. Her other discoveries, among which was the noted *restoration of all things*, need not be related. *Leade* was less fortunate than *Bourignon* in this respect, that she had not so eloquent and sagacious a counsellor as *Poiret* to plead her cause: for her principal associates, *John Pordage*, a physician, and *Thomas Bromley*, were more distinguished for piety and a contemplative turn of mind, than for their power of reasoning and their eloquence. *Pordage*, in particular, even surpassed our *Boehmen*, whom he greatly admired, in obscurity; and instead of enlightening his readers, shocks them with his uncouth phraseology.⁸

⁸ See Jo. Wolf. Jaeger, *Historia sacra et civilis Sæculi XVII.* decenn. x. p. 90, &c. Peter Poiret, *Bibliotheca Mysticor.* p. 161. 174. 283. 286, and others. [Jane Leade, who died 1704, in the 81st year of her age, spent nearly her whole life in reading and recommending the writings of Boehmen, and in penning down her own revelations and new results of divine truths. She was rich, and printed the whole at her own cost. Hence great numbers of her writings came before the public. The Philadelphian Society was established by her in 1697: the causes and reasons for its institution, she published in 1698. Her writings fill eight vo-

lumes.—Pordage was first a preacher, but afterwards, being deposed for his fanaticism, he became a physician. He was the most zealous promoter of the Boehmist doctrines and of the Philadelphian Society in England. His principal work was his *Divine and true Metaphysics*, in 3 vols. 8vo. He also wrote a *Theologia Mystica*; and died in 1698.—Bromley was his pupil and adherent, and wrote much on the Bible. In Holland, one Lot Fisher, a physician, was a promoter of the Philadelphian Society; and he caused all the above works to be splendidly published in Dutch. *Schl.*]

A

BRIEF SKETCH
OF THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. Preface.—§ 2. Prosperous events of the church generally, and especially of the Popish church.—§ 3. The Jesuits and their institutions in China.—§ 4. Protestant missions.—§ 5. Adverse events. Private enemies of Christianity.—§ 6. Atheists : Deists.—§ 7. Romish church : the pontiffs.—§ 8. Prospects of peace between the Evangelical and the Papists frustrated.—§ 9. Intestine discords of the Romish church. Jansenist contests.—§ 10. Quesnel. The bull *Unigenitus*.—§ 11. Commotions from it in France.—§ 12. Supports of the Jansenists in France. Francis de Paris.—§ 13. State of the eastern church.—§ 14. External state of the Lutheran church.—§ 15. Its internal state.—§ 16. Intestine foes.—§ 17. The Herrenhutters. Zinzendorf.—§ 18. Cultivation of philosophy among the Lutherans.—§ 19. The Wertheim translation.—§ 20. Pietistic controversies.—§ 21. State of the Reformed Church.—§ 22. Projects for union between the Lutherans and the Reformed.—§ 23. State of the English Church.—§ 24. Various sects in England. Whitefield.—§ 25. State of the Dutch Church.—§ 26. Controversy in Switzerland respecting the *Formula Consensus*.—§ 27. The Socinians. Arians.

§ 1. THE ecclesiastical history of the century now passing affords matter for a volume, rather than for a few pages ; and may expect, among those who come after us, an ingenuous and faithful historian of its own. But that the present summary may not be thought incomplete, and that I myself, as well, perhaps, as others, may have a thread which would be useful in

lecturing, I will just run over the principal subjects, and in a few words state the occurrences most worthy of notice in our own age. That the size of the book may not be unnecessarily swelled, authorities will be omitted. For what man of learning is so ignorant of the state of literature, as not to know, that there are innumerable works, from which our dry and insipid narrative might be filled out and made interesting?

§ 2. The Christian name has been propagated with equal zeal, by papists and protestants, in Asia, America, and Africa. I say the Christian *name*, not the Christian *religion*. For it is demonstrable, that very many of those whom the Romish missionaries persuade to forsake idolatry, show themselves to be Christians only in name, and as to certain ceremonies and outward forms, not in reality and in spirit; nor do they quit superstition, but only exchange one species of it for another. Among the papists, the Jesuits, and among the Jesuits, the French especially, are represented as explaining genuine Christianity, with distinguished success, to barbarous nations which knew not God. And the fact is not to be denied, provided it is allowable to call those people Christians, who have some knowledge of Christ, however imperfect it may be. At least it is true that the French have gathered large congregations of such Christians in the East Indies, especially in the Carnatic, Madura, and Marawar, on the coast of Malabar, and in China, Tonquin, and elsewhere; and also in some provinces of America, since the time that *Anthony Veri* assumed the office of superintendent of the sacred missions, and by great efforts procured both men and money adequate for so great an undertaking. But these missionaries have been so far from effacing the former stain upon the character of the Jesuit preachers, that they rather deepened it. For they are represented as pursuing their own honour and emolument rather than the interests of Christ: and as ingeniously corrupting to a strange extent our Saviour's holy religion, in order to obtain more proselytes.

§ 3. That famous question, whether the Jesuits residing in China advocated the cause of Christ well or ill among that discerning people, who are so exceedingly attached to their ancient rites, was decided in the year 1704, by *Clement XI.*, in a manner adverse to the Jesuits. For he declared it criminal for the new Christians to practise the rites of their ancestors; and especially those rites by which the Chinese honour their de-

ceased ancestors and *Confucius*. But this severe edict was considerably mitigated in the year 1715; and, doubtless, for the sake of appeasing the angry Jesuits. For the pontiff decreed, that it is allowable for the teachers of the Chinese to designate the divine nature by the word *Tien*, provided they add the word *Tchu*, to remove the ambiguity of the word *Tien*, and to make it appear that the Christian teachers adored the *Lord of heaven*, (for this is the meaning of the phrase *Tien-Tchu*,) and not heaven itself. He also allowed those rites to be practised which gave so much offence to the adversaries of the Jesuits; provided all superstition and appearance of religion were avoided, and that these rites were regarded as mere testimonies of respect for their ancestors, or as marks of civil honour. The Chinese Christians, therefore, according to this decree of *Clement*, may keep in their houses tablets, on which are written in golden letters the names of their ancestors and of *Confucius*: they may lawfully honour them with lighted candles, with incense, and with tables set out with viands, fruits, and spices: nay, they may address these tablets and the graves of their ancestors as supplicants, prostrating themselves to the ground. The first or more severe edict was carried to China, by *Charles Thomas Tournon*, in the year 1705; and the second or milder one, by *Charles Ambrose Mezzabarba*, in the year 1721. But neither of them satisfied the emperor and the Jesuits. *Tournon*, executing the commands of his master with less prudence than the case required, was, by order of the emperor, thrown into prison, where he died in the year 1710. *Mezzabarba*, though much more cautious and prudent, returned without effecting his object: for the emperor could by no means be persuaded to allow any innovations to be made in the ancient customs and institutions of the country. At present the state of Christianity in China being extremely precarious and dubious, this controversy is entirely suspended. And many considerations induce us to suppose that the pontiff and the accusers of the Jesuits hinder by no obstacles the members of that society from adhering to their own regulations, rather than to those sent them from Rome. For many evils must be patiently borne, in order to avoid that greatest of evils, the overthrow of the Romish religion in China.¹

¹ [All these events are stated far more fully in Dr. Mosheim's *Most re-*

§ 4. The English and the Dutch, but especially the former, have made much greater efforts than formerly to spread the knowledge of Christianity among the nations of Asia and America. Among the efforts of this kind by Lutherans, the noblest and most successful is the institution of *Frederic IV.*, king of Denmark; who, in the year 1706, sent out missionaries to preach Christian truth to the Indians on the coast of Malabar. This mission, the purest and best of all, not only still flourishes, being supported by the very best regulations, but also through the munificence of that excellent king, *Christian VI.*, it is daily becoming more and more brilliant. The men who labour in it I admit, make fewer Christians than the papal missionaries; but they make far better ones,—real disciples, and not apes of disciples of Jesus Christ. The Russians have bestowed labour, not in vain, for the conversion of some of the nations bordering on Siberia.

§ 5. While the glory of Jesus Christ has been increasing in the remotest parts of our world, through the labours, the perils, and the anxious solitudes of these missionaries, great numbers in Europe have made it their business to obscure this glory and to tread it in the dust. There is no country of Europe, and scarcely any body of Christians, in our age, which does not nourish in its bosom persons who endeavour either to blot out all religion and all fear of God, or at least to sink the dignity and lessen the influence of Christianity. Nowhere does this pest to the human race more abound, nowhere does it more boldly come forth to the light of day, than in the free states of Holland and England. Nor is it rare to meet, especially in England, with books which impudently deride and set at nought, not only the whole religion of Christ, but also the honour, worship, and majesty of the Divine Being, and all virtue and morality. Infamous for the publication of such books are, *John Toland*, *Anthony Collins*, *Matthew Tindal*, *Thomas Woolston*, (a strange specimen of ingenuity abused, who attempted, with an effrontery quite absurd, to shake the credibility of our Saviour's miracles,) *Thomas Morgan*, *John Chubb*, *John Mandeville*, and several

cent Ecclesiastical History of China (in German), Rostock, 1748, 8vo. In opposition to this, was published at Augsburg in 1758, 8vo, and at Innspruck, *The most recent events in China; with a solid confutation of many unjust and erroneous statements of Dr. Mosheim, in his*

Most recent Eccl. Hist. of China, written from Pekin, by R. P. Floriano Bahr, then rector of the Jesuits' college in China. But this refutation only makes the correctness of Mosheim's book appear the more manifest. *Schl.*]

others. And not long will any country of Europe, especially those which have abandoned Roman sacred rites, be free from writers of this character, if the booksellers continue to exercise the power which now they have, in giving all sorts of crack-brained and senseless papers a chance of escaping destruction by means of the press.

§ 6. The sects of *Atheists*, that is, of people who deny that a Being infinitely wise and powerful exists, at whose pleasure this universe was framed, and by whose nod it is preserved, are almost extinct. For at the present day, those actuated by this frenzy, omitting all disputation, agree to the doctrines of *Spinoza*, and consider this whole material world as an automaton, which, by means of some internal energy, originates and produces various movements, all of which are the result of necessity. The tribe of *Deists*, or of persons who assail the truth of all revealed religions, and especially of the Christian religion, disagree very much, and are divided into various sects. The best of them — though these are bad enough — are those who endeavour to merge Christianity in natural religion, maintaining that Christ only republished the lost and obliterated precepts of nature or correct reason. Of this class are *Tindal*, *Chubb*, *Mandeville*, *Morgan*, and many others among the English; if indeed they really believed what their words express. To the same class belongs *Muralt*, or whoever may be the unfortunately eloquent and ingenious author of the recent French work, entitled, *What is essential in Religion*.² For, according to his opinion, the whole system of religion is comprised in these three propositions: There is a God: He watches over human affairs: The soul is immortal. And to inculcate these three truths, by his precepts and example, was the object of Christ's mission.

§ 7. The Romish church in this century has been governed by *Clement XI*.³, *Innocent XIII*.⁴, *Benedict XIII*.⁵, *Clement XII*.⁶, *Benedict XIV*.⁷ All these may be pronounced holy, wise, and learned men, if compared with the pontiffs of former times. The most distinguished of them for learning and erudition are *Clement XI*. and the present pontiff, *Benedict XIV.*, whose former name was *Prosper de Lambertini*. The

² [*Lettres sur la Religion essentielle à l'Homme, distinguée de ce qui n'en est que l'Accessoire. Macl.*]

³ [A. D. 1700—21. Tr.]

⁴ [1721—24. Tr.]

⁵ [1724—30. Tr.]

⁶ [1730—40. Tr.]

⁷ [1740—58. Tr.]

most distinguished for piety, or rather for a show of it, was *Benedict XIII.* This last-named pontiff attempted, by means of a council which he held in the Lateran palace in 1725, the acts and decrees of which have been published, to correct the greater evils in the church, and to reform the very corrupt morals of the clergy of every rank. But the event did not answer his expectations. Nor will *Benedict XIV.* be more successful, who is now attempting the same thing, though by different means. Moreover the modern pontiffs differ exceedingly from their predecessors, in the extent of their prerogatives, and in their power and influence. For the civil powers and states, though they treat the pontiffs personally with high respect and honour, yet are continually depressing and humbling the *court* of Rome, which they wisely discriminate from the pontiff. This appears, among other things, from the contests of the pontiffs in the present age with the kings of France, Portugal, Sardinia, and Naples; from no one of which the pontiffs have been able to get free without giving way.

§ 8. A reconciliation of the protestants with the papists, if we except some feeble efforts of certain individuals, has not been seriously and earnestly attempted; nor indeed was it hardly possible. For those who formerly attempted this thing, endeavoured principally to gain over the protestants by explaining away and lowering down the [most offensive] Romish doctrines; but *Clement XI.* deprived the pacificators of this their principal resource by publishing that very noted decree, called the Bull *Unigenitus*. For this has shown most clearly, that on most of the points which obliged our ancestors to separate from the Romish communion, the present doctrine of the papists is precisely the same that it formerly appeared to be. This disclosure being made, it became manifest, that those who had formerly offered us peace on very conciliatory terms, had only laid a trap for us, by their pretended expositions of the Romish faith, and that no confidence whatever could be reposed on the promises of such men.

§ 9. The intestine discords, which greatly disquieted the Romish community in the preceding century, were so far from being composed and settled in this, that they have rather acquired new strength, and raged with increased animosity. The Jesuits still contend with the Dominicans and others,

though with a little more decorum, and more covertly. The Franciscans are at variance with the Dominicans. There is also a dispute respecting the nature and lawfulness of the Chinese rites. It would be endless to enumerate all the contests which disturb and disquiet every part of the widely-extended Romish church, sometimes more slightly and sometimes more violently. The principal controversy now dividing the papal empire is that of the Jansenists; which is carried on with various results, particularly in France and the Netherlands. The Jansenists, or Augustinians as they choose to be called, are inferior to the Jesuits in numbers, power, and influence, but are their equals in fortitude, sagacity, and erudition, and their superiors in holiness of life, and in that superstition which dazzles the eyes of the multitude. In France they are oppressed and persecuted, but in the Netherlands they find a ready asylum. The greatest part of those who belong to the Roman church in the Spanish Netherlands, and all such in the United Netherlands, adhere to the Jansenist doctrines. The Dutch papists at this day have almost separated themselves from the Roman pontiff, though they profess the closest adherence to the communion of the Romish church; nor are either the threatenings or the entreaties of the Romish prelate able to reduce these rebellious Batavians to subordination.

§ 10. The greatest support of the Jansenist cause, both in the preceding century and in this, was the New Testament of the very learned and pious *Paschasius Quesnel*, one of the Presbyters of the Oratory, which he translated into French, and accompanied with notes calculated to awaken a sense of religion. For the marrow of the Jansenist doctrines is very elegantly and ingeniously wrought into these notes, so as to infuse it the more agreeably into the mind of the reader. To destroy the influence of this most pernicious engine, the Jesuits induced *Lewis XIV.*, king of France, to solicit a public condemnation of the book from the Roman pontiff, *Clement XI.* The pontiff complied with the wishes of the king, or rather of the Jesuits, and issued in the year 1713 the celebrated *Bull* or decree, which from its first words is called *Unigenitus*, and in which *one hundred and one* propositions taken from that book are proscribed. This edict was of some advantage to the cause of the Jesuits, but it was of immense disadvantage to the whole Romish church; as the wiser men in it themselves

admit. For not to mention that the protestants learned from it, that the Romish community religiously held fast her former corruptions, the subjects of the pontiff, who had no attachment to the Jansenist doctrines, and who were solicitous only to advance truth and piety, were exceedingly offended at this decree. Besides, the Jansenian schism was widened by it, and rendered more bitter and violent.

§ 11. The most violent contests were produced by this unhappy edict, especially in France. Many of the bishops, and a vast number of influential, pious, and learned men, both among the clergy and the laity, appealed from it to a future general council. And especially *Lewis Anthony Noailles*, the archbishop of Paris, manfully opposed it, regardless of the resentments both of the pontiff and the king. These strenuous defenders of the Gallic liberty, and of the religion of their fathers, the pontiffs, kings, and Jesuits, laboured to subdue by all sorts of punishments and indignities: and in part they did subdue them; for many became exiles, and retired among their brethren in Holland; others were coerced, by violence and fear, to approve the decree of the pontiff; and others, being deprived of their livings, their honours, and their offices, removed to foreign countries. At length the matter was carried so far, that this papal edict was declared to be a law of the land. All these measures reduced the nation to some degree of quietude; but they by no means purged it of enemies to the pontiff. Every part of France abounds with *Appellants*, as they are called, who are only waiting for a convenient opportunity for renewing the old controversy, which has never been properly settled.

§ 12. Amidst these calamities, the Jansenists had but two resources by which to defend themselves and their cause against so many powerful enemies, namely, the press and miracles. They attacked, accordingly, the pontiff and the Jesuits in numberless publications, many of which being written with elegance and solidity, have produced great effect; and as human aids proved insufficient, they called in the help of divine aid. For they persuaded the people that God had conferred a power of healing the most inveterate diseases upon the bones and ashes of certain persons, who had been distinguished for their zeal in the cause of *Jansenius*, and who had appealed anew in their last moments to a future council. Among those

who were said to have received this glory, the most distinguished was *Francis de Paris*, a deacon of the church of Paris⁸, a man of noble birth, but of a gloomy temperament, and excessively superstitious, and one who had voluntarily brought on his own death by abstinence from food and other self-tortures. To miracles, divine visions were superadded. For many persons, especially at Paris, pretended to be actuated by the Holy Spirit, and uttered prophecies, often of the most insipid character, by which, however, the multitude, as is usual, were greatly affected. But the prudence of the French court put an end to these commotions also: so that as things now are, the Jansenists have no other means of defence but their genius and their pens.

§ 13. Of the Greek and Oriental church very little can be said; for their ignorance, and the severe oppression under which they live, prevent them from attempting any change in their condition. The Russians, as already stated, under the guidance of the emperor *Peter* the Great, gave their church rather an improved organisation. There still remain, however, vast numbers in that immense empire who would be better pleased with the rude system of their ancestors: and there are some who, if they were able, would exterminate the protestants and the followers of other religions with fire and sword. This is manifest, especially, from a work of *Stephen Javorski* against the heretics. The Greeks are said to meet with more indulgence

⁸ *Ecclesiæ Parisiensis diaconus*. [He is called in a life published by one of his admirers, *Diacre du Diocèse de Paris*. He would not take priests' orders, professing to feel himself unworthy of them. Hence he was frequently spoken of as *the blessed deacon*. He was eldest son of Nicholas de Paris, counsellor to the parliament of that city. He was born in Paris, June 30, 1690, and shewed a remarkably strong sense of religion very early in life. This made him decline the opportunity of succeeding his father, and give up that advantage to a younger brother. As his age advanced, he plunged into all the excesses of an exaggerated penitence, but with perfect singleness of purpose, nothing being further from his thoughts than the desire of public observation. He lived, in fact, in an obscure retreat, and his existence was scarcely known to any but the sick and needy, whom he was ever busied in comforting and relieving. His

privations, probably, cut his life short, as he died May 1, 1727. Within three days afterwards he was interred in the small cemetery of St. Medard's at Paris, which was his parish church, and a flat stone was placed over his grave. This soon became a favourite spot for the devotions of the Jansenist party; and report filling all France, by degrees, with accounts of numerous miraculous cures there, so great a ferment arose as to make the government, in 1731, wall up the spot, and forbid all access to it. The alleged miracles quickly raised controversies through the whole of western Europe, infidels using them to discredit Scripture miracles, and Protestants, the miracles of Romanism. There is a treatise of Mosheim's upon them among his *Dissertationes ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentes*, ii. 307. They are also examined in Bp. Douglas's *Criterion*, and other works;—Moreri, Mosheim, Douglas. *Ed.*]

from their Mahumedan masters. The Nestorians and Monophysites in Asia and Africa perseveringly refuse communion with the Romish see, notwithstanding all the promises and arguments of the papal missionaries. The pontiffs have several times contemplated a new mission to the Abyssinians, but have not yet been able to discover means of eluding the vigilance of a nation so hostile to the Romish religion. Nor is there even a tolerable prospect that the embassy now preparing at Rome to the emperor of Abyssinia will meet with success. The Monophysites in Asia extend the limits of their church as they have opportunity; and not long since they gained over a part of the Nestorians inhabiting the maritime coasts of India.

§ 14. The Lutheran church celebrated, in peace and tranquillity, the *secular* festival of its religion in 1717, and that of the Augsburg Confession in 1730. It received no small accession a few years since, by means of that multitude which abandoned the territories of Saltzburgh and Berchtolsgadden, in order to profess a purer religion without fear, and emigrated, some to Prussia, others to Holland, and others to America and other countries. The Lutheran church has likewise been increased in consequence of its extension to America and Asia; nor are the Lutheran congregations small in those distant regions. In Germany, on the other hand, as appears from the public documents and from numerous complaints, it has in various places been much oppressed by the adherents to the Roman pontiff, and been very unjustly deprived of a part of its privileges.

§ 15. No change could take place in the doctrines and regulations of the Lutheran church because those ancient formularies and regulations, in which the public faith and discipline are defined, have remained every where undisturbed. But the method of teaching and inculcating these doctrines has not been uniformly the same. At the commencement of the century, it seemed very generally to be the aim to restore every part of Christianity to its ancient simplicity, and to exclude all philosophical terms and reasonings. But in process of time many fell into the opinion, that Christianity could by no means maintain its ground, unless it was supported by the aids of philosophy, and demonstrated mathematically. The jurists, who in the preceding century undertook to reform the system of ecclesiastical law, have prosecuted the object so vigorously in the

present century, that we should have had a very different ecclesiastical constitution, if the sovereigns had deemed it for the public good to yield to their counsels and admonitions. Still we may discover here and there visible traces of the principles which men of great learning are wont to advance, not only respecting the appendages and externals of religion, but also respecting religion itself. Hence it is not strange that there should be warm disputes between them and the clergy on various points. And not only theologians, but also very excellent men among the jurists themselves, have fears lest religion should at length be converted into a mere political engine for the security of civil government, if the opinions of some of these men should acquire authority.

§ 16. The immense licentiousness of thinking, and of spreading among the common people even the vilest and most senseless opinions, which began to prevail in the preceding century, has increased and become more confirmed, every where among us, in the present century. Hence there have arisen, and still arise at the present time, so many persons, some of them full of fanatical folly, some delirious and beside themselves, some the fabricators of new religions, who freely divulge all their dreams, and every where produce departures from the established rules of faith and practice, or excite discords and contentions. Besides those already named, the following are notorious: *John Tennhart, John Geo. Gichtel, John William Ueberfeld, John Geo. Rosenbach, Geo. Christoph. Brendel, John Christoph. Seizen, Anthony Roemeling*, and many others; who either boast of being guided by a divine impulse, or offer to the credulous multitude, in different ways, and with different success, their fancied modifications and improvements of the church. These men have been opposed by our theologians in numerous publications: but many of them were unworthy of confutation. The greatest part have become convicted of folly by the course of events and actual results, rather than by arguments and reasoning. For as men of this character start up of a sudden, so for the most part they soon ruin their own cause, either by their indiscretions, or by their corrupt morals and shameful conduct, or lastly, by their disagreement among themselves.

§ 17. Many place the *Herrenhutters* in this class, or those who first associated at *Herrenhut* in Lusatia, under the illustrious

count *Zinzendorf*, and who afterwards increasing, have spread themselves through a large part of Europe, and even travelled to the Indies, Tartary, and the utmost bounds of the earth. They tell us that they are descendants of those Bohemian and Moravian brethren, who in the fifteenth century were excited by the preaching and example of *John Huss* to cast off the Romish yoke. They might more correctly call themselves *imitators* of those brethren; for it is conceded by all, that only a very small part of this new fraternity consists of Bohemians and Moravians; and it is very uncertain also, whether such of them as are Bohemians by descent, are the posterity of those ancient Bohemian brethren. They declare, further, that they do not differ from the Lutherans in regard to doctrines, but only in their customs and regulations, in which they come near to the ancient Bohemians. But many question whether they here assert the truth; and are suspicious that these new brethren adopt the language of the Lutherans while among the Lutherans, the more readily to obtain toleration; and that in reality they are a mixture of people of various characters and sentiments. However this may be, it is at least difficult to understand why they are so zealous to extend their particular sect, if they differ from us only in their customs and mode of discipline. For whoever truly follows *Jesus Christ*, will care little how the Christian community is constituted and regulated; because he knows that religion does not consist in external rites and regulations, but in faith and love.

§ 18. This progress of superstition among us, as many supposed, nothing could arrest except philosophy. And hence the cultivation of philosophy, which was apparently neglected towards the close of the preceding century, has not only been revived, but also prosecuted by many with great diligence. The general method of philosophizing, which I have called the *metaphysical*, obtained preference before all others. This, the superlative genius of *Godfrey William von Leibnitz* elucidated elegantly, and cast into a better shape: but it was the very acute *Christopher Wolf* who perfected it, digested it into a system, and — what was entirely a new thing, and never before attempted — gave it the form of a mathematical science. In this improved state, most of those who searched after truth and certainty were exceedingly captivated with it, and eagerly applied it to the explanation and confirmation of the truths of revealed

religion. But this gave very great dissatisfaction to many good men, who were anxious for the safety of the truth taught us by Christ : and hence the old conflict between philosophy and theology, piety and reason, was revived, and was urged on with great vehemence for a series of years. For many are of opinion, that this metaphysical philosophy imbues the minds of young men with sentiments hostile to all religion and religious worship, with arrogance also, contempt for divine revelation, excessive confidence in human reason, and other vices ; and that it does not throw light and dignity around theology, but rather darkness and ignominy.

§ 19. In proof of the correctness of this opinion respecting the tendency of this philosophy, they appeal especially to the case of *Lawrence Schmidt*, of Schweinfurt, who is commonly called the *Wertheim translator*, from the place where he resided. This man, by no means destitute of abilities, and very well versed in the philosophy in question, projected a new German translation of the Bible, to serve as the foundation or basis of a new body of divinity drawn up according to the strict rules of demonstration, which he had in contemplation. But the project was disastrous to him. For scarcely had he published a specimen of the work, in a translation of the inspired books of Moses, when he was not only attacked in numerous publications, but was likewise accused before the supreme tribunal of the Germanic empire, as a capital enemy of the Christian religion, and a caviller at divine truth. The chief ground of accusation was, that he had boldly construed certain passages in the books of Moses, which designated or foretold the coming of Messiah, in such a manner as to give them a different signification. He was therefore thrown into prison, and ordered to be tried for his life. But he escaped from prison, and saved himself by flight.

§ 20. The controversies and contentions of this age have been very numerous. First, what is called the *Pietistic* controversy has been carried on in some places more fiercely, and in others more moderately, according to the varying state of personal and local causes. But the controversy has gradually abated as time rolled on, and at present seems to be reduced nearly to the single point, whether an irreligious man may have true and certain knowledge of divine things, or some sort of illumination, which many regard as a contest about words

rather than things. Besides this, there have been several other controversies, which also produced excitement in the preceding century, respecting the eternity of the torments of the damned, the final restoration of all things, Christ's [millennial] reign on the earth, and others of like character. With *John Fabricius*, a divine of Helmstadt, and some others, there has been a dispute respecting the importance of the disagreement between us and the papists: for he and his associates deemed it not so great as it is commonly supposed to be; so that he believed a person might lawfully go over to the Romish church. Respecting the law of marriage, the grounds of divorce, and concubinage, there have been great disputes between certain theologians and some distinguished jurists. Minor contests, which suddenly spring up, and soon die away, as they contribute little to a knowledge of the internal state of the church, need not be enumerated.

§ 21. The Reformed church not only preserves the same aspect that was above described, but also studies to make it still more her appropriate characteristic.⁹ For notwithstanding that the formulas of faith, which the vigilance of a former age provided for inclosing and fortifying religion, remain every where the same, yet, in most countries, no preacher is compelled to think in exact accordance with them, but is supposed to fulfil his duty if he hold up the great and primary truths of Christianity, and avoid too much familiarity with the papists and Socinians. Hence in this very ample community, at the present day, Arminians, Supralapsarians, Infralapsarians, and Universalists¹, live amicably together, and with united efforts strive to extenuate and lessen the importance of those contests that divide the Christians who have separated themselves from the Romish communion. There are indeed some, especially among the Swiss, the Germans, and the Dutch, who are greatly troubled at this moderation, and deplore bitterly the loss of former purity and rigour, and occasionally grow warm and attack despisers of the ancient discipline. But the others who are

⁹ [Dr. Mosheim still continues to speak of all those who are styled *Reformed*, as if they were united in *one church* or religious community, while, in fact, they form a number of totally distinct communities, often differing widely in doctrine, discipline, and worship, and

in several instances having no sort of communion with each other. And hence his remarks respecting them, as a body, are liable to much criticism. *Tr.*]

¹ [*i. e.* Believers in a universal atonement. *Tr.*]

greatly superior in numbers, respectability, and power, care little for this angry feeling.

§ 22. Whoever, therefore, duly considers the whole subject, must freely acknowledge, that neither the Lutherans nor the Arminians have any longer ground for controversy with the Reformed *church*, but only with individual doctors of this family. For this *church* leaves every one at liberty to think as he pleases on those points which were formerly the ground of its separation from the Lutherans and Arminians, and deems the fundamentals of religion safe, however those points are explained. And yet this very moderation thwarts the designs of such as would effect a union between the Lutherans and the Reformed. For those among us who are strenuous for orthodoxy, complain, that the Reformed open the door of salvation too widely, and that they offer communion and friendship not only to *us*, but to all the sectarians. When, therefore, about twenty years ago², certain excellent men among us (at the head of whom was *Christopher Matth. Pfaff*, a man on many accounts venerated and renowned,) took very great pains to effect a union between us and the Reformed, the majority [of the Lutherans] so vigorously opposed the object, both by action and by publications, that it was soon abandoned.

§ 23. The English church, which holds the first rank among the Reformed, is the same now that it was in the time of *William III.* The *Episcopalians* are the reigning party, and number among their adherents the king himself, with the nobility of the realm, and the greatest part of the people. But toleration is granted to the *Puritans* or *Presbyterians*, and to all the others who are included under the very comprehensive appellation of *Nonconformists*. Those, however, who are particularly acquainted with English affairs tell us, that the Nonconformists diminish continually, and that this gradual diminution is ascribable to the mildness and gentleness of the bishops towards them. The *Episcopalians* are of two sorts. Some believe the government by bishops to be of divine institution; and they exalt and magnify immoderately the prerogatives of the church. Others are more temperate; and though they fully believe that an ecclesiastical government by bishops is more holy and more perfect than any other, and think that great care should be

² [Thus wrote Mosheim in 1741. The precise year of *Pfaff's* attempts for a union was 1719. *Schl.*]

taken to prevent the clergy from becoming subject to the will and authority of kings and magistrates, yet they do not think the name of a *church* is improperly applied to a community in which there are no bishops; and they are temperate in defending the prerogatives of prelates among Christians.³ These two parties are sometimes engaged in sharp contests; a striking example of which occurred in the present century; for the present bishop of Winchester, *Benjamin Hoadly*, a man eminent for talents and eloquence, greatly lowered down the authority of the church, that is, of its presiding officers, and confined it within narrower limits. On the other hand, *John Potter*, now archbishop of Canterbury, and at the head of the British clergy, and others, contended for the prerogatives and authority of the church, with great eloquence and erudition. Moreover, the disposition of the established church of England towards those who dissent from it, cannot be learned from any thing more exactly than from the fact that *William Wake*, the late archbishop of Canterbury, a few years ago, was disposed to form an alliance with the French church, on terms which would secure to both most of their respective peculiarities of sentiment.⁴

§ 24. The unbounded liberty which Englishmen enjoy of publishing their opinions without restraint, and of worshipping God in the manner that each one thinks right, naturally causes various sects to arise on every side, and controversies respecting things pertaining to religion to be perpetual. But it is hardly possible for any one, who has not himself lived some time in England, and on the spot formed acquaintance with the opinions, privileges, laws, and parties of that happy nation, to

³ ["The learned and pious archbishop Wake, in a letter to father Courayer, dated from Croydon-House, July 9, 1724, expresseth himself thus: 'I bless God that I was born and have been bred in an episcopal church; which I am convinced has been the government established in the Christian church from the very times of the Apostles. But I should be unwilling to affirm, that where the ministry is not episcopal, there is *no church*, nor any *true* administration of the sacraments. And very many there are among us, who are zealous for episcopacy, and yet dare not go so far as to annul the ordinances of God performed by any other ministry.'"] *Macl.*]

⁴ ["This assertion of Dr. Mosheim is altogether unfounded; for archbishop Wake, as appears from authentic letters, since published by Dr. Maclaine, was not the first *mover* in this business; nor did he ever offer to concede *one* point in the doctrine or discipline of the church of England, in order to promote the union between the Gallican and English churches."] (Note to *A Summary of Mosheim's Eccl. Hist.*, by the Rev. C. Trelawney Collins, Lond. 1822, ii. 187.) For the particulars of this negotiation of abp. Wake, see the letters between him and Du Pin, in the Appendix. *Ed.*]

give a full and accurate account of these different sects and controversies. Of several of the sects, not even the names reach us; and of many of them, we have only a species of knowledge, which is quite imperfect and indistinct. Of the controversies, to a great extent, we are unable to ascertain the true foundation and the points at issue, because we are destitute of the sources from which information can be drawn. At this present time, one *George Whitefield* is collecting a party, and contemplates the formation of a Christian community, more perfect than all others; nor is he altogether unsuccessful. It would seem, if the man be self-consistent, and do not follow the blind impulse of fancy rather than any determinate rule, that he places religion altogether in holy emotions, and an indescribable kind of sensation; and that he requires his followers to dismiss all reliance on reason and study as means of [religious] knowledge, and to resign up their minds to be guided and instructed by a divine illumination.

§ 25. The Dutch, quite down to our times, have been occupied with the Cocceian and Cartesian controversies, though now less intensely than heretofore. And there is a prospect that these contests will wholly cease, since the Newtonian mode of philosophizing has expelled the Cartesian from the Dutch universities. Of the Roëllian disputes, we have already given an account. *Frederick van Leenhof*, in the year 1703, fell under suspicion of being a Spinozist; and was attacked by many on account of a book he published, entitled *Heaven upon Earth*⁵, in which he taught that a Christian should always be joyful, and never mourn or be sorrowful. The same crime was charged by many upon *William Deurhof*, who published several tracts in the vernacular tongue, in which he speculated concerning the Divine nature, as if he considered it an *energy* pervading the whole material universe, and operative in all parts of it. The most recent contests are those of *James Saurin* and *Paul. Maty*. The former, a minister of the gospel at the Hague, and distinguished for his genius and eloquence, if he erred at all, erred very slightly. For, if we except a few inaccurate and unwary expressions, he deviated from the common doctrine only in this one point, that he thought it sometimes lawful to deceive men by our speech, for the sake of accomplishing some great good.⁶

⁵ *Cælum in Terris.*

⁶ [“ See Saurin’s *Discours Historiques*,

Most of the Reformed churches, it is to be noted, have adopted the principle of *Augustine*, that every deception and every falsehood is sinful. The other, namely *Maty*, committed a much greater fault; for in order to explain the profound mystery of three persons in one God, and to render it easy to be understood, he assumed that the Son and the Holy Spirit are two finite beings, created by God, who at a certain time became united to God.⁷

§ 26. In Switzerland, especially in the canton of Bern, the *Formula Consensus*, of which we have spoken heretofore, has produced very fierce disputes. In the year 1718 the magistrates of Bern required all public teachers, and particularly those of the university and church of Lausanne, (in whom there was supposed to be some stain of error) to assent to this *Formula*, and to receive it as the standard of their faith; for it had been a good while neglected, and subscription to it had not in all cases been required. But several, both of the professors and of the candidates for the sacred office, declared that they could not conscientiously subscribe; and accordingly some of them were subjected to punishment. This caused grievous contentions and complaints, to quiet which, the king of Great Britain and the States General of Holland offered their kind offices. The result was, that the *Formula* lost much of its credit and authority. In the German [Reformed] churches nothing very noticeable has occurred. The Palatine church, once so very flourishing, has suffered, through the machinations of the papists, a great diminution of its prosperity.

§ 27. The Socinians, dispersed over various countries of Europe, have hitherto nowhere⁸ obtained liberty to form themselves into a regular community, and publicly to set up worship according to the views of their sect. At the head of their learned men in our times stood *Samuel Crell*, who died at an advanced age at Amsterdam. He chose however to be called an *Artemonite*, rather than a Socinian: and he actually differed on many points from the common doctrines of the Socinians. The Arians obtained a great advocate in *William Whiston*, a

Théologiques, Critiques, et Moraux, sur les événemens les plus mémorables du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament, tom. i. of the folio edition." *Macl.*]

⁷ [See Dr. Mosheim's *Historia Critica novæ explicationis Dogmatis de tribus in*

Deo personis, quam vir clariss. Paulus Maty excogitavit: in his *Dissert. ad Historiam Eccles. pertinentes*, tom. ii. pp. 390—582. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Except in Transylvania. *Schl.*]

professor [of mathematics] in the university of Cambridge, who made up his mind rather to resign his chair than to renounce his opinions, which he defended in numerous publications. Similar to him, according to the common estimation, was *Samuel Clarke*, a man richly endowed with powers of genius and education, who in the year 1724 was condemned for adulterating the sound doctrine in regard to three persons in the Godhead. But no ingenuous and reasonable man will rank *Dr. Clarke* among the Arians, if this name is to be taken in its native and proper acceptation; for he merely defended, with greater clearness and diligence, what is called the Arminian *subordination*, which has been and is still embraced by so many of the first men, and by very learned prelates, in England; and taught, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are in *nature* equal, but in *rank* unequal.⁹ A great number of persons among the English have endeavoured, in various ways, to invalidate and assail the most sacred doctrine of the divine Trinity. And this induced an opulent lady, whose name was *Moyer*, to leave by her will a rich legacy¹, as a premium for eight public discourses, to be delivered annually by some learned man, in opposition to this species of impiety. The institution has been in operation since the year 1720, and promises to future ages a rich collection of the best productions in defence of this part of revealed religion.

⁹ ["Dr. Mosheim has here mistaken the true hypothesis of Dr. Clarke, or, at least, expressed it imperfectly; for what he says here is rather applicable to the opinion of Dr. Waterland. Dr. Clarke maintained an equality of perfections be-

tween the three Persons, but a *subordination of nature* in point of existence and derivation." *Macl.*]

¹ [It was an estate, holden under a lease which expired long ago. *Ed.*]

* CHAPTER II.

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§ 1. As the eighteenth century advanced, Romanism appeared nodding to its fall. It was first seriously threatened by the prevalence of Jansenistic views, which struck at papal authority, and introduced various habits of thinking analogous to those of Protestants. Even the empress queen Maria Theresa, though zealously attached to Romish opinions, gave them a severe blow in the Austrian dominions, about the year 1753, by bestowing her confidence upon Van Swieten and De Haen, two physicians, who were members of the Jansenistic church at Utrecht. University professorships were quickly filled by men of similar principles; and schemes of ecclesiastical reform were far from slow in courting notice from the Austrian public. The monastic bodies were marked out for diminution, their exemptions from episcopal authority were said to demand abolition, the established intercourse with Rome was blamed as excessive, and it was proposed to place the church really under the control of the state.¹ Under all such attacks, the papal

¹ *Continuation of the Summary of Mosheim*, by the Rev. C. T. Collins, ii. 193.

see had long found effectual means of resistance in the Jesuits, but Loyola's order was very much fallen in public estimation. Jansenism had rendered it unpopular in the more pious Romish circles; politicians complained of its encroaching spirit; and an infidel school, now rising to irresistible importance in France, fastened upon Jesuitism with peculiar severity, because it was a main prop of the existing religious establishment. This hateful school may date its origin from the reign of Lewis XIV., when Bayle, with some other men of talent, assumed a freedom and levity in treating serious subjects, that undermined the strength of many prepossessions hitherto thought wholly above assault. The habit of implicit credence being thus broken, Frenchmen turned a scrutinizing eye upon the Romish church, and confounding its palpable weaknesses with Christianity itself, the country became overspread with an obstinate, scoffing contempt for revelation altogether. Its most active defenders, the Jesuits, naturally fell under a great load of obloquy. They were, however, befriended by many influential ecclesiastics, not only on account of their services against infidelity, but also for their active and uncompromising hostility to Jansenism. For the purpose of discouraging Huguenot opinions, a practice had prevailed, and with approbation, to deny the last sacraments, when the party seeking them could not produce a certificate of confession signed by an orthodox priest. A clergyman extended this principle to Jansenism, for which he was fined by the parliament of Paris. That court also, in the year 1752, issued a prohibition against all acts tending to schism, and all refusal of sacraments, under colour of obedience to the bull *Unigenitus*. The archbishop of Paris, De Beaumont, a virtuous but narrow-minded man, maintained the propriety of giving to that bull all the force against Jansenism for which it was intended; and the king, Lewis XV., found himself imperiously called upon to interfere. By the advice of Lamoignon, the chancellor, he submitted the points in dispute to deputies from both the contending parties: but this expedient only caused further irritation. The parliament would not recede from the principle of prosecuting priests who withheld the sacraments, and met a royal order for the discontinuance of all such processes by a warm remonstrance. Lewis now dispersed and exiled the refractory members; but he found public opinion so decidedly in their favour, that he soon recalled them. The archbishop of Paris was next banished

from the capital, for keeping the dispute alive; and a council was called in 1755, for the purpose of settling the question. This body applied to the pope, and he wrote an equivocal letter to the king, throwing upon him the decision. Lewis at length held one of those despotic sessions, called *a bed of justice*, and by this, in connexion with another arbitrary exercise of power, he so disgusted the parliament, that it refused any longer to exercise its functions. The Jesuits were highly elated by the seeming triumph thus gained for them by despotism. It was however fatal to their order in France, the nation being now fully persuaded that its influence was quite incompatible with any substantial amelioration of public institutions.²

§ 2. In Portugal, the Jesuits were grown even still more obnoxious. They had long possessed great power in that country, but the leading men were become weary of it, from its vexatious interference with every public transaction. The reigning monarch, Joseph I., especially, was anxious to emancipate himself and his people from a control which left free agency to neither. As a necessary consequence, he was detested by the order; and when some disappointed nobles conspired against his life, three Jesuits, of whom Malagrida is the one most remembered, acted as confessors, and suggested sophistical encouragement to the guilty parties.³ Joseph had a very narrow escape, on the 3d of September, 1758, and his hatred of the Jesuits now knew no bounds. He suppressed their colleges, accused the order of usurping an authority and using an influence in Paraguay⁴, highly prejudicial to the interests of both Portugal and Spain, and would not rest until it was wholly rooted out from his dominions. In 1759, accordingly, all Jesuits were declared outlaws, and banished from the Portuguese territories: an example which was pressed upon the imitation of other courts.⁵

§ 3. In France, the parliament, when reinstated, proved as resolute as ever in prosecuting priests who denied the sacraments, and was keenly upon the watch to ruin effectually that order which had exulted so indiscreetly on the late temporary ascendancy given to it by force of despotism. The desired opportunity came, from one of those commercial transactions

² *Continuation of Mosheim*, by Charles Coote, LL.D., Lond. 1826.

³ "They decided that conspirators would incur a *venial* sin, and not a *mortal*

one."—*History of the Jesuits*, Lond. 1816. i. 347.

⁴ *Ibid.* 346.

⁵ Coote, 222.

which Jesuitism took within its universal range. A mercantile firm at Marseilles, which La Valette, superior of the Leeward Islands' mission, had engaged to supply with colonial produce, stopped payment, on the seizure of a cargo by British cruisers. As La Valette's transactions had long been enormous, the house was under very heavy acceptances to him, and means of meeting them being thus unexpectedly intercepted, it sent urgent applications for assistance to the heads of the Jesuitic body. This happened most inconveniently to be without a general, that officer having died just before, and consequently when prompt measures were urgently required, nothing could be done. A successor was, however, no sooner found, than orders were given to supply the tottering firm with such money as was needed. But when advices to this effect reached Marseilles, the house had already stopped payment, and a panic seizing its numerous creditors, they crowded with claims upon the order. The Jesuits now seemed bereft of their usual tact. With equal imprudence and injustice, they disavowed La Valette's transactions, and upon various grounds treated him as a mere individual trader.⁶ This representation was, however, scouted as nothing better than a dishonest subterfuge,—the trade of Jesuitism, like every other undertaking within the order, being treated as really under the direction of its head, who was, therefore, with all his inferiors, responsible for commercial payments and, in fact, for every public movement made by a Jesuit. No other view, it was pleaded, could be taken by any who knew the constitutions of the order. The Jesuits denying this, received a mandate, in 1761, to produce their documents. Having done so, a merciless exposure of their order followed. It was now generally viewed as a combination of the most dangerous kind, blindly moving, with an admirable machinery, at the discretion of a foreigner, and a small council of artful assistants. These views being warmly pressed upon the king, he proposed to the general a plan for regulating the order. This, was, however, declined; and, in consequence, the parliament ordained in 1762, that French Jesuits should lay aside the habit of their order, cease to live in societies, and to obey alien superiors. In some quarters, a violent clamour was raised against this ordonnance, as founded upon *ex-parte* statements, which were, in fact, untrue. But the French nation was not affected by any such demon-

⁶ Gifford's *Hist. of France*, iv. 678.

strations; and in 1764, the order was suppressed, by the parliaments of Paris, Normandy, and Britany. The pope vainly interposed his authority against the assumption of such a power by tribunals merely lay; his bull was suppressed in France, by a parliamentary decree; in Portugal, the king was bold enough to declare it inoperative.⁷

§ 4. Spain would not be behind other Romish countries in the war against Jesuitism. In 1767, the temporalities of the order in that country were seized, and the members of it banished.⁸ Vainly, however, did the Romish powers press for a papal dissolution of the obnoxious body. While Clement XIII. lived, it had a protection upon which it could securely depend. His successor, the celebrated Francis Laurence Ganganelli, a Franciscan friar, proved more tractable: he took the name of Clement XIV., and became known, from the enlightened liberality of his sentiments, as *the Protestant pope*. But although ready, above most of his predecessors, to consider fully any question proposed to him, he was not willing to take so decided a step as the suppression of the most influential religious order in existence, without mature deliberation. When, accordingly, powerful courts earnestly recommended the suppression of Jesuitism, Ganganelli did not suffer himself to be betrayed into any unjust and impolitic haste; he took four years for deliberation, referred the question to a commission instituted for inquiry, considered every thing said both for and against the society, and read every important publication on both sides.⁹ At length he came to a conviction, that the Romish world, in the wish that it had generally expressed for the extinction of the Jesuitic order, was perfectly right. Accordingly, in 1773, he suppressed that celebrated society, as not only no longer answering the ends of its institution, but also blemished both by principles and practices of an injurious tendency.¹⁰ The Jesuits were violently enraged by this sentence of annihilation; and Laurence Ricci, their general, after a confinement in the English college, occasioned such a ferment among his partisans, that he was committed to the castle of St. Angelo by the congregation of cardinals. He died in that fortress, after undergoing many examinations, in November, 1775.¹

⁷ Coote, 224.

⁸ "In the year 1766, their expulsion took place from Bohemia and Denmark; in 1767, from Spain, Venice, and Genoa; and in 1768, from Naples, Malta, and Parma.—Collins, 195.

⁹ *Hist. of the Jesuits*, i. 266.

¹⁰ Coote, 227.

¹ *Memoirs of Scipio de Ricci*, Lond. 1829, i. 8. 28.

The pope himself felt his act likely to bring an untimely death upon him; and this apprehension has been considered as verified by the event. He lived, however, in tranquillity and health more than eight months after the society was abolished; still, not without occasional apprehensions of the vengeance which he knew himself to have provoked. But he said, that if it were his lot to become a victim, he should be a willing one, being perfectly satisfied that his act was not only just, but even also necessary; and that it had not been determined upon without fervent prayers both from himself and others interested in his welfare. His mortal illness seized him one day after dinner, in the Passion Week of 1774, and it continued with various degrees of intensity, until the 22nd of the following September, when he died. After death, his corpse rapidly became excessively discoloured and offensive; which circumstances, taken in connexion with the firm health that he had enjoyed up to the time of his seizure, and the exasperation of the Jesuits, made people consider him to have been poisoned. To account for the accomplishment of this in a manner so gradual, the mischief was attributed to the *acquetta*, a deadly Calabrian drug, said to have the property of destroying life in a lingering way.² Salicetti, an eminent physician, did, indeed, refer his death to natural causes; and the disbelief of slow poisons, which has gained ground with the increase of knowledge, is now highly favourable to the admission of such a view. But contemporaries commonly rejected it with contempt, and attributed Salicetti's report to corruption.³

§ 5. After the suppression of their order by that authority which it professes to regard with slavish obedience, and its expulsion from Romish countries, the Jesuits found a refuge in states which cared nothing for papal authority. Russia and Prussia became their protectors. The latter government patronized them as useful to its Romish subjects, declaring that no attention could be paid at the court of Berlin, to papal bulls, when they seemed likely to compromise the welfare of individuals within the Prussian states. In the Russian empire, the

² *Circumstantial Narrative detailing the last illness and death of Pope Clement XIV.*, sent by the Spanish minister to his court. *Ibid.*

³ *Hist. of the Jesuits*, i. 267. The writer treats the attack in April as distinct from that which carried Ganganeli off:

hence he considers that two attempts were made to poison him. But the Spanish minister's narrative is against this hypothesis; making it plain, that the attack in April was the first step in a continuous illness.

Jesuits were publicly patronized by the bishop of Mohiloff, once a Calvinist, but who now professed Romanism with all the ardour of a proselyte, and well knew how useful a well-organized combination, with its diversified machinery, and elastic conscience, must be in maintaining and spreading his new system of belief. By this prelate's means, the Jesuits were regularly embodied in White Russia; and when the Spanish court remonstrated, the empress Catharine not only repelled its interference as a foreign dictation, but even allowed a vicar-general of the Jesuits to be chosen among her subjects, and invested with the privileges which such a superior had usually enjoyed. She admitted that grounds of exception existed against the Jesuits, but denied that a sufficient case had been made out for the great severity with which they had recently been treated.⁴

§ 6. But although governments hostile to the papal church were thus blindly bent upon nursing the discomfited remnant of her most effective defenders, within her own pale she continually found fresh grounds for uneasiness. The German emperor, Joseph II., who succeeded his mother, Maria Theresa, in 1780, speedily began upon a series of ecclesiastical reforms in the Austrian states. They were so obviously needful, that even the late empress had contemplated some of them; but notwithstanding, Joseph's ecclesiastical policy was highly unpalatable to the court of Rome. His outward adherence to the Romish communion was never discontinued, but he really cared little or nothing for doctrinal questions, and was quite willing to let his subjects enjoy all their old opinions, and many of their old superstitions, if he could only increase his own power at the expense of the church. He began by imposing restrictions upon bulls and rescripts from Rome. He then exempted monasteries and missionary colleges from obedience to superiors at the papal court, forbade the remittance of money into foreign countries for masses, and the solicitation of dignities at Rome without his permission. He even ordered the discontinuance of pilgrimages, and a diminution of images and ornaments in churches. He granted, besides, a free toleration both to Protestants and members of the Greek church; nor did he hesitate to dissolve a great number of monasteries, converting their buildings into colleges, hospitals or barracks. Monks, for the future were only to exist in such numbers as could be

⁴ Coote, 230.

usefully employed in pastoral or educational duties. Mendicant friars were altogether suppressed. Some of them were pensioned, but none allowed to levy contributions on the public as heretofore. An immense mass of property was obtained from this extensive interference with monachism, but it was properly saved from the rapacity of private families. A portion of it, being connected with mines and manufactures, was reserved for the civil government; the rest was made into a fund for the maintenance of religious and educational establishments. Besides taking these liberties with ecclesiastical institutions, Joseph even placed his reforming hand upon the church service. The communion office, or mass, he left untouched, but all the more social portions of religious worship he directed to be said in German; a rational innovation, by which Austria still is advantageously distinguished from other Romish countries.⁵ The pope was further outraged, by a claim to the patronage of bishoprics and other benefices in the Italian states of Austria.⁶ John Angelo Braschi, under the designation of Pius VI., now occupied Ganganelli's place. He was a vain man, of no great depth, and he fancied that a personal interview with Joseph might arrest his obnoxious projects. To the surprise, therefore, of Europe, and against better judgments than his own, he made light of his advanced age, and undertook a journey to Vienna. He was received with great courtesy there, but very closely watched, and found himself utterly incapable of making any impression upon the innovating emperor, who professed himself a thorough Catholic at heart, but, at the same time, quite resolved upon exercising the rights of a sovereign to make such reforms among his clergy, both secular and regular, as were urgently required. Pius returned home deeply mortified; and his annoyance was increased by the levity displayed at Rome, where the people were amused by their old sovereign's fruitless errand, however they might really be interested in its success.⁷ Joseph's example was not lost upon other Romish countries; even Spain and Portugal showed symptoms of awakening from the deep papal lethargy which had long weighed them down. The cabinet of Madrid claimed privileges analogous to those of the Gallican church, and reduced the Inquisi-

⁵ Turnbull's *Austria*, ii. 81.

⁷ Collins, 202.

⁶ Coote, 234.

tion to a mere engine of political oppression. The court of Lisbon authorized publications encouraging such free inquiry as did not interfere with the religious principles of Romanism, and placed restrictions upon the taking of monastic vows. Naples and Venice, too, suppressed many monasteries.⁸ Thus a general spirit of revolt arose throughout the papal world.

§ 7. The emperor Joseph's brother, and eventual successor, Leopold, who was originally placed on the grand ducal throne of Tuscany, preceded him in attacking the abuses of Romanism there. So early as the year 1770, he caused a collection to be made and published, exposing the weak parts of the papal system. In this were exhibited, among other matters equally unsatisfactory to the dominant church, the steps by which papal power has been established. Tuscany was invited to consider the transfer of the imperial court from Rome to Constantinople, the Roman bishop's adroit improvement of the iconoclastic reaction, and his legitimation of the Carlovingian kings on the throne of France.⁹ All these, indeed, are trite historical facts; but they are little known to the mass of men, and they tend to account for papal greatness in a manner injurious to its hold upon the religious feelings of mankind. Subsequently, Leopold abolished the inviolability of those numerous asylums which the churches of his country afforded, encouraging the vicious in crimes, and rendering them almost careless of detection. Officers of justice were allowed to drag offenders from these privileged places, but their sanctity was still so far respected as to entitle criminals to a lower punishment than they would have undergone, if captured under ordinary circumstances.¹⁰ Attempts were also made to wean the people from some of the grosser superstitions. A violent clamour was raised against these obvious advances to social improvement, both at Rome and elsewhere. Leopold was compared to Henry VIII., and his principal ecclesiastical adviser, Scipio de Ricci, bishop of Pistoia and Prato, was denounced as a manifest heretic.¹ The grand duke, however, stood immovably to his purpose, rendering the clergy liable to the same taxation as other men²; taking measures for securing the independence of his church upon Rome, or any other foreign authority; restraining females of

⁸ Coote, 235.

⁹ *Memoirs of Scipio de Ricci*, i. 273.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 74.

¹ *Ibid.* 158.

² *Ibid.* 172.

tender age from binding themselves by monastic vows; diminishing church pageantry; suppressing the Inquisition; preventing spiritual courts from trying laymen; bringing the clergy under the civil jurisdiction, when charged with ordinary offences; and leaving to ecclesiastical tribunals no cognizance of causes not strictly connected with religion.³

§ 8. But Rome soon found matter for more serious and indignant reflection, than any likely to be afforded by princes who professed a respect for her communion, while they sought additional power at her expense, and an elevation of their subjects above her baser superstitions. In France, it seemed, at one time, as if no terms of any kind would again be made with popery. The church of that country was very wealthy, possessing, besides tithes, nearly half of the land⁴, and hence had become a mark for that envy which narrow circumstances naturally engender in the great mass of men, and which was daily becoming more intense, especially after the popular infusion that flowed from the assistance given to the revolted colonies of British North America. The church had lost also much of its hold upon the superior classes of society, from the general prevalence of a scoffing infidel spirit, which would hear of no reform in the national religion; considering its base pagan alloy as an integral part of Christianity itself; and that, consequently, the whole system was one grand imposture, which a Lucian or a Voltaire might fitly ridicule, and which an enlightened age was bound to overthrow. Even the inferior clergy were very little of a counterpoise to this growing mass of irreligious prejudice. They were, indeed, highly respected generally among their poor parishioners, to whom they rendered every service in their power, and the best instruction that error grafted upon truth allowed. They had, however, rather a loose degree of attachment for the ecclesiastical institutions of their country as a whole. Their own circumstances were generally straitened; those of their superiors the reverse. Now men will commonly bear this inequality with tolerable patience, under the buoyancy of hope, when the wealth or splendour in sight may also be within reach. But this alleviation of his narrow lot was hardly open to the humble French ecclesiastic, however sanguine might be his temperament. It is true, that the excessive advantages of birth, which really were the cancer

³ *Mem. of Scipio de Ricci*, 220.

⁴ Alison's *French Revol.* i. 76, Edinb. 1833.

of France before the revolution, did not theoretically operate upon the church. Any one of her sons might rise to the highest dignities; and occasionally such a fortunate individual started from inferior life. But practically, there was little or no hope of this. The ecclesiastical grandee was nearly always the kinsman or near connexion of lay grandees: by their influence he had gained his easy and splendid position; in their society, and with their habits, he spent his time; he was, in fact, a man of fashion, no less than they, though with more learning, and some external differences; and he naturally nurtured all that insolent consciousness of belonging to a *caste* indefeasibly superior, which the higher French inherited from the long and jealous possession of exclusive, unjust, irritating privileges. The inferior clergyman was thus kept at a galling distance from the more fortunate members of his own profession; and feeling hardly any thing in common with them, he readily took the same views of their pretensions and position, that were gaining ground every day, as to those of the lay aristocracy. Hence it happened, that when the long-branded and excluded classes began to clamour with a voice of thunder for the rights of merit without hereditary advantages, the parochial clergy generally were found among the assailing party.⁵ Upon the personal merits of the superior clergy, very different impressions have prevailed; some representing them as generally vicious, others as far from unworthy of their profession. Most probably, the latter was their preponderating character, however it may have been kept out of sight during the storms of the revolution, which was indisposed against an acknowledgment of merit in any wealthy quarter, but least of all in opulent and aristocratic ecclesiastics.

§ 9. While France was preparing for that meeting of the *States-General* which revolutionized the country, the clergy, as might be expected, immediately split into two parties, with all the elements of mutual repulsion. Deputies were chosen, by the prelacy, with aristocratic views; by the great body of ecclesiastics, with democratic. To these latter delegates, as to the others from inferior life, an undue weight was impolitically given by Neckar, whose infatuation augmented the dangerous rapidity of popular motion, by doubling the deputies from the

⁵ Alison, 110.

Third Estate. None felt more keenly the alteration thus given to their position than the higher clergy, who looked with deep suspicion upon the number of parochial ministers and the like, who joined their muster, when the *States* met, in May, 1789.⁶ Some of them, however, headed the great body of lower clerical deputies, who madly joined the lay Third Estate, on the 22nd of June, and thus gave it a constitutional weight which before was wanting.⁷ Nothing could show more undeniably the little sympathy, even with their own superiors, which had flowed from a long course of neglect and exclusion, than this rash movement of the parochial clergy. It sealed the fate of the monarchy, and, with it, of the church. In the following August, it was proposed to commute tithes into a money payment; three days afterwards, they were abolished on a vague understanding that religion should be adequately provided for in another way: a prospect that proved illusory, as, probably, those most active in the abolition meant that it should.⁸ Within a few months afterwards⁹, the immense landed estates of the church were confiscated, for the purpose of relieving the financial embarrassments of the country, and clergymen were made public stipendiaries. As usual, however, the compensation given bore a strange disproportion to the property seized: about one-fifth of their former incomes was all that the government proposed to allow¹, and the opulent ecclesiastics of France were thus reduced at once to a lower station than was rightfully their own, and than the interests of religion really required. It is indeed, easy to say, and such sayings are eagerly applauded by the selfish and envious majority of mankind, that ecclesiastics will never want their due influence in society, unless wanting to themselves. Such seeming truisms are, however, liable to that charge of error which seldom fails to lurk in abstract generalities: the truth is, that high qualifications, manly independence of sentiment, and sufficient influence over society, cannot be secured to the clergy any more than to other men, unless there is a considerable infusion among them of that pecuniary ease which allures talent into their own body, represses the assumptions of wealth in other quarters, and commands the respect of poverty. But such liberal discernment of the truth is never to be expected

⁶ Alison, 127.

⁷ *Ibid.* 141.

⁸ *Ibid.* 166, 169.

⁹ Nov. 1789. *Ibid.* 210.

¹ *Ibid.* 212.

from aspiring masses of men generally in narrow circumstances, like the revolutionary legislators of France. They would not even listen to arguments in favour of the inviolability of church-property, founded on its gradual acquisition from the pious munificence of individuals. Nothing could be patiently heard, but assertions that it was all public property: a convenient view, which placed it entirely at the disposal of the dominant party. Ecclesiastical revenues having been seized, the church itself was quickly placed upon a new footing; bishoprics were reduced to the same number as the departments; both prelates and inferior incumbents were to be chosen by the same electors that chose the deputies; and chapters were suppressed.² These encroachments upon the church were quickly followed³ by an order that all incumbents, under pain of deprivation, should swear to maintain the new constitution. This oath was refused by a great majority of the clerical body; and that proscription immediately began, which plunged churchmen in extreme misery, and confirmed the obstinate irreligion of France. The consummation of this fatal process, was reserved for the November of 1793, when Gobet, the bishop of Paris, who had taken the oath to the existing constitution, appeared at the bar of the Assembly, attended by some of the clergy, and abjured the Christian faith. These infamous wretches declared no other national religion to be required than that of liberty, equality, and morality. Equal depravity and folly were exhibited by others of the revolutionary bishops and clergy; religion was now openly trampled under foot in all parts of France; the plate and every thing else of any value in churches were seized; religious offices of every kind were discontinued; and, to complete the mad insults heaped upon all that really benefits mankind, an impudent opera-singer was triumphantly drawn from the National Assembly to the cathedral of *Notre Dame*, and installed there as the *Goddess of Reason*. Henceforth, that venerable church was to be known by no other name than the *Temple of Reason*.⁴ In 1794, this war against revelation was completed by the formal abolition of the Christian Sabbath. Not only the names of the months and days were changed,—and thus traces of anterior heathenism abolished,—but also the hebdomadal division of time

² Alison, 216.

³ Nov. 27. 1790. *Ibid.* 231.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 80.

was abandoned, months being divided into three decades, instead of four weeks.⁵ Every tenth day was to be one of rest, instead of every seventh: an immense loss to the labouring classes, who were thus defrauded of one-fourth of the repose for which they had been immemorially indebted to Christianity. Surely such of them as had any space left in their hearts for sound feeling, or in their heads for sound reasoning, must have now begun to suspect that their real friends were not among the vociferous claimants of philanthropy and philosophy, but among believers in the Gospel. As a substitute for this holy system, a theatrical sect arose, which professedly adopted its morality, and took the name of *Theophilanthropists*.⁶ They opened four temples in Paris, where a sort of liturgy was chaunted, and moral discourses preached, the ancient attractions of an altar being supplied by an immense basket filled with beautiful flowers, as an emblem of the creation. The vain coxcombs, however, who figured in these pretended religious observances, rapidly fell into contempt, when the first novelty of their performances was gone. So ephemeral, indeed, was their importance, that all mention of them would be almost superfluous, were not their appearance at such a time an undeniable evidence that men must have a religion of some sort.

§ 10. This truth was forcibly shown in 1797, when clergymen were relieved from the penalties of imprisonment, or transportation, to which they had been rendered liable. Attempts were also made to allow the open use of the ancient worship, and even of bells to announce it; to permit crosses again over graves, and to relieve the clergy from the revolutionary oaths. The professed friends to the rights of man were not, however, as yet sufficiently leavened by any respect for the rights of conscience to pass such laws; but it was impossible to have them discussed with some prospect of success, until a reaction had begun in the public mind. Of this improvement in their prospects, great numbers, even of the emigrant laity, immediately took advantage. Among the clergy a still larger proportion returned to their flocks. They were generally received with extreme joy, especially in the western departments, and the long-intermitted offices of religion were eagerly resumed.⁷

⁵ Alison, 598.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 329.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii. 345.

Public worship, however, was wholly dependent upon the contributions of an irreligious nation, and consequently, most serious difficulties were found in keeping the churches open. Elderly females formed, in fact, the great bulk of the congregations.⁸ At the outset of this religious revival, an ecclesiastical council, consisting of thirty-eight prelates, and fifty-three representatives of the inferior clergy, met in Paris. It agreed to a profession of faith, based on the creed of pope Pius IV.; maintained episcopacy to be needful for the proper government of the church; and so far courted the ruling powers, as to allow that an oath against the restoration of royalty was not incompatible with the Gospel. The proceedings were closed by an order for the communication of them to the pope, coupled with a request for the convocation of a general council.⁹ Such an assembly, however, has very rarely been popular at Rome, and it was then obviously impracticable.

§ 11. The pope then actually possessed a mere shadow of his former power: being driven into active warfare against the French republic, its troops invaded his territories, and his own troops, like other Italian armies, fled on the enemy's first onset. In consequence, Pius concluded the peace of Tolentino, on the 19th of February, 1797. By this humiliating treaty, he ceded the French territories attached to his see, and left the republic virtually master of all the rest: agreeing besides, to pay an enormous pecuniary contribution, and to surrender one hundred of those first-rate works of art, which had long been the pride and a leading attraction of Rome.¹ The payment of the contribution reduced his people to beggary, and the general misery was augmented by constant intrigues to rouse the populace into a revolt and establish a republic. These took full effect in February, 1798, when the papal government was formally overthrown. Pius was first removed into Tuscany, and eventually, after various changes, to Valence, in Dauphiny. He died there, on the 29th of August, 1799, in the eighty-second year of his age², after having exhibited a dignified firmness and a Christian resignation in his adversity, of which the vanity of his earlier years, fed by a fine person and extraordinary professional suc-

⁸ Alison, iv. 669.

⁹ Coote, 240.

¹ Alison, iii. 113.

² *Ibid.* 542.

cess, gave but slender promise. It was wished by the French Directory that no successor should be appointed³, and the century closed with the pontifical throne vacant.

§ 12. In England the Hanoverian succession extinguished effectually, as to protestants, that national intolerance which had been the bane and disgrace of former times. On the very day of Anne's demise, the *Schism Act* was to have come into operation: an odious measure, intended to place all but the commonest education wholly in the hands of the church. The queen's death rendered this proposed infraction of man's indubitable rights a dead letter, no lawyer now being likely to sue for penalties under it, or the government to enforce them. In 1719 it was formally repealed, together with another act, passed in 1711, against *Occasional Conformity*. This unjust and impolitic law, was meant to drive from office all those religious professors who generally worshipped with dissenters, and, no doubt, were very much of their opinion, but not so bigotedly as to induce an insurmountable objection against receiving the sacrament at church. Hence these persons made no scruple about this degree of conformity for the purpose of qualifying for office. To repel such dubious nonconformists, and thus drive them into obstinate dissent, was, undoubtedly, that palpable folly on the part of churchmen, which nothing but the violence of party spirit raging on both sides, and the intolerant habits of all former ages, can account for. When these oppressive and short-sighted statutes were repealed, a repeal also of the *Test Act* was in contemplation. But even the Whig party, then, as long afterwards, in the ascendant, was not satisfied that concession could be safely carried so far. That party then contained within itself many elements of disunion, and its proscribed opponents might have successfully used a step, extensively unpopular, for overthrowing its monopoly of power and patronage.⁴ The government, indeed, very early, under the new dynasty, stood by no means on a satisfactory footing.⁵ When

³ "Lareveillere Lepaux, the President of the Directory, wrote to Napoleon: *In regard to Rome, the Directory cordially approve of the instructions you have given to your brother to prevent a successor being appointed to Pius VI. We must lay hold of the present favourable circumstances to deliver Europe from the pretended papal supremacy.*" *Ibid.* 536.

⁴ "The disunion then prevailing among the Whigs, had caused so formidable an opposition, even to the former measures, that it was found necessary to abandon that project." Hallam's *Const. Hist.* iii. 333.

⁵ "The strong symptoms of disaffection which broke out in a few months after the king's accession, and which

George I. obtained possession of the throne, Tories appeared pleased no less than the Whigs.⁶ But he cast them wholly aside, and gave himself up unreservedly to the latter.⁷ Their modern apologists assign plausible reasons for this⁸; but excluded contemporaries naturally regarded it as caused by a selfish deceit put upon an ignorant foreigner. Nor did Walpole, during his long possession of power, either abate anything of that narrow spirit of party exclusion, which disgusted the nation generally, on the Hanoverian succession⁹, or of a reluct-

can be ascribed to no grievance, unless the formation of a Whig ministry was to be termed one, prove the taint of the late times to have been deep-seated and extensive." *Ibid.* 310.

⁶ "They seemed as well satisfied with his majesty's peaceable accession, and attended the ceremony of his proclamation with as cheerful looks as any persons. Or if they were in a sudden fright, they, in a short time, so recovered themselves, as to lay no small claim to his majesty's favour. *The king*, they gave out, *intended to become an universal father of his people, and not to caress any particular party.*" *Calamy's Life and Times*, ii. 296, Lond. 1829.

⁷ "Perhaps it might have been practicable for the king to have gradually conciliated the greater number of the more active Tories. His promotion of Whigs exclusively, and dismissal of Tories indiscriminately, from the recent conduct of both respectively, was natural, though a more comprehensive scheme of policy would have been wise. At the time of the accession, the passions and prejudices of both sides were extremely high. The cool and impartial examination of a discerning and unbiassed stranger, must have seen that there were on both sides great abilities and great virtues, mingled with the violence and excesses of party zeal; and that the leading and acting men on both sides might be rendered useful in various departments of public service. But George, though discerning, was not unbiassed; though calm in his own temper, judicious in his opinions, and temperate in his conduct, yet, from his situation, and the connections which it had dictated, he was become the member of a party; and ascended the throne of England, on the one hand, with the liberal and enlightened principles, but, on the other, with the prejudices and pas-

sions of an English Whig." Bisset's *George III.* i. 111, Lond. 1820.

⁸ "In later times also, it has not been uncommon to censure George I. for governing, as it is called, by a faction. Nothing can be more unreasonable than this reproach. Was he to select those for his advisers who had been, as we know and he believed, in a conspiracy with his competitor? Was Lord Oxford, even if the king thought him faithful, capable of uniting with any public men, hated as he was on each side? Were not the Tories as truly a faction as their adversaries, and as intolerant during their own power?" (Hallam, iii. 308.) This reasoning is little else than recrimination. There is little doubt that George I. might have diminished the difficulties of his situation, if he had honestly availed himself of his inexperience as a foreigner in English party politics, and, professing himself anxious only for the public service, looked out for efficient and trustworthy men on every side. His absolute surrender of himself, and of every thing that he had to bestow, to the Whig party, naturally disgusted the greater part of the nation. The Tories might be, and undoubtedly were, 'as truly a faction as their adversaries;' but, viewed as 'a faction,' the Whigs laboured under this especial disadvantage, that they laid larger claims than their adversaries to superior enlightenment and liberality. These claims were naturally derided by the opposite party; and moderate men, very little of partizans, could hardly help feeling the derision just, when they saw such claims made a stepping-stone to a jealously-guarded narrow monopoly of power and profit.

⁹ "It was the policy of Walpole to keep alive the strongest prejudice in the mind of George II., obstinately retentive of prejudice, against the whole

ance to hazard his own position, by pressing any measure which he knew to be unpopular. He allowed the *Test Act* to remain in the statute-book, merely taking effectual care that it should sleep there, by the annual passing of an *Act of Indemnity*. Thus the full toleration of protestant dissent was regularly established, and by legislative authority, although seemingly but from year to year.¹ Every year, however, obviously rendered a return to the old system of intolerance more impracticable. Had Walpole possessed the manly honesty to conciliate the church-party by his use of patronage, besides managing it by allowing an illusory continuance of the *Test Act*, he might, probably, have prevented some of the religious difficulties that arose in his day. Unhappily, however, crown patronage of every kind was regarded as little else than a powerful instrument for strengthening the Whig party. Even direct bribes were distributed among parliamentary members of that favoured body with a shamelessness that has ever since formed a conspicuous and most humiliating feature in English history.² The natural result was, that ministerial favour ordinarily passed for an evidence of individual corruption. In the church this feeling

body of the Tories. They were ill-received at court, and generally excluded, not only from those departments of office which the dominant party have a right to keep in their power, but from the commission of the peace, and every other subordinate trust." *Ibid.* 340.

¹ "Walpole, more cautious and moderate than the ministry of 1719, perceived the advantage of reconciling the church as far as possible to the royal family, and to his own government; and it seems to have been an article in the tacit compromise with the bishops, who were not backward in exerting their influence for the crown, that he should make no attempt to abrogate the laws which gave a monopoly of power to the Anglican communion. We may presume also, that the prelates undertook not to obstruct the *Acts of Indemnity* passed from time to time in favour of those who had not duly qualified themselves for the offices they held; and which, after some time becoming regular, have, in effect, thrown open the gates to protestant dissenters." *Ibid.* 334. (This was written before the repeal of the *Test Act*, in 1828.) "The

first act of this kind (Indemnity) appears to have been in 1727, 1 Geo. II. c. 23. It was repeated next year, intermitted in the next, and afterwards renewed in every year of that reign, except the fifth, the seventeenth, the twenty-second, the twenty-third, the twenty-sixth, and the thirtieth. Whether these occasional interruptions were intended to prevent the nonconformists from relying upon it, or were caused by some accidental circumstance, must be left to conjecture. I believe that the renewal has been regular every year since the accession of George III." *Ibid.* note.

² "There was always a strong suspicion, or rather a general certainty, of absolute corruption. The proofs, in single instances, could never, perhaps, be established; which, of course, is not surprising. But no one seriously called in question the reality of a systematic distribution of money by the crown to the representatives of the people; nor did the corrupters themselves, in whom the crime seems always to be deemed less heinous, disguise it in private." *Ibid.* 353.

acted in a manner peculiarly injurious. The great majority of clergymen were Tories; and finding that no moderation of principles, or professional distinction, would ordinarily open the way to preferment, if unattended by Whig services or connexions, they naturally looked upon their own superiors with suspicion, and upon the government which promoted them with aversion. A body so divided could not be highly efficient. In the earlier Hanoverian times, accordingly, the church fell into a sort of stagnation. It maintained its ancient position in the country, and with a becoming dignity of external appearance. But ecclesiastical literature sank to a low ebb, and spiritual religion to a lower.

§ 13. The reign of George I. saw the virtual abolition of Convocation. William III. had kept that body in the sort of abeyance usual in modern times, during Tillotson's primacy, with little notice from any quarter.³ The party that had lately defeated the scheme of comprehension was willing to rest for a season from any farther agitation of such questions; and the party that had striven for it, hoped for its adoption after late heats were effectually allayed by a few years of silence. In 1696, however, appeared a pamphlet, entitled *A Letter to a Convocation-man*, charging, with sufficient plainness, the reduction of convocation to a mere customary form, upon the king's general indifference to church affairs, and unfriendly eye to the national establishment, abetted by the ignorance of Tenison, now primate, and his anxiety to stand well at court.⁴ In the following year, William Wake, then one of the royal chaplains, and eventually archbishop of Canterbury, published a learned answer to this piece, in an octavo volume.⁵ This, in its turn, was answered, after a lapse of three years, by Atterbury.⁶ The subject now attracted universal attention, and a great ferment arose in the public mind: many persons, whose moderation was unsuspected, beginning to consider the church as defrauded of those rights which justly belonged to her, and which ought,

³ Nicholls says of archbp. Tillotson, "per plures annos synodum cogere omisit." (*Apparat. ad Def. Eccl. Angl.* 101.) Archbp. Wake, however, says of king William, "He assembled the Convocations duly with every Parliament." *State of the Church and Clergy of England*, p. 520, Lond. 1703.

⁴ Nicholls, 102.

⁵ *The Authority of Christian Princes over their Ecclesiastical Synods asserted*, Lond. 1697.

⁶ In his *Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation*. Wake answered this in 1703, by an elaborate folio, entitled, *The State of the Church and Clergy of England*.

for the general good, to be rendered active once more. The prevalence of this impression caused a meeting of the Convocation, in the year 1700, for the dispatch of business.⁷ The spirit, however, shown by the lower house was so little satisfactory to the court, that it withheld the authority required for condemning some obnoxious books, and enacting new canons.⁸ William's government continued at variance with the lower house of Convocation, which was bent upon assuming all the rights and privileges belonging to the House of Commons.⁹ Anne was more favourable to the clergy; and their representatives, accordingly, displayed an activity under her which had been denied them in the last reign. Under George I. this was not immediately prevented; but the Convocation gave offence in 1717, by attacking Benjamin Hoadly, now bishop of Bangor, eventually of Winchester, who preached before the king on the 31st of March, in that year, a sermon on *The nature of the kingdom or Church of Christ*, which was published by special command. This famous discourse gave rise to the long paper war, known as the *Bangorian Controversy*. Hoadly had printed in the preceding year, *A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Non-jurors, both in Church and State*. His object in writing both pamphlet and sermon was, to answer a posthumous work, published just before, from the pen of George Hickes, the very learned non-juror. In accomplishing this purpose, he brought forward various principles which were considered by a large portion of the clergy quite inconsistent with sound views of ecclesiastical polity. Hence, when Convocation met, the lower house appointed a committee to make a selection of obnoxious passages from the bishop of Bangor's recent publications. The report was duly prepared, and placed on the journals by an unanimous vote, but before it could reach the upper house, a royal prorogation came down, and thus all further proceedings were prevented.¹ Nor has the Convocation ever

⁷ Nicholls, 105.

⁸ "Absque enim Principis licentia, neque illic fas est canonas condere, aut etiam de iis deliberare, aut denique de libris contra fidem conscriptis cognoscere." *Ibid.*

⁹ Hallam, iii. 327.

¹ Life of Bp. Hoadly, prefixed to his Works, in three volumes, folio, Lond. 1783. His famous sermon is in the se-

cond volume, p. 403. It is preceded by *An Account of all the Considerable Pamphlets that have been published on either side, in the Present Controversy between the Bishop of Bangor and others*. This useful tract was written by Thomas Herne, M.A., but published under a feigned name. Hoadly's *Preservative* is in the first volume of his Works, p. 557. This prelate's abilities were of a superior order,

since been allowed to sit for the dispatch of any business. It merely meets at the beginning of every Parliament in stately form, to hear divine service, and go through the preliminaries necessary for the constitutional exercise of its powers.

§ 14. Court patronage in the earlier years of the Hanoverian dynasty, was not only exercised by statesmen whose principles were distrusted by the church generally, and whose integrity was suspected in every quarter; there was also a dangerous relaxation of morals, and a poisonous taint of infidelity, very rife among public men. The religious current of queen Anne's feelings was succeeded, at St James's, by one very different, and, on many accounts, unquestionably worse. George I. did not, indeed, by any means approach the reckless profligacy of Charles II.; but still he was, very considerably, an unblushing man of pleasure: his mistresses were obtruded on the public notice, and a virtuous contempt or pity for their infamy and his was obviously what no courtier could venture upon showing.² The highest circle in society being thus debased, superior life widely took the leprous infection; and as men hate what

but he was, perhaps, too much of a politician, and he took views of many religious and ecclesiastical questions, which are called low, if not latitudinarian. Hence he has commonly been but little of a favourite among the English clergy, and is occasionally charged with a leaning towards Socinianism. He was born Nov. 14, 1676, and died at Chelsea, in the house then belonging to the see of Winchester, April 17, 1761. The importance of his famous sermon chiefly came from the rebellion under the old Pretender, in 1715. Hickes's posthumous papers were published with a view to shake the principles on which the Hanoverian family depended for support. Hoadly took the other side, and his advocacy was very highly valued. He had been made bishop of Bangor in 1715. In 1721, he was translated to Hereford; in 1723, to Salisbury; and in 1734, to Winchester.

* "The liberal principles and sentiments of the Whigs, extending toleration to the various sects of religionists, continued hateful to the high church: nor were the Whigs behind in enmity; their aversion to bigotry carried them into the opposite extreme. Many of them are justly chargeable with infidelity; and their leading politicians, if not unbe-

lievers, were indifferent about religion, and great patrons of infidels. The court in general was very lukewarm in religious matters. With the minister himself, his supporters, and favourites, articles of faith, the church, and clergy, were most frequent and acceptable subjects of merriment and railery. Impiety was extremely fashionable in the various gradations of society, to which the court example did not fail to reach. Corresponding to such a state of religion, there was a great laxity of manners. To this evil the conduct of the court had its share in contributing. George, though by no means profligate in his own character, yet tended to encourage licentious gallantry; according to the mode of debauched courts on the continent, the king's mistresses made their appearance regularly among the nobility, were visited by women of the highest rank and fashion, and even introduced to the young princesses, his grand-daughters. The minister, and all who possessed or sought royal favour, paid a most submissive attention to the royal favourites. Where such persons presided, modesty and chastity could not be expected greatly to prevail. Decency and morality were by no means characteristics of George's court." Bisset's *George III.* i. 118.

reproves and threatens themselves, the fashionable world became a school for disputants against revealed religion.³ Among persons thus unhappily perverted, the teachers of Christianity, with their duties and rights, were naturally food for wanton mirth; or with graver spirits, all that antiquity had provided for spiritualizing the nation, was regarded merely as a fund for managing the populace, and securing political influence. It was impossible to prevent unfriendly, or even serious minds, however disposed, from exaggerating the evils brought by such patronage upon the church. Men could not, indeed, fail of being preferred at least occasionally, who must have remained at the bottom of any lay profession. Clergymen of enterprising talent, also, were driven by prevailing infidelity to spend their powers upon defending the mere outworks of Christianity, and to make pure ethics find an undue proportion of subjects for the pulpit. An age which loudly claimed an enlarged spirit of philosophy, might have been impatient under preaching of a cast prominently doctrinal.

§ 15. But religious instruction of a more evangelical character was required, in order to reach the hearts of men in every walk of life. The requirement evoked a spirit which awakened England from religious apathy, but rent her with a lamentable schism. Samuel Wesley came of a puritanical family, and married into one: both he and his wife, however, conformed to the national church, and imbibed a decided preference for it; which was rendered more satisfactory to its best friends, by their strong understandings and exemplary conduct. He was a clergyman, and having attained some degree of eminence during the infatuated reign of James II., he had a prospect offered him of obtaining preferment, on condition of abetting the court policy; but although his politics were of the Tory school, he was a zealous protestant, and nothing could make him forget the paramount calls of a Scriptural faith. On the revolution, accordingly, he wrote in favour of that great national change. This gained him the rectory of Epworth, and subsequently another,

³ "Like William III. the first George was vehemently suspected of heresy and infidelity, because in his tolerant court there were those who avowed their scepticism, without imitating Bolingbroke, the infidel minister of Anne, by combining it in monstrous alliance with intolerance." (Bogue and Bennett's *History*

of *Dissenters*, Lond. 1833, ii, 108.) The authors, however, show, in a note below, containing a citation from *Mist's Journal*, a Tory newspaper, that current objections to George's government commonly ran on the disgraceful influence of loose women about the court.

far less valuable, that of Wroote. Both were crown benefices in Lincolnshire. He held Epworth more than forty years, with signal advantage to the parish, which he served with a zeal, faithfulness, and ability, that are very rarely surpassed. He had three sons, of whom Samuel, the eldest, was educated at Westminster, and became a superior scholar. He died master of Tiverton school, in Devonshire, when under fifty. John, the second son, was born in 1703, and was placed at the Charterhouse in 1714; a school to which he remained strongly attached through life, never failing to visit his old haunts there, on his annual visits to London. In his seventeenth year he went to Christchurch, Oxford, where he displayed those exemplary morals and studious habits, which bore honourable witness to the great advantages that he had enjoyed under his paternal roof. He does not, however, appear to have felt any extraordinary force of religious feeling, until his mind was occupied by the contemplation of deacon's orders; these he took in 1725, and in the following year he was elected fellow of Lincoln college. By this time, such a marked seriousness had come over him, that it was urged to his disadvantage at the election; but he had unquestionably qualities to secure the suffrages of conscientious electors, and they did not suffer themselves to violate their obligations, because they had a candidate whom a few inconsiderate observers thought ridiculously particular. In 1728 he was ordained priest; in the following year, after an absence in Lincolnshire as his father's curate, he returned to Oxford, where his brother Charles, who was five years younger than himself, then resided as a student of Christchurch. John had urged greater seriousness upon him, some time before, but a natural liveliness of disposition seemingly rendered such admonition useless. When John, however, came back to college in 1729, he found himself to have made a powerful impression upon his brother's mind. Charles attended the sacrament every week, having persuaded two or three fellow-students to accompany him, and rigidly observe such *methods* of study as were prescribed by the university statutes. These highly methodical habits obtained for him the appellation of *Methodist*, a term which eventually distinguished the religious body that he was largely instrumental in forming, and another of a kindred spirit. To Charles Wesley and his young friends John cordially joined himself, and the party soon afterwards obtaining a few accessions, its movements became the mark for general observation.

The members spent some evenings in the week together, chiefly in reading the Greek Testament, and devoted portions of their mornings to visits among the sick in the city, and among prisoners in the gaols. Proceedings so unusual with university students, made considerable noise, and the elder Wesley became rather uneasy : he went in consequence to Oxford, in 1731, to make his own observations, but came away perfectly satisfied, writing to his wife from London, immediately afterwards, that he was well repaid for the expense and trouble of his recent visit to the university, by seeing there "the shining piety of their two sons." This venerable ecclesiastic died in 1735, after having vainly attempted to persuade his son John into an application for succeeding him at Epworth. That remarkable man professed himself unequal to the charge of two thousand souls, and satisfied that his own good, and the good of others, would be best promoted by his continuance at Oxford. He embraced, however, an invitation to go as a missionary into Georgia, then a colony in its first infancy ; and landed in that country, with his brother Charles, now in orders, in 1736. Both were severely disappointed : prospect of preaching to the Indians, which they had contemplated, there was none : nor were the licentious, turbulent, struggling spirits that had just sought refuge from domestic ills in expatriation, at all suited for benefiting by clerical services rendered under notions of ascetic strictness and high ecclesiastical authority. The brothers, accordingly, soon aroused a storm of opposition in the infant colony, and Charles, after the trial of a few arduous months, returned to England, with despatches from the governor. John remained in Georgia, but only to make his difficulties greater, by mingling his austere piety and exalted estimate of ministerial prerogatives with overtures of marriage, which he afterwards retracted. He thus gave a colour for charging him, when he repelled the rejected party from the communion, with abusing his authority to vent his resentment. A suit was then brought against him for defamation, and for various alleged ministerial irregularities. This was protracted in the most vexatious manner, evidently with a view of driving him from the colony. At length he determined upon withdrawing, and made a sort of clandestine escape. He reached London in February, 1738. He there became very much connected with the Moravians, who had already gained largely upon his affections in the voyage to

Georgia, some pious members of the body being his fellow-passengers, and he first joined them for religious worship. Subsequently he became dissatisfied with some doctrines introduced among them, and resolved upon forming a new society. While, still, however, far from contemplating such a step as this, he passed over into Germany, and visited the Moravian settlements there. On his return to London, in September, 1738, he began immediately upon that prominence in the religious world which must ever make his name conspicuous in ecclesiastical history. He was averse from settling himself as a parochial minister, but gladly availed himself of every opportunity to occupy a parish-pulpit. His doctrine differed widely from that ethical strain which then prevailed among preachers; and being better fitted for touching the heart, as well as delivered with unusual power, great crowds rapidly congregated in every church where Wesley was to be heard. Many of the clergy treated his opinions as exaggerated, and hence likely to mislead. Among the laity of better condition, this objection was aggravated by another, arising from the multitudes, and consequent inconveniences, that his preaching brought. After a time, accordingly, almost every pulpit in London was closed against him. He soon, however, became above such impediments, having surmounted his original scruples as to ecclesiastical irregularity, and taken to preaching in the open air. His influence now in lower life became prodigious, and, in a vast number of cases, there can be no doubt, most beneficial, very many being turned by him from a sottish eagerness after mere animal gratifications to an effective recollection that the body is only half the man, and the worse half too. At length, in 1740, Wesley became regularly the minister of a registered chapel in Moorfields, London, and the society of Methodists was formed under his direction.⁴ He was, however, by no means prepared for any secession from the national church; on the contrary, he was careful to assemble his congregation at hours which did not interfere with those of the regular parochial service, and to the parish altar he directed it on sacrament Sundays. These provisions, however, soon occasioned considerable

⁴ "It became necessary for the new sectarists either to endure all the injuries which the nonconformists suffered for nearly thirty years, or to contradict their solemn professions of indissoluble union with the established church, by classing

themselves with the Dissenters, taking refuge under the Toleration Act, registering their places of worship, and licensing their preachers, as that act required." Bogue and Bennett, ii. 116.

inconveniences. Wesley's followers commonly became averse from hearing such doctrine at church as differed strikingly from that delivered in their own places of worship, and even from receiving the sacrament at the hands of clergymen who preached it. Hence their attendance at many churches was remarkably thin, after a few years; and the arrangements made for it, by the closing of their own chapels, caused much of that time which would have been gladly spent in public worship, to be passed with less advantage, as it would commonly be found, at home. The sacrament also fell into much neglect, although, at one time, Wesley's followers formed in many parish-churches the great body of the communicants. In the later years of his life, their great head became, indeed, sensible that separation from the national establishment was inevitable; but he never gave it his personal sanction, and he took pains to render it as mild as possible. The result has been, that the Wesleyan Methodists differ importantly from the great mass of protestant dissenters; considering themselves rather as supplementary to the church, than alienated from it. Practically, they are, indeed, a large body of separatists, with a complete organization of their own for every religious purpose: neither sacramental ministrations, nor any other, being even professedly dependent, in the slightest degree, upon the national establishment.⁵ But then

⁵ "Thus a religious society was raised up within the national church, and with this anomaly, that, as to all its interior arrangements as a society, it was independent of the ecclesiastical authority of that church. The irregularity was, in principle, as great when the first step was taken as at any future time. It was a form of practical and partial separation, though not of theoretical dissent; but it arose out of a moral necessity, and existed for some years in such state, that had the clergy been disposed to co-operate in this evident revival and spread of true religion, and had the heads of the church been willing to sanction itinerant labours among its ministers, and private religious meetings among the serious part of the people for mutual edification, the great body of Methodists might have been retained in communion with the church of England. On this matter, which was often brought before the leading and influential clergy, they made their own election. They refused to co-operate: they, doubtless, thought that

they acted right; and, excepting the obloquy and persecution with which they followed an innocent and pious people, they perhaps did so; for a great innovation would have been made upon the discipline of the church; for which, at that time at least, it was little prepared." (*Watson's Life of Wesley*, p. 134. Lond. 1839.) It was the policy of the Roman church, when any great religious movement occurred, professing a deference for her authority, to take measures for combining it with herself. If the church of England, when Wesley and Whitefield acquired an irresistible influence, had been able to foresee their ultimate importance, and had possessed sufficient means for following the example of her great rival, she would have acted wisely in doing so. Unhappily, however, men cannot see so far; and, besides, politics tied her hands. The superior clergy were generally of a different party from the inferior, and therefore naturally viewed by them as preferred from motives little connected with professional eminence.

they have never professed to undervalue ministrations in the church, or the utility of a religious provision made by the state. Nor have they, as a body, or even have many individuals among them, joined in any political movements for the depression or extinction of the church. Thus their separation stands honourably prominent, as made upon grounds purely spiritual; and the establishment, however doubtful of them as a body of unmanageable allies, has the satisfaction of knowing them to be no real enemies, either open or concealed. Their great founder John Wesley, died in London, on the 2nd of March, 1791, at the great age of eighty-eight, leaving a character and influence behind him, that may well be envied by all who value that sort of anxiety for heaven which is shown by a perfect willingness to do, suffer, and renounce every thing, when religion appears to call for the exertion or sacrifice. Charles Wesley died on the twenty-ninth of March, 1788, at the age of seventy-nine, leaving a family behind. John, though married, and unhappily, left no issue.⁶ The two brothers were among the most remarkable men of their time, and although churchmen cannot fail of regretting that their talents and labours took an irregular direction, thereby occasioning a great mass of actual dissent, yet it must be admitted, that this disadvantage came in the most unexceptionable form, and that the Wesleys, by arousing a dormant spirit of religious inquiry, conferred a vital benefit upon the country at large.

§ 16. Within five years after the Wesleys attracted general notice at Oxford, and were stigmatized as Methodists there, another student, who soon became equally conspicuous, entered in that university. George Whitefield was descended from a respectable family, numbering beneficed clergymen and independent proprietors among its members; but his father was

Hence, if convocation had been allowed to resume that activity, which was required for arranging the amalgamation of Methodism with the establishment, embarrassing contentions were more likely to arise than any useful result. The time, however, may come, when dangers of this kind are much less to be apprehended. If such should be the case, it may admit of serious consideration, whether Methodism, even yet, cannot obtain a formal admission within the establishment. A revival of the subdiaconate might satisfactorily qualify preachers of a semi-laical character, at least for pulpits pro-

vided by their own society, but recognized by the church. The admission of the Wesleyan conference, and any other well-defined, approved body, to regulate its own, though episcopally-ordained, subdeacons, with places of worship provided for them by itself, would be little or nothing more exceptionable, than the papal system which places religious orders under generals and machinery of their own.

⁶ In preparing this paragraph, Watson's *Life of Wesley* has been exclusively used. Southey's, however, is much fuller, and more philosophical.

bred a wine-merchant, and he ultimately kept the Bell Inn at Gloucester. In that house the future preacher was born, in 1714. His father lived only to see him two years old, and his mother's circumstances becoming bad, he was driven at one time to act as waiter. He had, at an earlier age, been carefully kept from any concern with the business of the house, and sent to the grammar-school of his native city, with a view to orders. To this school he returned, on seeing a prospect of admission at Oxford as a servitor. In that capacity he entered at Pembroke College, in 1734. He took with him a more serious cast of mind than is very usual at his then age: a struggling boyhood spent among the vulgar temptations of an inn, having found his vigorous understanding, and ardent temperament, in many occasions for anxious thought, and some, for self-accusation. In Oxford, he soon became acquainted with the Wesleys; but his temper was far more enthusiastic than theirs, and a lower scale of domestic nurture pushed his ascetic mortifications down to a coarser level. No degree of self-denial would content him, until he had in some sort imitated our blessed Saviour, in being with the wild beasts, when He was tempted. Whitefield accordingly spent nearly two hours on two following nights in Christchurch meadow, praying, sometimes flat on his face, at others, on his knees. The former of these nights proved stormy; and while the elements roared, instead of seeking shelter, he merely felt reminded of the day of judgment. In all these excesses of religious fear, there is no reason to believe that Whitefield had any eye to display; but his appearance became so remarkable, from wretched attire, intentional exposure to cold, and emaciation from insufficient sustenance, that he could not escape notice. His tutor considered him insane; and it can hardly be doubted, that he had sunk into that mental unhealthiness, which is at least upon the very verge of insanity. He had, besides, injuriously tampered with his constitution, and an illness of seven weeks was the penalty. His tutor's conduct at this time was that of a kind and judicious parent: he lent him books, gave him money, visited him, and sent a physician to him. The result was, that, as his frame recovered its vigour, and his spirits their elasticity, the gloom that had weighed him to the earth was dissipated, and his sanguine temperament became as buoyant as ever. He had lost none of his religious feelings, but having shaken off a great load of physical disease, he found them rise to his imagination with a golden hue. This

is, therefore, considered as the period of his conversion; it is, in fact, the period from which he made overpowering passions and strong religious convictions go on harmoniously together. He was ordained deacon in his native city, in 1736, and almost immediately displayed a surprising capacity for popular eloquence in the pulpit. Immense congregations hung upon his lips both in Bristol and London; but he tore himself away from this fascinating popularity, and sailed for Georgia, to assist Wesley. That eminent man was, however, gone before Whitefield reached his destination, and he made himself a very short stay, returning to London about the close of 1738. In the following year he was ordained priest at Oxford. Being soon again in London, he found his popularity continually on the increase, but opposition to him kept pace with it, and finding himself generally excluded from churches, he took to field-preaching. His enormous metropolitan congregations mustered in Moorfields, Kennington Common, and Blackheath, which then, and indeed long afterwards, offered great facilities for such labours as his,—being open spaces of considerable size, on the edges of dense populations. It was computed that he commonly addressed in these places twenty or thirty thousand auditors, and sometimes even double the latter number. When these prodigious auditories sang, their notes were sometimes carried by the gale to a distance, it was thought, of nearly two miles; even the preacher's voice, to that of nearly one. The immediate inciting cause of these extraordinary proceedings was his desire to raise funds for the building and endowment of an orphan school and college in Georgia. These views led him gradually to such a degree of prominence in the religious world, as went utterly beyond the bare fulfilment of his original intention. As years rolled on, he travelled over nearly all parts of the British isles, and a very considerable portion of British North America, establishing an immense influence in all quarters. He thus became, like Wesley, the parent of a mighty sect, allied to the church of England; but one that had, in fact, much more the character of early puritanism. Whitefield's excessive labours wore him out, at a period of life greatly short of that attained by Wesley: he died at Newbury Port, near Boston, in New England, on the 30th of September, 1770. His piety, zeal, and popular eloquence are unquestionable: nor can it be doubted that he rendered very considerable service in arousing a general attention to religious subjects: but he suffered

himself to be betrayed by natural impetuosity into a dogmatism, and an uncandid estimate of opponents, that a strong sense of religion, like his, would have avoided, if it had been acted upon by greater constitutional equanimity.⁷

§ 17. Neither Wesley nor Whitefield appears to have attained eminence with the previous recommendation of much theological knowledge. Both, perhaps, were too young: the latter certainly was altogether so. The result of their common deficiency gradually showed itself: they long laboured against the prevailing tide of immorality, and indolent formalism in religion, often driving people, by the fervour of their eloquence, into the opposite extreme of a delusive and offensive enthusiasm; but upon some of the points which had caused great religious excitement in earlier times, they seem to have set out with no very definite opinions. Wesley, indeed, was too much occupied with his favourite theory of man's capacity for moral perfection, to think long upon the spirit-stirring topics of predestination and election. Whitefield, however, during his absence in America, between the years 1739 and 1741, put forth two letters, which denounced archbishop Tillotson's Sermons, and *The Whole Duty of Man*, as written in as much ignorance of Christianity, as ever was in Mahomet. He afterwards admitted, that, in penning these letters, he had suffered zeal to outrun discretion; but no acknowledgment of reprehensible incaution would stop the ferment occasioned by such an attack upon two writers in great favour with England. Among the parties disgusted was Wesley, who published soon after a sermon against absolute predestination, esteeming that doctrine, and others of the Calvinistic school, as very likely to produce Antinomianism. Whitefield had now become thoroughly imbued with doctrines of the Genevan stamp; and a controversy ensued between him and his former friend, which, besides giving a temporary shock to his own popularity, engendered angry feelings on both sides, and estranged the two parties from each other, during several years. In 1750, however, they were reconciled⁸; but

⁷ Whitefield wrote of Dr. Stebbing, who had attacked some of his doctrine; "To me he seems to know no more of the true nature of regeneration, than Nicodemus did, when he came to Jesus by night." To bishop Gibson, who had recommended the preaching of justification by faith, but not exactly as Whitefield preached it, he wrote; "This, my lord, is truly a new gospel. It is as con-

trary to the doctrine of the church of England, as light is contrary to darkness." Dissenting congregations he denounced as "companies of banded formalists," and dissenting ministers he talked of as "feeding the flock with husks instead of wholesome food." Philip's *Life and Times of Whitefield*, pp. 87. 89. 91. Lond. 1838.

⁸ Philip, 195. Watson, 129.

this was merely a personal satisfaction : their followers remained at variance with each other ; those of Wesley taking the Arminian side, those of Whitefield the Calvinistic. In this divided state the Methodist body still continues. It is agreed as to the importance of estimating religious impressions by their operation on the feelings, and as to the general excellence of the church of England ; but it is altogether divided upon questions relating to predestination and election.

§ 18. One section of its Calvinistic branch attracted a large degree of public notice from the zealous countenance and extraordinary liberality of Selina, daughter of Washington Shirley, second earl Ferrars, and widow of Theophilus Hastings, ninth earl of Huntingdon of that family. This lady was long averse from quitting the national church. Hence the preachers whom she originally patronized were clergymen, and the chapels, opened by her means, though not episcopally licensed, or parochially connected, passed with many, during several years, for genuine offshoots from the establishment. At length, however, proceedings were instituted in the ecclesiastical court by the incumbent of Clerkenwell church, against certain clergymen, who preached within the parish, at a large chapel facing Spa Fields, then an open space, on the northern outskirts of London. This place of worship was opened in 1779, without episcopal licence, under the countess of Huntingdon's patronage. Two of her chaplains, Thomas Wills and William Taylor, who were among the parties under prosecution, seceded at once from the established church, by taking the oaths legally required of dissenting ministers. They professed, however, an unshaken partiality for the doctrines contained in the national formularies, and grounded their secession solely on the legal impossibility of continuing to minister as clergymen in any place of public worship that had not episcopal allowance. These two individuals, in 1783, ordained six young men, who had been duly educated, and who severally detailed before the assembled congregation various particulars of their spiritual states. These accounts were represented as quite sufficient to justify their ordination, although, most probably, no bishop would ordain the parties. The two seceded clergymen who undertook to do this, claimed such a power as inherent in those that had been themselves regularly ordained : an advantage which was indisputably their own. Their principle, therefore, was, that presbyters alone are competent to continue the presbyteral succession, in cases where this is important, and

episcopal intervention is unattainable. The countess of Huntingdon lived eight years after this provision for keeping up the religious body with which her name is identified. She died, June 17. 1791, in the eighty-fourth year of her age. Even her friends admit that she loved power, and was impatient of advice : but more than half her life was, undoubtedly, such an admirable pattern of self-devotion to religious conviction as rarely reads a lesson to mankind.⁹

§ 19. While one class of minds, attentive to religion, was extolling and propagating enthusiastic fervours, another would have completely lowered even conceptions of the Deity down to the level of human reason. The first clergyman of any note, who came forward with such views, was Francis Blackburne, archdeacon of Cleveland, and rector of Richmond, in Yorkshire, the place of his nativity. He had rendered himself rather conspicuous, while a student at Cambridge, for adopting those notions of Locke, Hoadly, and the like, which their admirers talk of as enlightened and liberal, but which pass with many, well worthy of attention, for latitudinarian and unsound.¹ These opinions he took into the country, and found them strengthen daily by his habits of reading and reflection. After some previous publications, advocating his peculiar sentiments, that attracted no great notice, he published anonymously, in 1766, *The Confessional: or a Full and Free Inquiry into the Right, Utility, and Success of establishing Confessions of Faith and Doctrine, in Protestant Churches*. This work, which attacked existing theological tests, made a powerful impression on the public, and gave rise to a long controversy. The author, whose moral character, and whose industry as a parochial minister, and as a studious man, are unquestionable, had adopted opinions akin to the Socinian, but admitting the previous existence of Christ with some sort of divinity ; and he refused further preferment, because he would not again subscribe to the articles. But he never gave up what he had already in the church ; a blemish in his character which those who think with him vindicate from the charge of interestedness, by the mention of an offer that he declined, of undertaking

⁹ *The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*, ii. 312. 316. 436. 444, 445, Lond. 1844.

¹ Blackburne, however, did not resemble later holders of his opinions in tenderness for popery. On the con-

trary, he wished to restrain it within narrower bounds than the government of that time approved ; a wish which modern claimants of superior liberality deem hardly worthy of him.

the pastorship of a congregation in London, agreeing with him in sentiment, and which would have been to his pecuniary advantage.² Two of his immediate connections, however, Theophilus Lindsey, who married his daughter-in-law, and Dr. Disney, who married his daughter, acted with greater consistency. Both surrendered church preferments, because they had imbibed notions adverse to a belief in the Trinity. The former opened a large room for public worship, according to his opinions in Essex Street, London, in 1774. As his theology had been excepted in the Toleration Act, some difficulties were, at first, made by the magistrates upon the registration of this room; but the age was adverse to any strict interpretation of such statutes, and he not only then carried his point, but also, in 1778, he was enabled to supersede his licensed room by a commodious chapel. His followers have repudiated the appellation of Socinians, by which most other Christians have distinguished people of their opinions, and call themselves Unitarians, — a name which seems to insinuate a charge of polytheism upon the Christian world generally. The Essex Street congregation, which proved the parent of a numerous progeny, adopted a liturgy professedly altered from that of the national church according to a plan of Dr. Samuel Clarke, rector of St. James's, Westminster.³ The party has also published a New Testament, claiming freedom from interpolation, and greater accuracy of interpretation, than is to be found in the authorised version; but the great mass of scholars has neither admitted its charges of interpolation, nor considered its claims to superior fidelity as worthy of any reliance. The most distinguished Englishman of this school was Dr. Joseph Priestley, son of a Leeds manufacturer, and born near that place in 1733. His parents were Calvinistic dissenters, and they meant him for a minister among that class of Christians. He became, however, an Arian, when quite a young man, but soon changed that belief for one in the simple humanity of Christ. In the defence and propagation of this doctrine, his industry was unwearied, though his scholarship appeared highly questionable; and he had the honour of no less a scholar than Samuel Horsley (successively Bishop of St. David's, Rochester, and St. Asaph⁴,) for an antagonist. By

² Rees's *Cyclopædia*, art. *Blackburne*.— This compilation, having been conducted by an editor of similar opinions, is full upon questions connected with Socinianism.

³ Rees's *Cyclopædia*, art. *Lindsey*.

⁴ "In the year 1782, an open and vehement attack was made by Dr. Priestley upon the creeds and established discipline of every church in Christendom, in a work in 2 vols. 8vo,

the world in general, however, he has been more noticed as a chemist; important discoveries in the nature and properties of gases having been made by him. Unhappily for his repose, he could not content himself with science and theology, but became an ardent politician of the French revolutionary school. This rendered him obnoxious to a large portion of the people in Birmingham, where he was fixed as minister of a dissenting congregation. A celebration, accordingly, of the capture of the Bastille, fixed for the anniversary of that event, in 1791, caused a great ferment among those inhabitants of Birmingham who deprecated revolutionary politics. Priestley did not choose to join the festal party, but his name was identified with its prin-

entitled, *A History of the Corruptions of Christianity*. At the head of these the author placed both the catholic doctrine of our Lord's divinity, and the Arian notion of his pre-existence in a nature far superior to the human, representing the Socinian doctrine of his mere humanity, as the unanimous faith of the first Christians. It seemed that the most effectual preservative against the intended mischief would be to destroy the writer's credit and the authority of his name, which the fame of certain lucky discoveries in the prosecution of physical experiments had set high in popular esteem, by proofs of his incompetency in every branch of Literature connected with his present subject, of which the work itself afforded evident specimens in great abundance. For this declared purpose, a review of the imperfections of his work, in the first part relating to our Lord's divinity, was made the subject of a charge delivered to the clergy of the archdeaconry of St. Alban's, the spring next following Dr. Priestley's publication. The specimens alleged of the imperfections of the work, and the incompetency of its author, may be reduced to six general classes: instances of reasoning in a circle; instances of quotations misapplied through ignorance of the writer's subject; instances of testimonies perverted by artful and forced constructions; instances of passages in the Greek fathers misinterpreted through ignorance of the Greek language; instances of passages misinterpreted through the same ignorance, and driven farther out of the way by an ignorance of the Platonic philosophy: instances of ignorance of the phraseology of the earliest ecclesiastical writers." (Preface to Bp. Hors-

ley's *Tracts in Controversy with Dr. Priestley*, v. Dundee, 1812.) This volume, which was edited by the bishop's son, contains the St. Alban's charge, together with the various letters and disquisitions to which it gave rise, including a sermon on the Incarnation. Dr. Priestley's "*Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion*" may be considered as a Socinian body of divinity, though it is professedly not polemical. It controverts, however, the inspiration of the Scriptures, the separate state of the soul, and the eternity of future punishments: and as the former part is a mere speculation on what the light of nature might teach, which the doctor confesses to be very little; in the latter, the same speculative turn prevails concerning the contents of Scripture. Of this most able and best written work of the Socinian *Coryphæus*, it may be said, that what is good is borrowed, and what is original is good for nothing. The controversial supplement to the *Institutes* is Dr. Priestley's celebrated *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*. Viewed as an historical defence of Socinianism, or rather as a death-stroke to the deity and atonement of Christ, announced with some parade, it must strike every intelligent reader as the ridiculous birth of a parturient mountain. One short section of a work that extends through two thick volumes, contains all the polemical history to prove the earliest Christians Socinians; but which proves that Dr. Priestley, unable to find historic documents, could substitute for them mere suppositions, or the modest assumption that the primitive Christians must have believed what the doctor believes," Bogue and Bennett, ii. 511.

ciples; and, in the riot excited by popular detestation of them his house with its valuable scientific apparatus, and library, perished by fire. He now removed to Hackney, near London; but his political views were too much disliked by the great majority of Englishmen, to render him easy in any part of the kingdom. Hence he emigrated to the United States of America, in 1794; and within ten years afterwards he died at Northumberland, in Pennsylvania, highly respected in all quarters for purity of morals and scientific eminence; and venerated also among the admirers of his theology, now grown a numerous body, for the bulk and presumed erudition of his polemical writings.⁵

§ 20. Blackburne's movements towards Socinianism aroused kindred spirits among his brethren to seek release from the terms on which they took and held preferment. In 1772, a petition, hastily prepared, but signed by two hundred and fifty clergymen, was presented to the House of Commons, praying relief from subscription to the articles and liturgy.⁶ The clerical petitioners were associated with others, chiefly lawyers and physicians, who complained of the necessity to subscribe on matriculation in the two universities, as being a compliance generally exacted at an age quite incompetent for the due understanding of recondite questions. The supporters of the petition displayed its presumed merits in specious generalities, such as the honour and advantage of toleration. They also, but with less discretion, attacked the articles themselves, declaring them to be contradictory in some parts, and indefensible in others. An additional reason for concession was found in

⁵ Rees's *Cyclopædia*, art. *Priestley*. It is there said of him, "In his intellectual frame were combined quickness, activity, acuteness, and that inventive faculty, which is the characteristic of genius. These qualities were less suited to the laborious investigation of what is called erudition, than the argumentative deductions of metaphysics, and the experimental researches of natural philosophy. Assiduous study had, however, given him a familiarity with the learned languages, sufficient in general to render the sense of the authors clear to him, and he aimed at nothing more." This is a very unsatisfactory account of one who sought to unsettle, and did really unsettle, the faith of others, by a show of erudition. The theological questions with which Priestley grappled, are es-

entially learned, and can only be mastered by the patient industry of a deep scholar. Priestley's friends, however, are driven to admit his incompetence to make a satisfactory array of learned evidence, both from the unfitness of his mind for the labour of such a task, and a want of sound scholarship.

⁶ "The petition was drawn up with such haste, and the arguments adduced were so ill selected and applied, that its enemies had little trouble in refuting them." (Collins, 373.) "They were blamed by many for not maturing their plan with sufficient wisdom, for acting with precipitation, and especially for not consulting the bishops, and ensuring their patronage." Bogue and Bennett, ii. 464.

the dissenters themselves, who were said to be likely to conform in great numbers, if there no longer existed any articles to repel them. By those who valued a sound protestant faith, and feared to throw open the national endowments that supported it, to every one able to obtain a benefice, this proposition was firmly resisted. Great stress was laid on the recent boldness of heterodoxy; old attacks upon the Church of England having now been backed with arguments against our Saviour's divinity, with blasphemous assaults, therefore, upon the very vitals of Christianity. Clerical complaints of hardship in subscription were very fairly derided. None need keep or take a benefice who felt pinched in conscience by the articles or liturgy: while it was of great importance, that national funds for the teaching of religion should not be diverted into a number of irreconcilable channels. Even lawyers and physicians, with other members of the universities who had entered without an eye to orders, were spoken of as under no necessity to seek education in those seminaries. If they, or their friends, had any invincible repugnance to the doctrinal tests required of students, they might qualify for their several professions in other places. One point, however, urged by the friends of the petition, was conceded by some on the other side. Dissenting ministers were liable to be called upon, by the Act of Toleration, to subscribe the doctrinal articles of the church; and this was represented as no great hardship, while such divines were generally Calvinists, although it might be rather unreasonable to demand even this approbation for a system from which the subscribers did not wish, and could not receive, either honour or emolument. Within the last two reigns, it was remarked, nonconformity had taken a much wider range; Arian and Socinian tenets having rendered many of its adherents incapable of subscribing even to the doctrinal portion of the thirty-nine articles. These arguments would have had even still greater weight, if the statutable subscriptions had been then regularly enforced. But, in reality, subscription had become rare among dissenting ministers; and attempts to enforce it, still more so. Nor did such of them as held opinions excepted out of the Act of Toleration, fail of finding sufficient shelter under the prevailing indisposition to interfere with religious belief in any case. When, accordingly, it came to a division, the petition found only seventy-one supporters: against it were two hundred and seventeen.⁷

⁷ Bisset's *George III.* ii. 36.

§ 21. This disappointment was, however, somewhat lightened to the dissenting body, by the admission that it was hard upon their ministers even to be under a statutable liability to subscription, notwithstanding the practical exemption usually enjoyed. No time, accordingly, was lost in petitioning for the abolition of such liability. Sir Henry Houghton, the representative of a very old and respectable dissenting family in Lancashire, brought this petition into parliament. It was resisted, as coming with a very ill grace from a body of men who habitually disregarded the law of subscription, and with impunity, just after a similar application had been refused from another class of petitioners, who were kept strictly within the law. Much was also said upon the danger of leaving a door legally open for the dissemination of opinions, not only hostile to the church, but also to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, especially at a time when such impiety had become alarmingly prevalent. The Commons, however, passed the bill by a great majority: but the bishops opposed it most strenuously, and hence it was lost in the Lords, by a majority of a hundred and two against twenty-nine.⁸ The measure had, however, gained such an advantage in the lower house, that its friends were naturally sanguine of ultimate success. Hence, in the next year, it was introduced again, but with the same results,—favourable reception by the Commons, rejection by the Lords.⁹ The question now slumbered in Parliament for a time, but the press resounded with it; Socinian pens taking the lead. Writers of this class, however, gave offence to those dissenters who had no quarrel with the doctrinal articles, but only with an authoritative call to affirm them, by the prominence given to their peculiar opinions, and by the contumelious treatment of orthodox dissent as the blind prejudice of unenlightened minds. In return for this insulting assumption of superiority, some of the Dissenters became unwilling to make further application for relief, feeling themselves practically under no grievance, and considering the desired indulgence as likely to be abused by

⁸ Bogue and Bennett, ii. 465.

⁹ Upon this occasion it was, that the great Earl of Chatham, answering Drummond, archbishop of York, who had attacked the Dissenters with more zeal than discretion, uttered the language often cited since. "We have a Calvin-

istic creed, a Popish liturgy, and an Arminian clergy." If political orators came to religious discussion with more accuracy of preparation than they commonly use, the temptation to utter this, and many other things equally effective, would have been resisted.

bolder attempts than ever to undermine the vitals of Christianity. Still, by these literary efforts, the question was kept alive in the country; and being again brought before parliament by Sir Henry Houghton, in 1779, it passed both houses with very little opposition.¹⁰ Thus dissenters were excused from any further liability to a call for subscription to any of the thirty-nine articles.

§ 22. When the question of subscription first gained legislative notice, the old project of a *Comprehension* was again under discussion. Hopes of accomplishing it had been entertained both among churchmen and dissenters, under the primacy of archbishop Herring, several years before; and Doddridge was among those who thought it feasible and desirable.¹ It was revived in 1772, some clergymen who subsequently rose high in their profession, being among its abettors.² A petition, stating their views, was presented to archbishop Cornwallis, who then held the see of Canterbury, and he returned an answer to it, on the 11th of February, 1773. This stated, that after consultations with various members of the episcopal bench, it had been decided, that any attempt to revise the liturgy and articles would be imprudent.³ Such an attempt must obviously have been attended with great delicacy and difficulty, especially under the practical abeyance to which Convocation had been so long reduced. It would have been certain, also, to disappoint its friends, both by the multiplicity of demands made, and the impossibility that must soon have manifested itself, of annihilating dissent by almost any latitude of concession.

§ 23. But although the dissenters gained relief from a liability to a call for subscription, they were not able, within the eighteenth century, to accomplish the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. The attempt was first made in 1787, but both Lord North and Mr. Pitt resisted it; hence it failed.⁴ The petitioners were generally spoken of in very respectful terms, but it was denied that they lay under any practical hardship, nothing more being done in their disfavour by the State, than a

¹⁰ Bogue and Bennett, ii. 470.

³ Cardwell's *History of Conferences*,

¹ Philip's *Whitefield and his Times*, 252. 460.

² As Porteus, Yorke, and Percy, afterwards severally bishops of London, Ely, and Dromore.

⁴ The ayes were 100, noes 178. Bogue and Bennett, ii. 478.

declaration on its part of certain terms on which it thought offices of honour and trust might be safely laid open. Undiscouraged by this refusal, a similar application was made in 1789, and though unsuccessful, the majority unfavourable to it was much smaller than on the former occasion.⁵ This was hailed as a favourable omen by the dissenting body; and it now called upon its members in the country to join in those applications for relief, which had hitherto come chiefly from London: a circumstance that gave rise to some remarks prejudicial to the motion. But this appeal to rural nonconformity proved injurious to the immediate fulfilment of dissenting expectations, however it might have ultimately tended to realize them, by giving to the body a compact political form. A considerable degree of intemperance made its appearance, and had immediately the natural effect of producing exasperation on the other side. Acrimonious pamphlets kept up the strife; so that men became less capable of taking a calm view of the question than they had been for many years.⁶ Hence, when it came again before the house of Commons, in 1790, one of the fullest assembled for a long time, it was rejected by an overwhelming majority.⁷ Two years later, Mr. Fox would have placed those who denied the divinity of Christ as completely within the Toleration Act, as other dissenters. But Mr. Pitt opposed the extension, as really unnecessary; the parties to be benefited by it receiving practically the same exemption that all other religionists enjoyed, however the letter of the law might place them in a different situation. He urged also, particularly, the irritation generally prevalent, as a reason why a concession, which had little more than a theoretical importance, should not be forced upon an unwilling nation. The public mind was violently excited by French revolutionary politics; and as these were daily losing popularity, yet were very much in favour with Socinians, it seemed far from prudent to encourage their sect by any needless indulgence. The motion, accordingly, was lost.⁸

§ 24. During all the earlier years of the eighteenth century, the English Romanists were in a situation precarious indeed, from the rigour of persecuting statutes, but endurable, from the

⁵ Ayes 102, noes 122. Bogue and Bennett.

⁶ *Ibid.* 479.

⁷ Ayes 105, noes 294. *Ibid.* 480.

⁸ By 79 votes. *Ibid.* ii. 482.

increasing liberality of the times. They entered upon the century with a most uncomfortable prospect; an Act having been passed in the year 1699, which each party in parliament would have gladly seen thrown out by its opponents, and which rendered Romish landlords, refusing to take the test, liable to forfeit their estates to the next protestant heir, besides providing intolerable hardships for their priests. This act, however, served for little else than to disgrace the statute-book, and make the proscribed religionists tremble for their possessions, or if priests, for their personal liberties. These evils were, however, aggravated by an act passed in the first year of George I., which authorized any two justices to tender the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, to persons suspected of disaffection to the government, visiting a refusal to take them with all the penalties of recusancy. This new offence was called *constructive recusancy*; and if the government had not been desirous of overlooking the offenders, Romanists would have found themselves in a worse condition than ever. Yet, for all this practical lenity, Walpole, in 1722, raised one hundred thousand pounds, by act of parliament, on the estates of papists and non-jurors: the liberal connivance of his government not being proof against the temptation of an important pecuniary relief from a gross extortion upon parties utterly defenceless, because generally unpopular. Under George II. no new law was enacted against Romanists; his being the first reign since the Reformation so advantageously distinguished. George the Third's reign opened upon them under auspices still more favourable. The principles of toleration had been advocated by several master-minds; the disciples of Hoadly universally admitted its justice; Blackburne, although intolerant towards Romanists, on the ground of their own intolerance towards all other Christians, yet raised a controversy that, however contemptible it might be on many accounts, filled men's minds with speculations upon religious liberty. The sovereign, too, possessed advantages which were altogether above those of his Hanoverian predecessors. He was no foreigner, ignorant of the English language, like George I.; or speaking it like one who learnt it late and imperfectly, like George II.; his prepossessions were not all German, and Hanover was not the constant scene of his regrets, the engrossing object for aggrandisement; he was not constantly disquieted by fears of a popish pretender

to his throne ; on the contrary, the unfortunate prince who had made an alarming descent upon Scotland in the time of his grandfather, was now known to be personally contemptible ; and hence hardly any ever dreamt of seeing him invested with British royalty. Thus English Romanism was placed in a much more promising position than it had ever occupied since the expulsion of James II. It gained also something of a favourable hearing in the royal family, through the noble house of Norfolk, which judiciously improved opportunities of ingratiating itself with Frederic, prince of Wales, during his disagreement with George II. No sooner, too, had Lord Mansfield become chief-justice, than he discouraged, by every possible means, any prosecution that might occasionally come before him under the penal laws, giving to the party brought in question the utmost benefit that his legal knowledge could suggest, and speaking on all occasions most advantageously of religious toleration. The immediate cause, however, of a solid improvement in the condition of Romish families, was of a private nature. A lady had a jointure rent-charge on an estate, possessed by a person to whom she had shown great kindness ; he refused to pay it, alleging her disability to retain any interest in land, as being a Roman catholic. Every lawyer told her, that this infamous refusal must stand good, unless a private act were passed for her relief.⁹ This was done ; and men were naturally driven by such a transaction to think upon the iniquity of suffering acts even to slumber any longer in the statute-book, which might be so shamefully awakened at any time by avarice or malice. Hence a motion made by Sir George Saville, on the 14th of May, 1778, for the repeal of the disabilities so strangely and unexpectedly enacted against Romanists, near the conclusion of William's reign¹, passed both houses without a division. This

⁹ Butler's *Hist. Mem. of the Engl. Cath.* ii. 72.

¹ "By the act in question, popish priests or Jesuits, found to officiate in the service of the Romish church, incurred the penalties of felony, if foreigners ; and of high treason, if natives : the successions of popish heirs educated abroad were forfeited, and their estates descended to the next protestant heir : a son, or other nearest protestant relation, might take possession of the estate of a father, or other

next kinsman of the popish persuasion, during the life of the real proprietor : papists were prevented from acquiring any legal property by *purchase*, a term which in law included every mode of acquiring property but descent ; and thus the various sources of acquisition were shut up from the Roman catholics. The mildness of the government had softened the rigour of the law ; but it was to be remembered, that popish priests constantly lay at the mercy of the basest of mankind, common informers. On the

act did not extend to Scotland²; but a wide prevailing wish that it should, and some movements for that purpose, awakened a violent spirit of intolerance; and some serious riots in Edinburgh, with others less important in Glasgow, were the result. These were the precursors of similar excesses, but upon a much broader scale, in London, in 1780. Lord George Gordon, a junior of the ducal house of that name, but otherwise personally insignificant in every point of view, had connected himself with the violent anti-Romish party in his own country; and being a member of the house of Commons, he was easily enabled to arouse a kindred spirit in the populace of London. The infuriate mob commenced with assaults upon property of every description that could be connected with popery; but it soon manifested all the features essential to such assemblages, whatever be the object of their meeting — wanton destruction, lust of plunder, and sympathy for criminals. London continued several days in a state of extreme danger and alarm, every inhabitant trembling who had any thing to lose: no sooner however did the military act, than peace was restored. Hence it was plainly shown that religious fanaticism was rather a pretext for the outrage, than really a cause of it, there being nothing solid to sustain the rioters: had not, accordingly, the civic authorities been bewildered by an unmanly panic, there is every reason to believe, that the popular violence might have been curbed, without any great difficulty, and before any very extensive damage had been done.

§ 25. The English Romanists having obtained relief from some of the most iniquitous penalties by which they were menaced in the statute-book, naturally looked forward to further improvements in their condition. They did not, however, long trust to the gradual amelioration of public opinion, and its necessary effect upon the legislature. They formed a committee, in 1787, for the furtherance of their objects: a measure that might aid success, but certainly tended to make their body something of a political party. In February, 1788, this committee presented to the celebrated William Pitt, then prime minister, a memorial detailing the hardships of themselves and their friends, as a preliminary to an application for parliament-

evidence of any of these wretches, the magisterial and judicial powers were necessitated to enforce all the shameful

penalties of the act."—Bisset's *George III.* ii. 397.

² Butler, ii. 447.

ary relief. The premier was found highly favourable, but expressed fears as to the pope's presumed power of deposing princes, and other anti-social principles, popularly fastened upon Romanism. In consequence, inquiries were transmitted to the universities of Paris, Louvain, Douay, Alcalà, and Salamanca, to know whether these exceptionable doctrines really were integral portions of the Romish faith.³ Negative answers were returned, as might have been foreseen; it being impossible to find these obnoxious articles among the main landmarks of papal theology, though easy to find such authority for them as would reconcile most minds to their use in confession, and in private society; the English Romanists, however, solemnly renounced them in a long protestation, prepared about the close of 1788, and which was signed by nearly all their body of any note, both clerical and lay, throughout England. At a general meeting in London, in 1789, every person present signed it. In the very words of this protestation, an oath was framed, when Romish claims for relief again came before parliament; but the ministry made some alterations in it, and these were at first deemed admissible, even by the ecclesiastical members of the Romish committee. Subsequently, objections were made to them, and to meet these, it was eventually altered. All who took it were to be relieved from certain penal statutes. This wise and just relaxation received parliamentary sanction in 1791; numbering amongst its most active supporters the illustrious bishop Horsley.⁴ It abrogated the statutes of recusancy, tolerated Romish chapels and schools, removed liability to be called upon to take the oath of supremacy, or to make the declaration against transubstantiation, allowed Romanists to practise as barristers or attorneys, and freed them from several vexatious restrictions of less importance. At the same time, they were exempted from another grievance, in the omission of a clause making them pay double land-tax, in the bill annually imposing that tax.⁵ They were, in fact, now placed as to religious toleration, and as to fiscal contributions, though not as to political rights, very much upon a level with all other Englishmen.

§ 26. The Irish Romanists had been reduced, by various confiscations, and by intolerant statutes to protect a new race of

³ The queries and answers may be seen in the first volume of the late Mr. Butler's *Historical Memoirs*, p. 402, *et seq.*

⁴ Bisset, iv. 325.

⁵ Butler, ii. 135.

proprietors, to a state of abject vassalage and degradation. In the reign of James I. the whole province of Ulster was confiscated. When Cromwell's power was consolidated by victory, the native Irish received orders to remove into Connaught, and were forbidden to repass the Shannon under pain of death. Their estates were divided among the conquerors, as were those of every one who had been engaged in the rebellion, or who had acted as a partisan of the exiled royal family. This immense mass of landed property was partly assigned, in satisfaction of arrears of pay, to Cromwell's officers and soldiers; partly to certain monied men, who had advanced funds for the prosecution of the war. Such assignments received parliamentary sanction, after the Restoration; and thus two millions seven hundred thousand acres were legally conveyed from their late hereditary owners to a new class of proprietors. It was impossible that men, exasperated by a reduction to beggary so recent, to say nothing of religious prejudice, should not eagerly have crowded round the standard of James II. The unfortunate issue of their attempt involved them in final ruin. One million sixty thousand seven hundred and ninety-two acres were now confiscated. This property was sold, under authority of the English Parliament, to defray the expenses incurred in the late rebellion. By these repeated and enormous confiscations, the whole mass of Irish landed inheritances has passed by violence to new proprietors, with the exception of some estates possessed by five or six families of English descent. Even among these there had been attainders under Henry VIII., but their estates were subsequently recovered, and the owners, made wise by the lesson taught in that monarch's reign, steered clear of danger afterwards.⁶ In these transactions, however cruel and shameful they may be thought, or may really be, there is nothing worse than England underwent after the Norman conquest, or than has been undergone by other conquered countries: but in Ireland there were circumstances that prevented the gradual amalgamation of the pillaged and the pillagers; the former were, perhaps, universally Romanists, hence divided from those who had been made rich at their expense, by an inveterate religious prejudice, and furnished with a priesthood of their own, directed by a compact hierarchy, which not only kept alive an enthusi-

⁶ Butler, ii. 434.

astic religious party-spirit, but also pertinacious claims to the forfeited estates. The new proprietors were thus never at ease as to the firmness of their possession, and their legislation showed it. William's parliament, accordingly, in addition to the English enactments against Romanists, disarmed them, banished their priests, forbade their marriages with protestants, would not allow them to act as solicitors, or even as game keepers, and allowed any protestant discoverer of a horse in their hands, or power, to seize it under a magisterial warrant, and retain it on the payment of five pounds to its owner. Under Anne, Romanists were disabled from purchasing any of the forfeited lands, and even from taking any leases of them beyond two acres. They were also rendered unable to purchase, inherit, or take by gift, any lands in the hands of protestants; and all their own lands were made descendible in gavelkind; but if the eldest son embraced the established religion, his father was reduced to a tenancy for life, without power to sell or mortgage, or even to provide, except under the control of the chancellor, for his younger children. A similar invasion upon domestic comfort was made by another act, which enabled the chancellor to call upon the Romish parent of a protestant child to declare upon oath the value of his whole property, and to make such an assignment out of it to the protestant child, as he should think proper. The conforming wife of a Romanist might also obtain from the chancellor, as a jointure, the full extent of any settlement that her husband could make upon her.⁷ These, with other such measures, designed for extermination, reduced the Romanists to such a pitiable situation, that common feelings of humanity came to their relief, and a general spirit of connivance was excited among the protestant population, which made much of the penal code little else than a dead letter. It tended, however, so thoroughly to degrade and impoverish the Irish papists, that neither in 1715, nor in 1745, did the exiled Romish family find any encouragement among them; an abstinence that has been represented as a proof of their blameless political bearing, but which seems rather to show a stagnant feeling of utter helplessness.⁸ As years, however, rolled on, their prospects brightened. The people had never stood high

⁷ Butler, ii. 141; iv. 492.

⁸ "We look upon the Catholics to be men and the children."—Swift, *apud* Butler, *Ibid.* iv. 505.

altogether as inconsiderable as the wo-

in the scale of civilization, and, therefore, could easily rest contented with gratifications merely animal. Hence, as the country was quiet, population advanced with extraordinary rapidity. Some of the inferior classes naturally acquired property by the ordinary exercise of industry. These, with a miserable fraction of the old Romish proprietary body, being backed by a large and increasing populace, gradually formed an important section in the insular society. The just claims of this, not only to greater practical indulgence, but also to the abrogation of those odious penalties by which it was menaced in the statute book, were necessarily much aided in their operation upon society by the more enlightened views of religious liberty which daily gained ground in every quarter. The first movement, however, in its favour, appears to have come from a Romish committee; one of those combinations that may serve a cause, but may also injure it, by suggesting an adverse association, and give an edge to party rancour, that it must have wanted without the stimulus, boldness, and publicity of numbers. The Irish committee's earnest of ultimate success, was an act passed in 1774, prescribing an oath of allegiance, to be taken by Romanists, if they chose, but offering no specific advantage from it. Most of them of any account took it, and thus gave a solemn approval to the existing government. Such persons, in 1778, were enabled to hold leases for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, or for lives not exceeding five. They were also placed upon a level with other people as to the devising, transfer, inheritance, and holding of lands. In 1782 this measure of substantial relief was followed by others, which enabled Romanists to purchase lands, though not advowsons; freed from penalties those of their clergy who should register their names, and allowed them to teach schools. By the more intelligent protestants, these indulgences were viewed with great satisfaction. Fears of a French invasion had caused an immense armament of volunteers in Ireland, blending members of the two religions together, as defenders of their common country. It was this formidable array of an independent military power, that stripped the island pretty completely of its colonial character. The English government could no longer treat the country as a mere distant province of no great importance, after its resources were thus completely and formidably developed. Of the great armed association which so raised its country in the estimation of British

statesmen, the representatives of one hundred and forty-three protestant corps met at Dungannon, in February, 1782. These delegates resolved, with only two dissentients, that private judgment in matters of religion was a natural right; hence, that late relaxations of the penal code against Romanists were subjects of national congratulation, and were likely to prove highly beneficial. By the prevalence of such liberal views, Romish hopes were necessarily raised, and various negotiations for further indulgences were set on foot; but nothing was effected until 1793, when an act was passed, which placed Irish Romanists in the position that they occupied until 1829⁹, denying them seats in Parliament, but otherwise leaving them under no substantial hardships. From their remaining disqualifications, earl Fitzwilliam would have relieved them, while he was lord lieutenant in 1795, but his measures were deemed injudicious, and he was hastily recalled before the object was effected. In 1798 the Irish rebellion broke out, which discovered a rancorous hatred of the protestant name highly injurious to the confidence of those who bear it, in their Romish countrymen.¹ The disorders of that year, however, made the English government meditate upon the expediency of attaching the Roman Catholic priesthood to the state, by means of a parliamentary provision, and a secret negotiation was accordingly entered upon, in 1799, with the prelacy for that purpose; the proffered bounty was to be made contingent upon a privilege secured for the crown of annulling the appointment of any prelate deemed objectionable.² This privilege, termed the *veto*, was conceded by the four Romish archbishops, and the six senior bishops, after the deliberation of three successive days, on the ninth day immediately following. The transaction, however, failed, and did not become publicly known until 1805, when it was absurdly said, that the *veto* had been conceded by the Irish prelates from intimidation: an assertion positively denied by lord Castlereagh, who had negotiated with them.³

§ 27. In Scotland, popular abhorrence of Romanism had been pushed to greater lengths than in any other portion of the British isles, and in consequence, that religion had been very widely exterminated there. Nevertheless, there were families that con-

⁹ Butler, ii. 516.

¹ Collins, 241.

² The resolutions of the Roman Ca-

tholic Irish prelates may be seen in Mr. Butler's *Historical Memoirs*, ii. 150.

³ *Ibid.* 154.

tinued in it, under every discouragement, and in some remote quarters of the Highlands the population generally had done so. All these parties were highly obnoxious to every government but Anne's, established since the revolution, from their devoted adherence to the exiled Stuarts, who were at once loved as compatriots, and venerated as martyrs to the Romish faith. Hence the Scottish papists lay under all the rigour of penal statutes. By an act of their native parliament, passed under William, they were liable to be called upon to take a test, known in the country as the *Formula*, which is an explicit renunciation of all the peculiarities in their creed.⁴ Any landowner refusing to make this declaration, might be stripped of his estate by the next protestant heir. There was actually a suit depending in the Scottish courts, under this very law, in the early part of 1793. A gentleman of great respectability was then in danger of losing by that means a landed property of 1000*l.* a year. The courts, indignant at the mercenary attempt of an unfeeling relative, thus to seize a possession for which he had no equitable claim, were evading this discreditable endeavour to revive a law almost obsolete, by giving every facility to the unfortunate Romanist's measures for self-protection. But the avaricious suitor must, at length, have been gratified by a decision, unless the obnoxious statute should be repealed. For this, as the eighteenth century drew towards a close, the nation generally became fully ripe. A bill was accordingly brought into the British Parliament, in April, 1793, by the lord advocate of Scotland, for exempting his Romish countrymen from the penalties to which their peculiar opinions rendered them liable.⁵ It had the concurrence of all parties, and passed without opposition. Thus, in each of the three kingdoms, Romanism was now fully tolerated, and public opinion went heartily with the tardy concession.

§ 28. The preceding year had relieved the protestant episcopal church of Scotland from legal proscription. It was overthrown under William by the dexterous management of political partisans, with no real appearance of that prevailing hostility to it which had been assigned as the cause of its ruin. On the contrary, most people north of the Tay were episcopalians, as was the majority of individuals in superior life all over the king-

⁴ Printed by Mr. Butler, *Ibid.* 459.

⁵ *Ibid.* 465.

dom. The universities too were generally on the same side, as were many of the most substantial traders, and even the bulk of the population in those countries round Edinburgh, which form the best part of the whole country. It was only in the south-western counties, which had been the great theatre of Cameronian fanaticism, that any violent antipathy to an episcopal polity was generally prevalent. Thus the majority was deprived of its religious institutions upon representations, palpably unsound, made by an active and factious minority to a government which it had zealously supported. The despoiled majority, however, could not be expected to look with a friendly eye upon the government which had so hastily listened to the adverse party: the manner too, in which this great national change was carried into execution, could not fail of augmenting disaffection to the government in those who suffered by it. In the new settlement none were to be admitted as incumbents but such as were actually in possession on the 13th of April, 1689. This provision was construed so as to exclude about two-hundred unfortunate clergymen in the west, who had been expelled by a Cameronian rabble in the preceding winter from their livings and homes. These ill-used men were described, in a subsequent act of Parliament, as persons who had either deserted their churches, or been removed from them. The Duke of Hamilton, commenting indignantly upon such a shameful abuse of language in the national records, asks, how could desertion be charged upon individuals who were notoriously driven away by the most barbarous violence, and what could *removed* mean but *rabbled*? A mode of making way for presbyterian incumbents, little less unjust, was found in a proclamation, circulated just before, for prayers on a certain day in all churches for William and Mary, as king and queen. Yet the crown of Scotland had not then been offered to these royal personages: their acceptance of it, in fact, was a month later. Thus clergymen were universally called upon, with hardly any notice, to commit themselves before their congregations, upon a great constitutional question, which the civil authorities of the country had not hitherto formally decided. It is no wonder that some ministers hesitated, and that others positively refused until time was given for consideration. Most of those, however, who did not read the proclamation on the specified day, were stripped of their preferments. Another engine for the ejection of episcopalian incumbents was

the placing of them in the power of such ministers as had been themselves ejected subsequently to the first of January, 1661. About sixty of these were still alive, and to give authority into such hands over the once triumphant episcopalians, was obviously nothing else than to bar the door against mercy or concession. These rigorous and violent spirits, who entered upon their new authority with an indignant sense of the hardships that they had undergone when vanquished and oppressed, soon made an effectual clearance of their opponents by arrangements to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous ministers. Nothing was easier with men of sour tempers, austere morals, irritated feelings, and an overweening conceit of their own theology, than to bring such as thought differently under one of these descriptions, if not under all of them. By these various devices, therefore, the episcopalian clergy were rapidly deprived; but so glaring was the injustice inflicted on them, that William, greatly as he feared their power, became ashamed of his instruments to overthrow it, and anxious to curb their abuse of authority. The injury was, however, done, and past remedy; still it left a sore and angry feeling deeply seated in the large party which had suffered under it, and which will account for much of that hostility to the revolution settlement, so long prevailing among the Scottish episcopalians. Their clergy were, indeed, actually brought under the lash of a test which presbyterians refused. An act was passed requiring an acknowledgment on oath of William and Mary, as sovereigns *de jure*, as well as *de facto*, and binding the party to the most unqualified renunciation of James's claims. The established clergy could not stomach the solemn affirmation of such principles, and however gratifying their acceptance of them might have been to William, he prudently recalled the instructions originally given for insisting upon it. But no such recall was in store for the prostrate episcopalians, and accordingly this very test, which their more fortunate rivals repudiated, removed some of them who had hitherto retained possession. The deprived clergymen, however, thought themselves at least so far protected by the example of their presbyterian brethren, as to be excusable in celebrating divine worship at their own homes, with open doors. But a list of such offenders was transmitted to the privy council, and two of them were banished from their respective dwellings. The severest blow levelled at the pro-

scribed priesthood was an act of parliament, passed in 1695, which forbade "any outed minister to baptize any children, or solemnize marriage betwixt any parties in all time coming, under pain of imprisonment, until he find caution to go out of the kingdom, and never to return thereto." Under Anne, the prospects of Scottish episcopacy rather brightened, but an attempt to carry a parliamentary toleration of all protestants excited a clamour so violent, that its friends abandoned it. Nevertheless, the general predilection for episcopacy that prevailed in upper life, joined to an extensive preference for it in lower, prevented its friends from despairing, and they now identified themselves more completely with their southern brethren, by adopting the English Liturgy. Their position was, however, suddenly rendered worse by the political agitation that pervaded Scotland when the project for a legislative union with England was on foot. The presbyterian party became apprehensive that it would no longer be an overmatch for the native gentry, when they should become politically united with the aristocracy of South Britain. To allay the ferment occasioned by such alarms, an arbitrary order unexpectedly came down from court, for the closing of all episcopal chapels. As this tyrannical mandate was the mere creature of temporary expediency, its rigour appears to have been quickly relaxed, and within two years afterwards there were thirteen episcopal congregations assembled in Edinburgh. Violent presbyterians became uneasy at such a spectacle, and interpreting the articles of union in the narrowest spirit of intolerance, the presbytery of Edinburgh prosecuted an Irish clergyman for opening a small episcopal chapel in that city, and the magistrates committed him to prison, where he was detained several months. This flagrant intolerance was obviously insufferable, and accordingly, an act was passed in the British parliament, in 1712, to protect Scottish episcopalians in their public worship, baptisms, and marriages. The whig ministry, however, which obtained office on the accession of George I., immediately awakened the fears of the episcopal party in North Britain, by issuing a proclamation to put the laws in force against all papists, non-jurors, and disaffected persons. A body that knew itself to be menaced in this denunciation, could not fail of supplying adherents to the old pretender, in the rebellion of 1715. No new hardship, however, seems to

have been inflicted on the episcopal church of Scotland, until 1719, when an act was passed rendering such of its clergy liable to an imprisonment of six months, as did not pray for King George and the royal family by name. As usual with measures of extreme severity, this act soon became very much of a dead letter, and although the royal family was not usually introduced by name into episcopal chapels, yet their number was considerable, and the congregations assembled in them embraced members from every rank in the community. While thus maintaining their opinions in peace and respectability, the young pretender's attempt in 1745 placed them in a worse condition than ever. Their chapels were destroyed by lawless violence, and any valuable effects found in them appropriated by the mob or soldiery. An act of parliament was next passed, which provided, that "from and after the 1st of September 1746, every person exercising the function of a pastor or minister in any episcopal meeting-house in Scotland, without registering his letters of orders, and taking all the oaths required by law, and praying for his majesty, King George, and the royal family by name, shall, for the first offence, suffer an imprisonment of six months, and for the second, be transported to some one of his majesty's plantations for life." A congregation of five persons was made sufficient to render any house a meeting-house, and no letters of orders were to be registered after the first of September, unless given by some English or Irish bishop. Moreover, every person present at an illegal episcopal meeting-house, and not giving notice to a magistrate, within five days afterwards, was to incur fine and imprisonment; presence, likewise, twice within a year, was to disqualify a peer from being one of the sixteen representatives of his body, and from voting for any such representative; and a commoner from a seat in the lower house, and from voting for a member of parliament. As all the episcopal clergy of Scotland were not Jacobites, some of them now came forward, took the oaths required by law, and registered their letters of orders before the prescribed 1st of September. This compliance might seem to have been displeasing to the party in power, and, that nothing short of the extinction of the Scottish episcopal church, as a national body, would satisfy it. An act, accordingly, was passed in May, 1748, which declared "that no letters of orders not granted by some bishop of the church of England, or of

Ireland, should, after the 29th of September, be sufficient to qualify any pastor or minister of any episcopal meeting in Scotland, whether the same had been registered before or since the 1st of September, 1746 ; and that every such registration, whether made before or since, should be null and void." This infamous stretch of intolerance passed the Commons with little opposition, but in the Lords, as every bishop opposed it, some of the bench with speeches besides votes ; the chancellor, Hardwick, had a hard matter to carry it through with a majority of five. In Scotland its victims were sorely distressed. Some clergymen were imprisoned, others retired into England, and others again sought religious liberty, with a maintenance for themselves and their families, by emigration to North America. Their national church, however, still was proof against the spirit which sought its extinction. The chapel, indeed, was no longer to be seen, but a few worshippers who clung to the liturgy and the ecclesiastical polity cherished by their fathers, assembled stealthily in obscure garrets, or other sequestered places. Thus the national succession was kept up, and when a disposition awoke to treat Scottish episcopacy with common justice, neither its hierarchy nor subordinate priesthood was found to be extinct. Its emergence from the long persecution that it had undergone was not complete until the young pretender's death in 1788. Then George III. was introduced into the liturgy in every Scottish chapel except three. Four years afterwards, the intolerant acts of 1746 and 1748 were repealed, and complete toleration was granted to the Scottish episcopalians, on condition that their clergy should pray for the king and royal family by name, as prescribed in the English Liturgy, take the oaths taken by officers both civil and military, and subscribe the Thirty-nine articles of the Church of England.⁶

§ 29. A circumstance that forcibly drew the attention of English episcopalians to their persecuted and struggling brethren in Scotland, was the consecration of an American bishop by the prelacy of the oppressed Scottish church. The first European colonists who took root in that noble territory, which was once British North America, and which now forms the United

⁶ These particulars are wholly taken from Dr. Russell's *Hist. of the Ch. in Scotl.* ii. p. 356, *et seq.*

States, were Protestant episcopalians. They were a small band of Englishmen, who landed at Cape Henry, in Virginia, on the 26th of April, 1607, bringing over as their chaplain, Robert Hunt, an exemplary Kentish clergyman, whose appointment had been approved by Abp. Bancroft. Before the close of 1620, however, a small band of English Puritans landed at Cape Cod, in New England, and, after undergoing extreme hardships, formed a settlement which attracted, during several years, great numbers of discontented Englishmen. Thus was formed a large American Community rancorously hostile to everything savouring of prelacy. But a different spirit kept possession of the south; where the want of a bishop for ordination, confirmation, and ecclesiastical superintendence, became generally acknowledged. Queen Anne's government was duly alive to such calls; hence, that princess meant a sum of eighty thousand pounds, coming to her from the sale of lands at St. Christopher's, ceded to Britain at the peace of Utrecht, as an endowment for four bishoprics in the North American colonies. Her death happening before that design was carried into execution, and the Whig ministry that gained exclusive possession of power, being chiefly intent upon strengthening its position, the surrender of a large sum to a purpose purely ecclesiastical was entirely out of the question. The whole of this money was, in fact, eventually given to the Princess Anne, on her marriage with the Prince of Orange.⁷ But although such transactions may retard a great measure, they generally render its ultimate success more certain, by infusing into sober convictions the pungency of disgust and indignation. The cause of American episcopacy, accordingly, was constantly on the advance, in spite of indifferent or hostile ministries at home. It even took root in New England, where a favourable soil was least to be expected. As the generations wore away that had been driven from their paternal land by irreconcilable antipathy to her ecclesiastical institutions, the personal feelings which were brought from Europe, became in a great measure forgotten, and the descendants of these unbending Puritans could enter upon ecclesiastical questions with the patient calmness of mere inquirers after truth.

⁷ *Life of Samuel Johnson, D.D., first President of King's College, New York*, p. 53. Lond. 1824.

Seven young ministers, accordingly, after much thought and reading, confounded the trustees of a New England college, in 1722, by declaring against their Presbyterian ordination. Some of them professed doubts of its validity; others absolutely pronounced it invalid. Three of these revolvers from Presbytery went over immediately into England, for episcopal ordination, and one of them, Samuel Johnson, on his return to New England, became considerably successful in rooting church principles in that country.⁸ His interesting visit to Europe and subsequent correspondence with the English hierarchy, naturally brought the subject of American episcopacy continually before those who took an interest in religious questions. Archbishop Secker, especially, was very anxious to see bishops established in North America, and his feelings were shared by the most distinguished of his brethren. The government, however, continued averse; and its hostility was fortified by the large Dissenting party which formed an active majority in the colonies. This not only hated prelacy from old antipathies and settled opinions, but also began to dread its increasing attractions for the population around. Its friends, however, on both sides of the Atlantic, were not idle, and their object seemed rather likely to be carried in the early part of George the Third's reign. But the political agitation that ushered in the American war, and subsequently that war itself, gave a new direction to the public mind, and rendered even the episcopalians in the colonies averse from any measure in the least resembling a new tie with the mother-country. When inde-

⁸ Johnson was made Master of Arts by diploma, by the university of Oxford, during his visit to England for ordination, May 21. 1723. The same university made him D.D. by diploma, Feb. 13. 1743. He was the first president of King's College, New York, established in 1754. His masculine sense received its earliest objection to sectarian worship from the vanity which extemporary praying raised among his fellow-students when at college, and the impertinences which they introduced into their prayers. Of the church of England and her liturgy, he knew hardly anything until 1716, when he was twenty. A Prayer-book was then put into his hands, and he was delighted with it. When he began to officiate accordingly, as a dissenting minister, he

framed his own public prayers chiefly out of the liturgy. This was, of course, unknown to his congregation, which retained all the old puritanical aversion for the church, and hence Johnson's prayers were so highly admired, that out-parishioners commonly came to hear them. When he was going over for episcopal ordination, he told his people of the source from which he had drawn his admired prayers. They were greatly surprised, but only four or five of them could be reconciled to the church. Their unconscious admiration of her formularies could not, however, fail of being remembered in her favour. Dr. Johnson died with the highest reputation, Jan. 6. 1772. *Life of Dr. Johnson*, 32. 124.

pendence had been secured, some of this feeling naturally ceased; and with greater freedom from passion, came a sense of the inconveniences to which episcopacy in the states had now become subject. Before the war of independence, those extensive territories had been considered as an appendage to the diocese of London, and a commissary from the bishop of that see transacted their ecclesiastical business. This arrangement, always unsatisfactory⁹, was now obviously unsuitable, and even impracticable; hence the North American episcopalians became more anxious than ever for an episcopate of their own. This desire first produced a practical result in Connecticut, where the clergy elected for their bishop Samuel Seabury, son of a New England Presbyterian, who had gone over to the church. The object of their choice was himself an Oxford doctor in divinity by diploma, an honour conferred in 1777, for services to the episcopal cause in his own country. With proper credentials and ample testimonials he came to London, in 1784, and solicited episcopal consecration. His application was highly agreeable to the English bishops, but they considered themselves disqualified from gratifying him by a statutable obligation to administer the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which the recent independence of his country no longer allowed him to take. There was, indeed, neither indisposition to seek parliamentary sanction for such a consecration as that now desired, nor doubt as to the passing of an enabling act, but these formalities required more time than could conveniently be spared. Under this difficulty, Seabury was recommended to request consecration from the depressed and almost-forgotten prelates of Scotland. They were perfectly willing to gratify him; but the abject condition to which they were reduced, by the penal laws of 1746 and 1748, rendered them apprehensive of undertaking any consecration, originally contemplated by the archbishop of Canterbury, until it had been ascertained how far such a step would be agreeable in England. A correspondence being opened for this purpose, the Scottish prelacy was assured, that a compliance with Seabury's wishes, instead of offending the English bishops, would give them a more favourable opinion

⁹ "I think myself at present in a very bad situation, bishop of a vast country, without power or influence, or any means of promoting true religion, sequestered

from the people over whom I have the care, and must never hope to see." Bp. Sherlock to Dr. Johnson, April 21. 1752. *Ibid.* 171.

of their northern brethren. In consequence, the North American candidate for an episcopal commission received one at Aberdeen, at the hands of three Scottish prelates, on the 14th of November, 1784.¹ Early in the following summer, the new bishop landed again in his native country, where he was well received, and thus Connecticut was regularly placed under a bishop of its own. Other portions of the Union however had no such advantage; and, although they had nothing to allege against the validity of the new prelate's consecration, yet there was little disposition to pay him any obedience without the limits of his proper diocese. To place, therefore, American episcopacy upon a footing commensurate with the wants of the whole community, a convention, composed of deputies both clerical and lay, assembled in Philadelphia on the 25th of September, 1785. It was deputed from the seven states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. At this, articles of union were framed, and various alterations in the liturgy were proposed; partly such as were needed by the government of the country, partly such as were not undesirable, and partly such as were decidedly so. An address was also drawn up to the English prelacy, acknowledging past favours received through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and requesting consecration for such individuals elected to the episcopate, as should be sent over for that purpose. To this address an answer was returned, signed by the two archbishops and eighteen bishops, expressing a desire to comply with the request transmitted from America, but requiring time until full information had been given as to the proposed alterations. To some of these, when submitted for consideration, the two archbishops made objections; and they were, therefore, abandoned. When this was done, application was made for the consecration of three bishops, one for New York, another for Pennsylvania, and a third for Virginia. The last, Dr. Griffith, was prevented by narrow circumstances from embarking for England; but the two former, the Doctors Provoost and White, sailed, and were consecrated by Archbishop Moore, assisted by two bishops, in the chapel at Lambeth house, on the 4th of February, 1787, an act of parliament having been obtained to authorize episcopal

¹ Keith's *Scottish Bishops*, 515.

consecrations for foreign countries. In 1789, an ecclesiastical convention assembled again, and was attended by Bishop Seabury, with the northern clergy. The whole terms of church-union were now permanently arranged, and the liturgy was rendered very much the same that it has continued ever since. The canons also were placed in their existing state: so that 1789 proved a most important year in the American church. In the following year a bishop was consecrated for Virginia, by the archbishop of Canterbury. This was Dr. Madison, the individual originally intended for that see having resigned when prevented from sailing for Europe. The number of bishops consecrated in England, canonically necessary for transmitting the episcopal function, being now complete, three more prelates were consecrated in America. In 1796 a fourth prelate was consecrated there, to fill the see of Connecticut, which had become vacant by the decease of Bishop Seabury. Thus, when the eighteenth century closed, the North American church was in a state of complete organization and progressive popularity. But it had not hitherto overcome, to any great extent, the mass of sectarian prejudice which the bulk of the settlers brought from Europe, and established as a kind of heir-looms in their families. The episcopal clergy were little more than two hundred, and these were dispersed, commonly far apart, over the eastern states.² A wide foundation was, however, deeply laid, and upon this, in the present century, a noble structure has risen rapidly, the happiness of America, the glory both of her and Britain.

§ 30. It is far from satisfactory to know, that religious dissensions furnished a principal opening for effecting the flagitious partition of Poland. The protestants had once formed a numerous and important party in that country, the ground being prepared for their doctrine by a copious infusion of Hussite opinions before Luther arose. But as time advanced, they became a very divided body, many of them adhering to the Saxon confession, but more still embracing the Swiss. Their

² Caswall's *America and the American Church*, p. 184, Lond. 1839. Since the first edition of this work was published, an interesting and valuable volume has appeared from the pen of the Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, now bishop of Oxford, entitled *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America*. The

first volume also has been published of another able and useful work, *The History of the Church of England in the Colonies and Foreign Dependencies of the British Empire*, by the Rev. J. S. M. Anderson. Use has been made of both these works. A second volume of Mr. Anderson's work was published in 1848.

credit was also, at one time, seriously compromised by the extensive diffusion of Sociniansm in Poland.³ Hence the Romanists had a very plausible colour for treating them not only as men without any fixed religious opinions, but also as afflicted with a fatal leaning towards unquestionable heresy. They could likewise bring their own compact society to bear with ruinous effect upon a body so disunited and discredited. Hence the *Dissidents*, as Polish protestants were termed, became defenceless amidst the mass of their hostile countrymen, who took advantage of this condition to despoil them of political rights. They did not, however, tamely submit, but being powerless at home, their suit was urgently pressed upon the neighbouring courts of Petersburg and Berlin. At both it was a very welcome visitor, but especially at the former. Russia desired few things more than power in Poland, and therefore allowed the Dissidents, though really nothing more than a religious party, far from numerous, in a neighbouring kingdom, to have a regular agent in her capital, with whom the imperial ministers were in constant communication. Vainly did the Romish majority controvert the representations thus laid before the Russian government. Catharine, who then occupied with uncommon ability the throne of the Tzars, insisted upon a full restoration of the Dissidents to all their constitutional privileges. Such was, however, the storm occasioned by their claims at home, that all parties within the country became willing to see a compromise, and a partial restoration of their privileges appeared likely to give Poland repose. The empress no sooner became acquainted with a prospect so little in unison with her interest, than she stimulated the Polish protestants to rest satisfied with nothing short of unqualified concession, promising to aid them, if necessary, by an army forty thousand strong. The Romish party, aware of the support which its opponents were encouraged to expect, granted certain privileges to the latter, in the diet of 1766. But the Dissidents indignantly rejected them, pronouncing their actual depression a more promising condition than half measures of relief. Thus Poland, which urgently required certain civil reforms to protect her independence, was driven from arrangements to effect

³ The Socinians were expelled by a decree of the diet in 1658. Krasinski, ii. 396.

them, by the violence of religious dissension. This the courts of Petersburg and Berlin took effectual care to prolong by a treaty bearing a very liberal aspect, concluded in January, 1767, binding the two governments to see a restoration of the Dissidents to all their ancient rights and privileges. An overpowering Russian force extorted this concession from a committee ostensibly authorized by the diet that assembled in October, 1767, and another diet, holden in the following year, confirmed it. But this latter diet was a mere mockery of constitutional forms: it was incomplete in the number of its members, and overawed by Russian bayonets.⁴ Hence the Dissidents recovered their privileges at the price of their country's independence, and the Romish majority was plausibly supplied with a new cause for hating them, in their intimate connexion with a dangerous neighbour. That majority found, accordingly, no difficulty in organizing confederacies in opposition to privileges granted under such discreditable auspices. Thus Poland was thrown into an intolerable state of anarchy and violence to the great satisfaction of the neighbouring powers. Those ambitious governments watched its miseries until the year 1772, and then affecting to believe them incapable of domestic cure, while they were seriously prejudicial to their own interests, Russia, Austria, and Prussia moved armies in secret concert upon the distracted country, and partitioned it among themselves.

⁴ *Ibid.* 530.

A

BRIEF SKETCH

OF THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF THE

EARLIER YEARS

OF THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY.*

§ 1. Re-establishment of religion in France.—§ 2. Renewed observance of Sunday.—§ 3. Opposition to the French *Concordat*.—§ 4. Papal coronation of Napoleon.—§ 5. Overthrow of the Pope's temporal power.—§ 6. Restoration of the Jesuits.—§ 7. Papal arrangements with France on the restoration of the Bourbons.—§ 8. Movements for the removal of Romish disabilities in England.—§ 9. Opposition to this removal.—§ 10. Formation of the Catholic Association.—§ 11. Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts.—§ 12. Removal of Romish disabilities.—§ 13. Cautionary provisions.—§ 14. Continuance of Irish agitation.—§ 15. Suppression of ten Irish sees.—§ 16. Alterations in the English dioceses.—§ 17. Commutation of English tithes.—§ 18. Restraint upon English pluralities.—§ 19. Reduction of English chapters.—§ 20. Colonial episcopacy.—§ 21. New academical institutions.—§ 22. American episcopalians.—§ 23. Continental Romanism.—§ 24. Religious movements in England early in the century.—§ 25. The Oxford movement.—§ 26. The German Catholic Church.—§ 27. The Free Church of Scotland.—§ 28. Concessions to Irish Romanism.—§ 29. The Pope's flight from Rome.—§ 30. Conclusion.

§ 1. HOWEVER desirous the French republicans might be that Rome should not have another Pope when Pius VI. expired, the great bulk of those who professed its religion felt very differently. Austria gave effect to their wishes. The emperor procured a meeting of the dispersed cardinals at Venice, then an appendage to his monarchy, and they elected, on the 14th of March, 1800, Barnabas Chiaromonti to fill the papal see.

He called himself Pius VII., and within a few weeks of his election he entered his capital as a sovereign prince, the French armies having sustained such reverses in the preceding autumn as left Southern Italy to its ancient masters. The first transaction of superior importance which came before him was a negotiation with the government of France. At the head of it, as first consul, was now Napoleon Buonaparte, one of the ablest men that the human family has ever produced. The master-mind of that seemingly fortunate soldier soon saw clearly that the revolutionary experiment of governing a country without religion had proved a wretched failure. He was not, indeed, so happy as really to have any religious impressions of his own. While in Egypt he had even sought popular support by pretending to a belief in Mahometanism. He was become, however, anxious that France should again profess Romanism, feeling morally certain that some religion was indispensable for the people, and that they were quite unprepared for any other. He opened, accordingly, soon after the papal court was established again, a friendly communication with it, and his overtures were received in a cordial and flattering manner. There was, in fact, no reason to despair of the Romish cause in France, and hence the papacy was eagerly upon the watch for some favourable incident. A considerable degree of religion still remained in the rural districts, notwithstanding the scoffing spirit of infidelity rampant in Paris, and other great towns. A few clergymen kept many of the churches open, and even maintained a stealthy correspondence with their exiled bishops. It was this latter circumstance that Napoleon especially urged upon his council, as an argument for establishing religion anew. These revolutionary statesmen started at the idea of encouraging Christianity on its own account, but their instinct as politicians could not overlook the expediency of preventing it from supplying a channel of communication with hostile foreigners. "At present," said Napoleon to them, "fifty bishops in the pay of England direct the French clergy: we must immediately destroy their influence. That number of prelates must be appointed by the first consul, and inducted by the pope. Their salaries must be paid by the people, and by them the parish priests must be appointed, with stipends from the same source. All must take the oath, or be driven out of the country. On such terms, the pope will confirm the sale of

the national domains, and consecrate the revolution.”¹ Having thus gained a reluctant acquiescence in his views, Napoleon laid his plans for the reorganization of a national church before the court of Rome. They were not such as to meet with ready approval there, and accordingly the negotiation proved very tedious. At length, on the 15th of July, 1801, the *Concordat*, as it was called, was regularly concluded, although not finally ratified at Rome until the 9th of August², nor legally received in France until the 8th of April, 1802. It declared Romanism the national religion, and established a hierarchy of ten archbishops and fifty bishops. The former were to have salaries of 600*l.* a year, the latter of 400*l.*; both were to be nominated by the first consul. Parish priests were also to be provided, with assistants, where necessary; their salaries in the larger parishes were to be 60*l.* a year, in the smaller 48*l.* They were to be nominated by the bishops, subject to the first consul’s approbation. Houses and gardens were to be provided both for the bishops and clergy, by the departments in which they were situated, and by them too ruinous churches were to be repaired. It was also provided, that no writing whatever from the court of Rome should be published or carried into execution in France, without authority from its government: that no agent of the Roman see, without the same authority, should enter upon any business relating to the Gallican church, either in the French territory, or elsewhere; that no decrees of foreign convocations, even if they should be general councils, should be published in France, until its government should have ascertained whether they were agreeable to its institutions, and unlikely to disturb the public tranquillity; that no ecclesiastical deliberative assembly of any kind should be holden in France without express permission from the government; and that an appeal should lie to the council of state in every case of alleged abuse or misgovernment in the superior ecclesiastical authorities. By these restrictions, France was really rendered not less independent of Rome than protestant states are. Nor does any such state desire a more effective controul over its Romish subjects than was thus given to the French government. Nor could any charge of needless profusion be brought against the scale upon which religion was to be supported. Its claims, on

¹ Alison, iv. 671.

² Collins, 215.

the contrary, had evidently been met in a spirit of sordid parsimony. Yet notwithstanding, the influential classes in France generally disapproved of the *Concordat*. They viewed it as the first step towards undoing all that had been accomplished in the revolution, and when their protracted opposition proved unavailing at last, they persisted in a display of dissatisfaction. This irreligious feeling was powerfully supported by the infidel population of Paris, which loudly reprobated the re-imposition of restraints so completely and contumeliously shaken off. Buonaparte, however, was proof against a clamour which he knew to be raised on grounds untenable, and therefore evanescent. In spite of refusals from some of the most illustrious generals to attend him, he went in imposing state to *Nôtre Dame*, on the 11th of April, 1802, to assist at a grand high mass, in which the Romish ritual put forth all its pageantry to celebrate the national restoration of religion. For the first time republican prejudices were shocked by seeing the first consul's servants in livery: the foreign ambassadors received notice that their own attendants would be expected to appear in the same aristocratic dress; and even the public functionaries of France were invited to make an unusual display. Few of these officials however, were prepared for such a call, and their equipages, accordingly, rather detracted from the show: but its brilliance was sustained by an unusual degree of military parade; and thus the goddess of Reason's late temple was formally rescued from the blasphemous absurdities of her pretended worship with a splendour that must have driven Paris into some thought of better things.³

§ 2. Sunday was now again observed, to a considerable extent, throughout France. The *Concordat* stipulated that the government offices should be closed on that day. This was done immediately. A consular decree then directed all marriages to be proclaimed on that day. At the Tuileries mass was celebrated daily, and on Sundays it was attended, after a fashion, by the first consul. He spent the ten minutes, or thereabouts, which it occupied, in an adjoining apartment with the doors open, but did not intermit the examination of papers or other business that could be transacted with little or no noise. Attempts were made by some of the clergy to carry him beyond such a half-ceremonious visit to the house of God. But

³ Alison, iv. 677.

they were unavailing. He treated his religious profession as a mere political duty, which he was bound to discharge just so far as his public position required, and no further. Indeed, he could not make a greater show of piety, without lowering his character by a tinge of hypocrisy. In the country, this restoration of religion, such as it was, gave in most cases great satisfaction. The labouring poor, indeed, were generally benefited by it, even upon grounds merely secular. The holiday that closed every decade, had not only defrauded honest industry of one resting day in every month; it had also given birth to arrangements which took from the labourer all regular seasons of rest. The selfish pretenders to philosophy who had branded the observance of Sunday as an insane superstition, were commonly found impatient of every thing that lessened their command over the labour of others. Foreign governments too hailed with sincere pleasure this recovery of France from the most offensive and hopeless, though not the most ferocious, of her revolutionary paroxysms.⁴ Make her Christian again, and, instead of the pest and infamy of Europe, — from whose contact nothing was reasonably to be expected but poison and perfidy, — she might invite friendly relations with her neighbours, by her high tone of civilization, and a nice perception of national integrity. Thus Napoleon's political sagacity was never more clearly shown than by the firm stand that he made for the re-establishment of religion.

§ 3. As one of the objects contemplated by the *Concordat* was the regular formation of a new French hierarchy, the pope wrote a letter to the surviving prelates of that country, recommending them to resign their several sees. He cited the example of three hundred African bishops, who expressed a noble willingness to give up their episcopal chairs with a view to the termination of the Donatistic schism. He likewise entreated them to remember, that the same self-devotion had been exhibited by St. Austin and Gregory Nazianzen. By these persuasions, however, only the bishops who had bound themselves to the revolution were led into the desired resignations. Those who had all along stood out would not abandon their position. They were in number thirty-six, and they signed a strong protest against this papal call upon them. The archbishop of

⁴ *Ibid.* 681.

Narbonne, with twelve of his brethren then resident in England, justified by a letter to Pius their refusal to comply with his request. Nor did the *Concordat* itself fare better in these quarters. The exiled prelacy of France was generally opposed to it, and those of the body that had found refuge in England lost no opportunity of communicating this disapprobation to their own countrymen. English vessels contrived means of holding occasional communications with the coast of France, and thus the objections of the exiled French prelates to Napoleon's new ecclesiastical arrangements found their way into all parts of his country. Great complaints were made of this in Paris, and endeavours were not wanting to procure the banishment from England of the prelates who thus kept up religious irritation in France, especially of the bishops of Arras and St. Pol de Leon, whose activity was the greatest in maintaining a correspondence with their own country, adverse to its recent settlement of ecclesiastical questions. The English government was, however, honourably conspicuous for maintaining the rights of hospitality during the whole course of the revolutionary wars, and it was most unlikely to violate them for the termination of dissatisfaction, which might importantly serve itself.⁵

§ 4. But however Pius might be grieved and even embarrassed by the refusals which reached him from the most respectable portion of the French prelacy, he felt too much interest in the complete restoration of his creed in their country, and perhaps also too much apprehension of its powerful ruler, to decline any important call from Paris. One was made in the summer of 1804, which put his flexibility to a severe trial. In the May of that year Buonaparte had been nominated, with a most remarkable degree of national unanimity, emperor of the French, and he desired to have this new dignity solemnly confirmed to him by a grand coronation at the pope's hands. It was true that nothing had seemed more likely to shake his power than the *Concordat*, from the violent opposition that it raised. His power, notwithstanding, had been rapidly on the increase ever since this arrangement had been effected; and he knew that fresh sanctions from religion, however scoffers might receive them after their inveterate fashion, would have no incon-

⁵ Collins, 218.

siderable weight with the great majority. He might even be fortified in this opinion by the papal coronation of Pepin, which gave a sort of consecration to the Carlovingian dynasty, and excluded the former race by authority of the church. Early in June, accordingly, Pius received a request to officiate at the new emperor's coronation. Considerable difficulties were immediately raised by the cardinals, partly, perhaps, with a view to some further concessions to the church, but partly, there can be no doubt, from the honest prejudices of the individuals themselves, and a strong perception of the solid objections that opposed compliance. The time might be gone by for urging that none but the German emperors, the presumed successors of the Roman Cæsars, were justified by their admitted position to demand coronation from the bishop of the ancient capital of Europe; a prelate, too, whose own position had so wonderfully advanced in the lapse of ages. But there were incontrovertible reasons for declining to gratify the recently created monarch. He was denounced, by the largest portion of Europe, as nothing better than a mere adventurer, who had gained by impudence and good luck possession of a revolutionary throne which would soon reject him in favour of its rightful owner. A coronation by the pope was really, therefore, the pontifical recognition of a new dynasty as the successor of the Bourbons, whose family had been acknowledged for centuries, by the Roman see, as legitimate occupants of the French throne, and whose representative, an obedient son of the papal church, was then the claimant of that throne. But neither Pius nor the cardinals could do any more than demur and negotiate. Buonaparte was an urgent suitor, whom it might be ruin to deny. He was, accordingly, apprised by a letter from Rome, early in the autumn, that the pope would officiate as desired, and would set out for France within a very short time. Pius arrived at Fontainebleau on the 25th of November, in his own carriage, with the emperor on his side. Napoleon had gone out on horseback to meet him, and when he did so, immediately alighted. The pontiff did the same, and the two then took their seats in the carriage, Napoleon entering first. From Fontainebleau, Pius proceeded alone to Paris, where he was magnificently lodged in the Tuileries, and received upon every public appearance with extraordinary respect. He confirmed his title to such treatment by a mild dignity at all times, and a Christian-

like forbearance upon the few occasions that required it. On the 2nd of December, 1804, he was called upon for the performance of his promise; and he must have found the call very painful, in spite of the various preliminaries that had distracted attention, and any suspicions of his own, that a step so outrageous to the advocates of hereditary monarchy might more than counterbalance those benefits that it must confer upon the church. The ceremony took place at *Nôtre Dame*, amid a display of the most gorgeous magnificence. But notwithstanding a very favourable winter day, for it was beautifully bright, although severely cold, the democratic populace displayed none of the enthusiasm that had greeted far inferior shows of a revolutionary kind. After all, Pius was not allowed to crown the emperor. He merely anointed and gave him the benediction, and having done so, Napoleon took the crown and placed it on his head with his own hands. The empress then knelt before him, and he crowned her with all that grace of manner that rarely fails superior minds on great occasions, when fully conscious of undisputed pre-eminence. The presence of Pius upon this most remarkable day, excited comments little favourable to him throughout Europe, nearly all men treating it as a proof of time-serving timidity, or sycophancy; and the monarchical party considering it besides as a breach of integrity, and immeasurably below the papal dignity. The pontiff had, however, a most embarrassing choice to make. He knew the gross irreligion that stalked through all the influential classes in France; he knew, probably, equally well, that Napoleon's religion was really very much upon a par with that of those around him, and that his temper defied contradiction. Had a refusal, therefore, come from Rome, to assist at the imperial coronation, not only present advantages might have been lost to the church, and future hopes foreclosed, but even the very existence of the papacy might have been abruptly terminated. Thus the pope's journey to Paris, though deeply humiliating to him personally, in spite of the gay gilding scattered so profusely upon it, and embarrassing besides to all under papal prejudices out of France, might fairly be considered, in a choice of evils, as the less.

§ 5. Pius, however, had among his objects in view, in gratifying Napoleon, some of a character merely temporal, and his very flattering reception at the French court inspired him with

hopes of succeeding in them. As a sovereign prince, he could never cease to regret that three legations in Romagna, ceded by the treaty of Tolentino, remained in the power of France. Nor did he despair, from the sacrifices that he had made, and the cordial manner in which they were received at Paris, of recovering from imperial generosity at least this portion of the papal territories. Some of his more discerning statesmen entertained no such opinion. They remarked, in all the professions and civilities by which he had recently been greeted a studious abstinence from every thing that bore upon mere politics. The French court was most anxious to treat the pope with profound respect, and to meet his wishes upon spiritual affairs: upon temporal it seemed unwilling to enter. Pius was not, however, convinced by this ominous silence, that his eagerness to rule where former popes had ruled must prove unavailing. Shortly after his return to Rome, he despatched, accordingly, a memorial to Paris, particularizing the losses undergone by the papal see, and admonishing the emperor to emulate the glory of Charlemagne, and restore the severed territories. He received a very civil answer, expressing earnest wishes for the extension of his religious authority, and even intimating a desire to confer temporal advantages upon him, if any opportunity of doing so should arise; but treating actual arrangements as irrevocable, and any diminution of the kingdom of Italy as wholly out of the question. In October, 1805, he felt still more forcibly the hopelessness of occupying any higher position than that of the most dignified of Napoleon's vassals, and the most effective of his tools. The Austrian war made Ancona, the most important fortress in the papal states, of great value to France, and her troops took possession of it without any hesitation. Vainly did Pius remonstrate. * He was coolly told in reply, that although sovereign of Rome, Napoleon was its emperor. This announcement of an intention to treat him as a mere viceroy, the pope met with great propriety, denying that Rome owed even temporal obedience to any earthly power but his own, and utterly refusing to make any declaration of war against nations embroiled with France, whether Romish or protestant. Such language proved highly offensive at Paris, and French troops successively occupied the whole papal territory, holding even Rome itself in a sort of siege. Pius now talked of retiring to

the castle of St. Angelo, and of waiting there with gates strongly barred, but with no other preparation for resistance, until French cannon should force an entrance. He was, notwithstanding, pressed with fresh demands, amounting to a complete surrender of his rights as a sovereign prince; and remaining stedfast in his refusal, Rome was occupied, on the 2nd of February, 1808, by a large body of French troops. Within a few days afterwards, the papal court was officially informed that this occupation would continue until his holiness joined the emperor in a league offensive and defensive. Such junction being refused, the government of Rome was regularly assumed by France on the 2nd of April, and the pope was confined as a prisoner in the Quirinal palace. He still remained wholly unsubdued, exhibiting a picture of virtuous resignation that will do him immortal honour. Napoleon's great successes, however, were proof against any warning from this resistance. On the 17th of May, 1809, he issued a decree formally annexing Rome to the French empire, and declaring it a free city. This conclusive aggression extorted from the pope a bull of excommunication against Napoleon, and all concerned in his own dethronement, but carefully restricting his thunder to spirituals; an improvement upon such bulls as issued by former popes, and pretending to depose obnoxious princes, that shows a wiser and a better spirit in modern times.⁶ Still there was enough in this fulmination to awake uneasiness. It evidently had some weight upon the public mind in Rome, and might create embarrassments elsewhere. Hence Miollis, the French commander in that city, seeing any recall of the bull utterly hopeless, became anxious for the pope's removal. In concert, accordingly, with Murat, at Naples, he gave the necessary orders to general Radet, on the 4th of July, 1809. A strong battalion arriving the next day from Naples, the Quirinal was surrounded at ten on that very night, by three regiments. Thirty men silently scaled the garden walls, and posted themselves under the palace windows; fifty more entered the house itself through the window of an uninhabited room, and the gates being thrown open, Radet entered at the head of his troops. These various movements, however, consumed the night, and it was not until six o'clock in the following morning

⁶ Coote, 321.

that the pope, awakened by strokes of hatchets forcing the interior doors, became sensible of his situation. He prepared for instant death. Calling for the ring, a present from queen Clotilda, worn by his predecessor when dying, he turned his eyes upon it with a mild serenity of expression, and ordered the doors to be thrown open, to prevent further violence. Radet immediately entered, and found him surrounded by a few prelates, all evidently prepared for the worst, and certain to meet it like Christians. By such a spectacle, the revolutionary soldier was almost unnerved. With countenance and voice betraying deep emotion, he told the aged pontiff, that his own painful duty was to require of him the renunciation of all his sovereign rights, or in case of refusal, to conduct him to general Miollis, who would give directions for his ultimate destination. With the utmost calmness, Pius firmly refused to make the desired renunciation, and after a few hasty preparations, he was placed in a carriage, by the side of his able minister, cardinal Pacca, and escorted out of Rome by a powerful body of French cavalry. At Florence, the two were separated, and Pacca was sent to Grenoble by another way. From that place, an especial order of Napoleon's transferred him to the state prison of Fenestrelles in Savoy. There he was kept a close prisoner until the beginning of 1813, when the unparalleled disasters of the Moscow campaign drove Buonaparte upon the forlorn hope of conciliating the pontiff, and his illustrious friend Pacca was allowed to join him at Fontainebleau, with a view to forward the imperial designs. To that place Pius himself had been recently removed, and he was detained there until Napoleon's overthrow in 1814. He had previously spent three years at Savona, whither he was transferred from Grenoble, and the cause of his removal from that place was intelligence that an English frigate was cruising in the Gulf of Lyons, with a view to his escape. At Savona he was not actually in prison, but always under strict observation. To the seizure of his person, Buonaparte protested at St. Helena that he was not privy; and such, probably, is the literal truth. But his whole subsequent conduct proves incontrovertibly that he approved of the act after it was committed, and hence there can be no doubt, that it was in strict conformity with his own instructions, although his agents might have been intentionally allowed considerable discretion in the execution of them. The captivity of Pius

required, in fact, no slight caution, and hence it was obviously convenient to shift the responsibility of it, as much as possible. In spite of the scoffing spirit upon all serious subjects fatally prevalent, even in France, a pope who was a prisoner strongly moved popular pity and veneration. When Pius was first taken to Grenoble, the French people crowded around him with the warmest demonstrations of respectful affection. On the Italian side of the Alps, he was more than once under the necessity of exerting his personal influence to prevent attempts at a rescue.⁷

✓ § 6. The earliest measure of much general importance, which followed the return of Pius to Rome, was the revival of the Jesuits, or more properly, their re-organization as a religious order, capable of indefinite extension. As masses of individuals, more or less connected together, they had never been extinct; and in two recent instances, they had already been formed into national communities. The emperor Paul obtained papal authority for their revival in Russia, in 1801, and in 1804 they were revived in Sicily, at the suit of king Ferdinand; a patronage but moderately flattering in either case.⁸ These concessions the pope, by a bull issued in August, 1814, extended to his own states, and to all others. He authorized, accordingly, Thaddeus Borrozowski, general of the order, to re-unite its members into one community, for the purpose of employing themselves in education, and in clerical duties.⁹ The publication of this bull was followed by an act, ordaining the restitution of the funds which formed a patrimony for the Jesuits, and compensation for such of their property as had been confiscated.¹ The reason assigned for a measure so decisive as the restoration of an order which had been generally obnoxious, in Romish countries even, but a few years before, were solicitations from persons of every ✓ class², and the obvious duty of employing a body so "vigorous and experienced to row the bark of St. Peter, tossed by continual storms."³ This metaphorical language has been interpreted as meant for protestantism⁴; which unquestionably was

⁷ Alison, vii. 615.

⁸ *Hist. of the Jesuits*, i. 10.

⁹ Butler's *Hist. Mem.* iv. 355.

¹ *Hist. of the Jesuits*, i. 11.

² Butler's *Hist. Mem.* iv. 355.

³ *Hist. of the Jesuits*, i. 10.

⁴ "The order of the Jesuits," says

Villers, "*the most important of all the orders, was placed in opposition to the Reformation, and it acquired a preponderance proportioned to the enormous mass which it was intended to counterbalance.* It is with reference to the same great object of opposing the Reformation, that

the original mark that Jesuits aimed at. The papal party, however, interprets it as meant for infidelity.⁵ Nor is this view unreasonable. England, a protestant state, had been mainly instrumental in the pope's restoration, and of dangers from her creed Pius had long possessed very little leisure to think. But he had seen a great deal of the dangers caused by infidelity. He therefore naturally thought most of the evils from that quarter, and reasoned that they were more likely to be diminished by the combined efforts of a compact body admirably organised and skilfully directed, like the Jesuitic order, than by the desultory movements of individuals led by their own impulses to come forward, and commonly possessing neither the discretion nor the ability to come forward effectively. But it is plain that Jesuitism, made once more thoroughly effective, will ever seek its principal objects of attack among adherents of a scriptural faith. Such religionists are likely to take a full share in the warfare against infidelity; but their influence, and even their existence, always menace with absolute extinction such articles of faith as have no surer warrant than tradition, and such religious usages as are palpably akin to downright heathenism. The inherent rottenness of the system that labours under these objections, appears from few things more clearly than from an instinctive clinging to organized combinations during many ages, and as society advanced, from its urgent need of a combination so versatile and so perfectly organised as that of the Jesuits. In this proteiform body, individuals are merged in the whole. Their personal sense of moral responsibility even is liable to be seriously impaired by the share of it seemingly thrown upon a superior; and the superior himself is exposed to a similar evil from confidential communications with select counsellors, and from his dependence upon the recorded principles of his order. In the end, undoubtedly, such a society can hardly fail of injuring the cause that it may temporarily serve. When success has aroused a grasping ambition in itself, and a jealous hostility in others,

the present pope" (1816) "has declared that he should deem himself guilty of a great crime towards God, if, amidst the dangers of the Christian republic, in other words, of the cause of popery, he should neglect to employ the aids which the special Providence of God had put in his power."

History of the Jesuits, ii. 396.

⁵ "It is in vain that the advocates of his holiness will contend that he desired the aid of the Jesuits against infidelity; for where is the danger to be apprehended from infidelity now?"

Ibid.

all its proceedings are likely to be regarded with a suspicion greater even than the necessity requires, and the exertions of individual members are very liable to be undervalued. The men are known to be tools artfully used by others, and the purposes to which they are applied may be thought such as the parties themselves, if honestly under their own guidance, would not have more than half approved.⁶

§ 7. Among the results of the restoration of papal authority was a settlement of ecclesiastical arrangements in France. Pius had been allowed little more power in that country, under the imperial government, than the privilege of granting institution to prelates nominated by Napoleon. This sanction, however, he was found in many cases unwilling to give. In 1811, no fewer than twenty-seven bishops were ineffectual suitors for it. Indignant at such a disregard of his choice, Buonaparte declared the *Concordat* at an end, and called a council of French and Italian prelates to Paris, to provide a remedy for existing evils.⁷ But they came to no determination, during their first session in June. At a second, in the following August, they determined, that unless the pope should institute within six months of the imperial nomination, *that* power should devolve upon the metropolitan. After many conferences, the pope confirmed this decree; but, for some unknown reason the emperor would not receive it. In 1813, Pius was again plied with negotiations for a new *Concordat*, and Napoleon actually signed certain articles as the basis of one. The pope, however, though a prisoner at Fontainebleau, annulled this plan, and declined all further intercourse with the imperial court, until he should be restored to liberty. Buonaparte's other affairs now became so urgent that he had no leisure to think much of the church, and accordingly, Lewis XVIII., on his restoration, found ecclesiastical questions in a very unsatisfactory state. It was not until after various negotiations, protracted into 1817, that they were placed upon a permanent footing. It was then agreed that the *Concordat* of 1801 should wholly cease, and that the religious concerns of France should stand hereafter upon the

⁶ "His holiness, since the publication of this bull for the restoration of the society, has twice formally signified, that *it was not his intention that it should have the effect of restoring it to any state which should not recall it, or express a wish for its*

return." (Butler's *Hist. Mem.* iv. 350.) How, then, come fraternities of Jesuits into Britain and Ireland? Surely the state has not "recalled the order, or expressed any wish for its return."

⁷ Coote, 320.

basis that had been settled between Leo X. and Francis I. At the same time were founded seven new archbishoprics and twenty-five bishoprics, to be endowed, as before, with stipends out of the public revenue; a wretched substitute for the ease and independence which France, in earlier times, had conferred upon her clergy.⁸

§ 8. When the nineteenth century opened, the Romanists of Britain and Ireland entertained sanguine expectations, from former concessions, the progress of liberality, and rumours of the minister's favourable intentions, of a complete release from their civil disabilities. It was even believed that Mr. Pitt had given positive encouragement to such anticipations, when intent upon the legislative union of the two islands. The real encouragement, however, given by him amounted to no more than an observation in the speech by which he brought the articles of union before the House of Commons, that until that measure should be carried, "full concessions could not be made to the Romanists, without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution to the centre."⁹ This language, which is at furthest ambiguous, and might be little else than a rhetorical amplification, was naturally taken by the parties anxious for relief as an explicit declaration in their favour. They talked, accordingly, of a promise made; but Mr. Fox candidly expressed a belief, in 1805, that such was not the fact¹; and in 1810, Robert Stewart, viscount Castlereagh, (afterwards marquess of Londonderry,) negatived in the House of Commons current reports of a pledge given, in the fullest and most unequivocal manner. That able statesman was the principal conductor of the union in Ireland; and during the two years that it was in agitation he carefully abstained from compromising Mr. Pitt in any manner, as to the political disabilities of Romanists; a silence which near observers, intent upon the removal of them, interpreted unfavourably, and, in consequence, much of their influence was exerted to preserve the Irish legislature. Leading Romanists, accordingly, were surprised to see Mr. Pitt and his friends assigning the impossibility of obtaining royal consent to the removal of Romish disabilities, as a reason for breaking up the ministry, in 1801.² It is, in-

⁸ Collins, 223. ✓

¹ *Ibid.* 138.

⁹ Bp. Phillpotts's *Letter on the Coronation Oath*. Lond. 1828, p. 136.

² *Ibid.* 141.

deed, probable that this was not the true reason; that rather lying in the difficulties of making peace, experienced by a cabinet which had long bound up its interests with war. Had the assigned cause been the real one, Mr Pitt could hardly have abstained from advocating the question, when unfettered by office. He did, however, so abstain, and when again in office, that abstinence continued; probably from respect for George the Third's conscientious scruples. But Romish disabilities could not be connected, however inaccurately, with the retirement of a cabinet, popular above most recorded in English history, without giving to the question of their removal an importance in the public mind, that had been hopeless during a long interval of time. Nevertheless, petitions from the Irish Romanists, presented to Parliament in 1805, though leading to animated discussions, were defeated by considerable majorities.³ Their principal advocates were the Whigs, then in opposition; and that party coming into power on Mr. Pitt's death, in the beginning of 1806, thought itself bound in honour to use its improved position for the furtherance of that great concession to Romanism which it had strenuously though ineffectually supported under less favourable circumstances. There were, however, strong prejudices against concession, both in the king, and in a majority of the people. The Whig ministry, therefore, only proposed a partial measure of relief. As the law stood in Britain, no Romanist could be even a subaltern in the army; all officers being liable to the operation of the Test Act. In Ireland, by an Act passed in 1793, papists might hold any situation in the army, except that of commander-in-chief, master-general of the ordnance, or general on the staff. On the 5th of March, 1807, Charles, viscount Howick, afterwards the second earl Grey, moved a bill in the House of Commons, to enable persons of every religious persuasion to hold commissions in the army and navy, without any other condition than the taking of a specified oath of allegiance, repugnant to no religious opinion. When the draught of this bill was submitted to the king, as is usual in matters of importance, he made several objections, but at length his opposition was overcome, and leave was obtained to propose the measure. He was not, however, fully aware of its operation, until this came out in the debate.⁴ He then saw, that the measure would remove

³ Bisset's *George III.* vi. 98.

⁴ Alison, vi. 183.

Romish disabilities to a greater extent than he had calculated, and being apprehensive that his coronation oath was inconsistent with so large a measure of concession, he refused any longer to countenance the bill. Finding him immovable, the ministry determined upon relinquishing their plan; but permission was requested for the lords Grenville and Howick, both to detail in parliament their opinions upon the general policy of such a measure, and to submit the matter again, when circumstances should invite, to the royal consideration. The latter stipulation proved so disagreeable to the king, that, instead of accepting it, he required from the applicants a written pledge, to abstain hereafter from bringing forward any such concession to Roman Catholics as that which he had recently declined. He was told in reply, that no such pledge could be given constitutionally, or consistently with that oath which is taken by every privy councillor. This answer occasioned an abrupt dismissal of the ministry.⁵ The discarded statesmen then lost no time in organising an opposition, which placed concession to the Romanists in the fore-ground of its party welfare.

§ 9. The Whig party, however, which thus patronized the very sect that it had formerly laboured so strenuously to crush, was far from popular. Hence repeated motions made in parliament for *Catholic Emancipation*, as the phrase ran, were negatived by considerable, but decreasing majorities. At length, Mr. Canning, habitually the advocate of Tory politics, came over to the other side, on this much-agitated question. With all that splendid eloquence which was at his command, he moved, on the 22nd of June, 1812, that the house should pledge itself to take into serious consideration, early in the next session of parliament, the Roman Catholic disabilities, with a view to such a final conciliatory disposal of them as might conduce to the national peace and strength, the stability of the protestant establishment, and the general satisfaction of all classes. This motion was carried by a decisive majority of 235 against 106. In the Lords a similar motion was defeated only by a single vote: but such was the turn now taken by public opinion, that many people thought no disappointment whatever likely to have met the Romanists in the upper house, had not a recent meeting in Dublin claimed relief as a matter of right, and menaced opposition with exemplary vengeance.⁶ The session

⁵ Butler, ii. 211.

⁶ Bisset, vi. 341.

of 1813, accordingly, was opened with appearances very much in favour of the Romanists, and their cause went victoriously through some very hard parliamentary fighting; but when it seemed on the point of complete success in the House of Commons, Charles Abbot, the speaker, afterwards lord Colchester, moved, that, among the concessions, a seat in either house of parliament should not be included. This motion was carried by a majority of four, and the advocates of the measure immediately threw it up in disgust, declaring that such relief as did not include admission to the legislature was unworthy of Romish acceptance.⁷ In subsequent years the question of relief was repeatedly brought forward, but without success. The obstacles to it in the throne were by no means removed, although a deep feeling of religion had been very far from so conspicuous there as in former years, under George III. Towards the close of autumn, in 1810, that exemplary sovereign sank into an insanity from which he never recovered. His eldest son, George, Prince of Wales, who was appointed regent in the following February, acted as if bound by a nice sense of honour to use that delegated authority for the furtherance of such objects as his venerable parent would approve, in case of restoration to reason. He proved also himself, on succeeding to the crown in 1820, averse from the admission of Romanists to political power. His next brother likewise, Frederic, Duke of York, whose manly bearing upon all occasions, and exemplary diligence as commander-in-chief, rendered him popular in spite of some immoral follies at one time, was entirely against further concession to the Romanists. That prince's anxiety upon this subject reached even to the approach of death, and he wished his brother to be apprised of it, if painfully pressed to give way. Most of the Tory party too, a great majority of the people, and nearly all the clergy, remained of opinion notwithstanding the arguments and importunities perseveringly urged by the Whigs and Romanists, that adherents to the papacy could not safely be trusted with political power, in a state essentially protestant. But so incessant was the clamour for relief, that all men became weary of resistance, and heard impatiently of every fresh exertion to stir the catholic question.

§ 10. As the elective franchise, however, had been conceded,

⁷ Butler, ii. 267.

to Romanists, in Ireland, in 1793, although it continued closed against them in England, they would not allow themselves to want strenuous advocates in the House of Commons. The Irish priesthood of their church, emerging from the extreme depression under which it had long been kept, had now taken a prominent part in politics. On the other hand, the influence of Irish protestantism had materially declined within the last few years. The union, by contracting the number of government situations, was the cause of removal to many protestant families: the low prices of agricultural produce which followed upon the peace of 1814, were another such cause, and the operation of this was very wide. The well conditioned yeoman could not endure the alteration in his circumstances which thus came upon him. He put up to sale such of his property as was convertible into money, and emigrated to America. In his place came a Romish neighbour, who had been habituated to a far lower degree of artificial comfort.⁸ Thus the papal priesthood was acquiring every day a more extensive field. The extraordinary power, however, obtained by Irish Romanism, was chiefly attributable to the *Catholic Association*, an organised confederacy, which soon wielded the populace at its will. This formidable body levied contributions, called catholic rent, on the whole Romish community, a considerable portion of them coming, in very small sums, from the peasantry, although perhaps the poorest in Europe. The alleged purpose of this collection was the promotion of catholic emancipation by every means accessible to money. The magnitude of the instrument thus provided may be estimated from the fact, that in the single month of November, 1824, the sum collected was 3007*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* Of the contributors, very many were far from volunteers; but denunciations of the priests from their altars, and intimidating importunities of active neighbours, allowed no Romanist any choice. The result of such a powerful engine was the rapid spread of a violent agitation all over Ireland. Until 1823, the great body of Irish Romanists had thought little about political disabilities, but when the Catholic association had once thoroughly taken possession of the country, the whole Romish population became wild upon every mention of emancipation,

⁸ Evidence of Daniel O'Connell, Esq. 1825. *Evidence on the State of Ireland*, before the House of Commons, March 1, Lond. 1825, p. 170.

and it was the word that oftenest met the ear. Yet a great degree of misapprehension commonly prevailed as to the object in view. Some of the people supposed it to be the restoration of the forfeited estates; others, the legal establishment of the Romish religion. At length the association assumed so completely the tone of a menacing independent legislature, levying money at its will for purposes of its own, that in 1825 an act of parliament was passed for suppressing it. Ostensibly this act was obeyed, but a new association was immediately formed, in such a manner as to evade the law. During the parliamentary sessions of this and the preceding years, numerous witnesses from Ireland had been examined before committees of the two houses, with a view of throwing some light upon the violent agitation that convulsed that country. Most of these drew flattering pictures of the profound satisfaction, and consequent tranquillity to be expected from emancipation⁹; although they generally were so cautious as to deny that this concession alone would still the strife of which Britain had become so weary. These light reservations were, however, little noticed by the customary advocates of emancipation. They constantly spoke of that measure as a complete remedy for all the ills of Ireland, and such a view of it daily gained ground.

§ 11. In 1828, catholic emancipation was nevertheless again unsuccessful in parliament, but it gained indirectly an important step by the *Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts*. Numerous petitions were presented against them, and on the 26th of February, Lord John Russell made a motion for their repeal. Practically they had long fallen into desuetude, the annual indemnity act screening protestant dissenters from their operation. It was, however, argued, that laws bearing a character of needless intolerance ought not to be allowed even to slumber in the statute-book, and besides, that enough of their spirit was left untouched by the annual indemnity, to make them still convertible into

⁹ "No Catholic clergyman has the slightest disposition to derange that establishment" (the protestant)?—"Not the slightest." (Evidence of the Rev. M. Collins, June 9, 1824. *Evid. on Ireland*, p. 58.) "If we were freed from the disabilities under which we labour, we have no mind, and no thought, and no will, but that which would lead us to incorporate ourselves fully and essentially with this

great kingdom; for it would be our greatest pride to share in the glories and the riches of England."—"If the question, commonly called catholic emancipation, were carried, are you of opinion that religious differences would cease to agitate the public mind in Ireland?—I am very confident they would." Evidence of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Doyle, March 16, 1825. *Ibid.* pp. 383. 393.

engines of oppression. That act did not really render a dissenter eligible to corporate offices; it only exempted him from penalties, in case he should not have taken the sacramental test. An action against him for this neglect could still only by accident miscarry, and even if it did, would leave him liable to the costs. It was obviously improper that any such liability should continue, and there was very little disposition to wish it in the public mind. Persons who were as averse as ever from the concessions desired by Romanists, felt no objection to those now sought by dissenters. They considered the Romish doctrines as inextricably mixed up with politics, and therefore intolerable in parties legislating for a protestant state. Dissenting doctrines were viewed as mere modifications of religious opinion, for which no man was responsible to civil society, but only to God and his own soul. Hence the repeal sought occasioned very little opposition in parliament, and very little notice in the country. It was not, however, deemed proper to weaken the ecclesiastical institutions of the nation by this concession. The act stated that "the protestant episcopal church of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, discipline, and government thereof, and the protestant presbyterian church of Scotland, and the doctrine discipline, and government thereof, are by the laws of this realm severally established, permanently and inviolably." Hence it did not leave corporate officers at liberty to use any power that might come from their several situations, injuriously to the religious establishment of the country. They were to make a solemn declaration, that no power arising from their corporate capacities should be turned by them to the detriment of the church establishment.¹

§ 12. During the autumn of 1828, rumours were afloat of an intention in the government to concede the Romish claims. The Great Captain, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, a man whose straightforward integrity, and deep insight into human

¹ The following is the declaration prescribed by the act: "I, A. B., do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, upon the true faith of a Christian, that I will never exercise any power, authority, or influence which I may possess by virtue of the office of—to injure or weaken the protestant church as it is by law established in England, or to

disturb the said church, or the bishops and clergy of the said church, in the possession of any rites or privileges to which such church, or the said bishops and clergy, are, or may be, by law entitled."—*Act for repealing so much of several Acts as imposes the Necessity of receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as a Qualification for certain Offices and Employments.* 9th May, 1828.

nature, are hardly below his unsurpassed strategic superiority, was then first lord of the treasury. He had said in parliament, that he would give the catholic question full consideration. Hitherto he had viewed it under a sense of individual responsibility. He should now view it as responsible for the chief direction of public affairs. Nevertheless, his vote contributed to the majority of forty-five, by which the measure was lost in the House of Lords, in the session of 1828, and his speech deprecated concession. It was, therefore, considered by such as approved of the Romish disabilities, that he was one of the last men to surrender this long-contested question, and that his announcement of an intention to give it a statesmanlike consideration, merely expressed the honest purpose of a comprehensive mind to search carefully for some plan, whereby moderate Romanists might be shamed out of agitation, and protestant apprehensions might be effectively allayed. His principal co-adjutor, too, in the ministry, Mr. Peel, afterwards on his father's death Sir Robert Peel, a statesman whose future eminence was clearly foreseen by the best judges when a youth at college, and whose whole subsequent life had been an unbroken course of judicious application, senatorial distinction, and moral propriety, had invariably been an uncompromising opponent of the Romish claims. It was, consequently, supposed in most quarters that unqualified concession was never to be expected from him any more than from his illustrious chief. When, however, parliament was opened by commission on the 5th of February, 1829, the king's speech, delivered by the lord chancellor, after advertising to the Catholic Association and requiring powers for its suppression, went on to say, "His majesty recommends, that when this essential object shall have been accomplished, you should take into your deliberate consideration the whole state of Ireland, and that you should review the laws which impose civil disabilities on his majesty's Roman catholic subjects. You will consider whether the removal of those disabilities can be effected consistently with the full and perfect security of our establishments in Church and State, with the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law, and of the rights and privileges of the bishops and of the clergy of this realm, and of the churches committed to their charge. These are institutions which must ever be held sacred in this protestant kingdom, and which it is the duty and the determination of his majesty to pre-

serve inviolate." It was late and reluctantly that George IV. gave his consent to this announcement, and even after the measure became law, he showed marked displeasure towards some individuals who followed his own example in giving way. To the people generally, this paragraph in the royal speech occasioned extreme surprise. The great majority disapproved it highly, and petitions against the proposed concession poured into the two houses of parliament in torrents. It must not, however, be supposed, that even such as disliked Whig politics were unanimous in objecting to the ministerial proposition. On the contrary, the superior sections of the middle classes had long been becoming more and more either careless of the question, or willing to give it up for the sake of peace. Hence the House of Commons had latterly been always found ready for a surrender: a disposition of which Mr. Peel very reasonably complained, saying that a people bent upon the continuance of exclusion should be careful to return representatives steady to that object. But notwithstanding that public feeling bore politically with a weight greatly diminished upon the maintenance of Romish disabilities, it really was adverse as a whole to the complete repeal of them. The clergy and others of the more enlightened advocates for their continuance, looked upon Romish anxiety for legislative powers as chiefly created by a desire to seize upon the religious endowments in Ireland, perhaps also to recover the forfeited estates there, or at all events, by a sectarian antipathy to the protestant establishment. Hence the clamour was thought more likely to be continued by concession than extinguished, its real objects extending far beyond its present demands. Among the more ignorant enemies to concession there was, undoubtedly, a large infusion of mere prejudice. People fancied that Romanists, unless excluded from all hope of power, were likely to gain the ascendancy even in England, and to renew the horrors of Mary's reign. Thus, there was a general feeling against concession, and if popular petitions could have averted it, the year 1829 would have seen it once more refused. Mr. Peel, in recommending the measure, attributed most of the evils afflicting Ireland to an indisposition towards the settlement of this question. Although his own opinions, therefore, upon its abstract merits, continued unchanged, yet he thought a longer denial of concession highly inexpedient. He did not, however, consider it desirable that Romanists should exercise

legislative powers without binding themselves by oath to abstain from abusing them for any of their own sectarian purposes. Nor did he mean to make Romanists eligible to the offices of commander-in-chief, or of lord chancellor, or of lord lieutenant of Ireland; or to any situation in the church, or in the institutions connected with it. He wished also to abridge the power so offensively used by the Romish priests of Ireland, in influencing parliamentary elections. He therefore proposed to abolish the forty-shilling franchise in that country, and allow no freeholders to vote with a qualification under ten pounds. By this alteration it was considered, that men under the coercion of priestly menace and artifice, would be generally excluded from the poll. He meant also to restrict Romanists elected to corporate offices, from taking the ensigns of their dignity to any other place of worship than one connected with the established church. He wished likewise to prevent members of the Romish hierarchy from assuming those titles of ecclesiastical dignity which it had been so much their practice to assume, even with offensive claims of an exclusive right to them²; and

² Dr. Doyle pronounced the archbishop of Dublin no more entitled to that see than to the dukedom of Leeds. He himself published pamphlets under the signature of J. K. L., *i. e.* James Kildare and Leighlin, the last two names being those of the united sees which he filled as Romish chief pastor. It is notoriously the usage among Irish Romanists to address their titular archbishops as your Grace, and their titular bishops as my Lord. These titular prelacies were, however, for many years, of foreign and hostile appointment. "The right of presenting to all sees in Ireland was vested by usage or by law, I do not know which, in the Stuart family, previous to their being expelled from these countries; and whilst a descendant of that family resided at Rome, he was accustomed to recommend to the Irish catholic sees; from the death of the late pretender to the present time, the right of appointment to bishoprics in Ireland has vested solely and exclusively in the pope; but from that period until the present, he has not in any one instance that has come to my knowledge (and I have made very diligent inquiries upon the subject,) appointed any person, unless such as had been pre-

viously recommended to him by some person or persons in this country. The persons who so recommend generally are the chapter, and where there is no chapter existing, the parochial clergy of the diocese, and the metropolitan, or suffragan bishops of the province where the see happens to be vacant." (Evidence of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Doyle, March 16, 1825, *ut supra*, 320.) Thus the persons really thought among Romanists entitled to the Irish sees, were long nominated by the pretender, and latterly by certain societies or individuals at home, unknown to the law in any corporate capacity; such persons ultimately founding their pretensions upon the act of an Italian bishop usurping an interference in British affairs, for which he can establish no valid claim whatever, and which is directly contrary to the statutes of the realm. This interference too contradicts a maxim of the canon law, which forbids the appointment of another bishop to a see already provided with one. The Irish sees, however, are so provided by the law of the land. But this law is to be treated as a nullity, and an individual beneficed by it is to be treated as no more entitled to his preferment than he is to any particular

as objections against Jesuits were extensively entertained, he contemplated their gradual removal, and proposed that all members of that order should at once be under the necessity of registering their names. The duke of Wellington, in recommending concession to the upper house, dwelt chiefly upon the prospect of civil war involved in refusal, and of the miseries which his own experience, above that of most men, enabled him to say, any appeal to arms must bring upon the country. Other speakers considered concession as the only way to annihilate that defiance of constituted authorities which then prevailed in Ireland, and one of the surest protections for her established church. On the other hand, it was contended, that such unqualified concession was quite inconsistent with a government essentially protestant, and most unlikely to tranquillize Ireland, while it would probably seal the ruin of her protestant establishments. Arguments, however, against the proposition, though strenuously and ably urged, from many quarters highly worthy of attention, proved wholly unavailing. In the House of Commons, the measure passed by a majority of 178; in the House of Lords by a majority of 104. It received the royal assent on the 13th of April, 1829, and on the 28th of that month, three Romish peers took their seats in the upper house.³ The bill for disfranchising the Irish forty-shilling freeholders passed without a division in either house, although in the earlier stages, objections to it had been urged both by lords and commoners.

§ 13. The great measure, by which Britain abandoned her long-cherished principle of excluding Romanists from legislative privileges, treated them as any other class of dissenters, except in such cases as they were decidedly separated from the general body by religious peculiarities bearing directly upon the national institutions. Hence no notice was taken of a *veto* upon appointments to their prelacies, which had been so often keenly

English peerage. As public attention had been recently called to these facts, the Catholic Relief Bill could hardly fail of making some provision for them.

³ There were then eight Romish peers in England, and fourteen baronets. Of Romish gentry, there were above 300 families, generally very ancient, and often very opulent. In Scotland, there were two Romish earls, and in the High-

lands, at the beginning of the last century, there were more than 60,000 Roman catholics. But the two rebellions of 1715 and 1745, by breaking up the feudal system, made great alterations there, and among them was an extensive diffusion of protestantism, in quarters that had hitherto rejected it. *Gent. Mag.* March, 1829.

contested during the thirty years' discussion upon the catholic question. All such matters of internal regulation were passed over in silence as nothing else than the private concerns of a sect in the empire, with which the state had no right or reason to interfere, so long as they did not act upon its established policy. Upon the principle of providing against such interference, where it might fairly be apprehended, Romanists were required to take a particular oath on entering parliament. This binds them to the Act of Settlement, it being obviously more agreeable to their prejudices, that representatives of the Stuarts, professing their own religion, especially as they stand higher in the scale of descent, should occupy the throne in preference to protestant representatives. It binds them also to the rejection of those anti-social pretensions, by which unquestionably the court of Rome, whatever may be said of the church, has repeatedly compromised its character. It binds them likewise to the existing institutions of the country, and restricts them from any use of their legislative privileges to the injury of the church establishment, or of the protestant religion. They are obviously open to temptation in these respects, from the prevalence of a notion that the church establishment was originally founded for the diffusion of their own opinions, and from a belief that protestants are fatally misled by doctrines no older than Luther.⁴ Still further to take away from Romanists

⁴ The following is the oath prescribed by the act: "I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his majesty ——— and will defend him to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatever which shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them: and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the crown, which succession, by an act intituled *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*, is and stands limited to the princess *Sophia*, electress of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being protestants; hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any

obedience or allegiance unto any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of this realm: and I do further declare that it is not an article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any other authority of the see of *Rome*, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever; and I do declare, that I do not believe that the pope of *Rome*, or any other foreign prince, prelate, person, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm. I do swear, that I will defend to the utmost of my power the settlement of property within this realm, as established by the laws: and I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment, as settled by law within this realm: and

all temptation to tamper with the church, any of them who should attain high office, are restrained from advising the crown in the exercise of ecclesiastical patronage.⁵ The arrogant assumption of titles from prelacies and deaneries conferred upon others by law, is made liable to a fine of one hundred pounds, for every time in which it may be committed.⁶ A restriction is also placed, under a penalty of fifty pounds, upon all displays of the Romish religion, except in places of worship, or private houses⁷: which is no more than a judicious protection to unguarded youth and ignorance against the fascination of theatrical rites, and a rational provision against the effects of that popular disgust which might occasionally rise on the needless exhibition of them. Of Jesuits, and all other monastic societies of men⁸, the act contemplates the gradual abolition within the United Kingdom.⁹ For the accomplishment of this object in an inoffensive manner, all such monasties then resident in the realm were to register themselves within six months¹, and all such of alien birth, coming into the realm afterwards, were made liable to banishment for life.² Any such persons, however, born subjects of the British crown, and

I do solemnly swear, that I never will exercise any privilege, to which I am, or may become, entitled, to disturb or weaken the protestant religion, or protestant government in the United Kingdom: and I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever.—So help me God.”—*Act for the Relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects.* Clause 2.

⁵ Clause 18.

⁶ “And whereas the right and title of archbishops to their respective provinces, of bishops to their sees, and of deans to their deaneries, as well in England as in Ireland, have been settled and established by law; be it, therefore, enacted, that if any person, after the commencement of this act, other than the person thereunto authorised by law, shall assume or use the name, style, or title of archbishop of any province, bishop of any bishopric, or dean of any deanery, in England or Ireland, he shall for every such offence forfeit and pay the sum of one hundred pounds.” Clause 24.

⁷ “If any Roman catholic ecclesiastic, or any member of any of the orders, communities, or societies hereinafter mentioned, shall, after the commencement of this act, exercise any of the rites or ceremonies of the Roman catholic religion, or wear the habits of his order, save within the usual places of worship of the Roman catholic religion, or in private houses, such ecclesiastic or other person shall, being thereof convicted by due course of law, forfeit for every such offence the sum of fifty pounds.” Clause 26.

⁸ Religious or monastic societies of women are expressly exempted by clause 37.

⁹ “And whereas Jesuits, and members of other religious orders, communities, or societies of the church of Rome, bound by monastic or religious vows, are resident within the United Kingdom, and it is expedient to make provision for the gradual suppression and final prohibition of the same therein.” Clause 28.

¹ The penalty for omitting to register within this time is fifty pounds for every calendar month during which the party shall remain unregistered.

² Clause 29.

then abroad, might return and be registered.³ Any other such person might be licensed by the secretary of state, being a protestant, to come into the kingdom, and remain there for a space not exceeding six calendar months.⁴ All future admissions into such orders within the United Kingdom were to be misdemeanors in the admitting parties, punishable by fine and imprisonment: the parties admitted were made liable to banishment.⁵ These provisions against monastic orders are obviously just and reasonable. From such combinations, moving at the will of a small knot of alien superiors, have come a large portion both of the grosser superstitions, and of the anti-social proceedings of popery. Any state is, therefore, as fully justified in refusing toleration to them, as it is to any combination of artisans, or of political agitators. In withholding such toleration, no right of conscience is invaded, unless there is an interference also with some religious principle or usage. It is, however, notorious, that every integral peculiarity of the Romish creed can have free course without administration from any others than secular clergymen, that is, from a body of ecclesiastics analogous to protestant ministers of religion. If Romanism cannot be extended, or even maintained, without skilfully organised combinations in aid of ordinary ministers, it has plainly no right to expect shelter from a protestant nation for such auxiliaries; blemished as they are too in character, by the most serious imputations, even from those of their own religious persuasion. Extraordinary facilities for its designs and operations cannot be reasonably expected from a people which views its principles as unsound and pernicious.

§ 14. Even those who anticipated no permanent pacification of Ireland, at least not until after a considerable interval, from the removal of Romish disabilities, generally thought a temporary calm likely to follow. This expectation was, however, disappointed. Irish Romanism continued its unity of action, fierce intolerance of protestantism, and menacing posture. The catholic rent, originally levied for the pursuit of emancipation, still made its demand upon the whole Romish population, and the priesthood, as before, would not allow it to call any where in vain. It was now chiefly employed as a remuneration for Mr. Daniel O'Connell, a Romish practitioner of long standing at the Irish bar, who had been at the head of the late struggle

³ Clause 30.

⁴ Clause 31.

⁵ Clauses 33, 34.

for the restitution of political privileges. He had met with great success in his profession, but he now gave up the further prosecution of it, and became really the paid agent of the priestly party in Ireland. He acted as leader of the members returned to parliament by its influence, and as proposer to the mass of his countrymen, of such topics as were suited for shaking the established church. From the state of parties that soon arose in Britain, he acquired at one time an immense political importance.⁶ The Tory party, now calling itself Conservative, from its anxiety to preserve existing institutions in their full integrity, became nearly balanced by the Whigs and Radicals, who ordinarily coalesced in parliamentary votes. Thus a compact body of Irish Romanists could turn the scale in favour of either party, and it did this service to the Whigs, during their possession of office. The price of assistance, however, from the Irish priestly party, was great danger to the established church of that country, extensive emigration among such of her followers as could remove, general apprehension among the remainder, and for a season, severe distress to her clergy.⁷ A combination

⁶ Daniel O'Connell died at Genoa, in his way to Rome, May 15, 1847. He was born Aug. 6, 1775.

⁷ "We remember the professions with which the bill that granted power to the Roman catholics was purchased and conceded. We recollect how it was professed, and we cannot forget how it was proclaimed, that if an equal participation of privileges with protestants were granted to Roman catholics, Ireland would be tranquil and happy. It was stated that popery had grown tolerant and liberal, and that our countries would be more firmly united than ever in bonds of amity and peace. Brethren, we ask you, has the event justified these professions? What use has been made of the power conceded to Roman catholics? Has it not been used in attempting the overthrow of the protestant religion in this country? Is it not labouring to destroy the integrity of the united empire? Have not Roman catholic bishops demanded the destruction of the protestant establishment, and of all societies for the propagation of the Gospel? Have they not denounced the clergy; some of whom are suffering the greatest privations, others are assassinated and stoned to death in the open face of day? In many parts of the country, the houses

of protestant gentry and farmers are fortified to prevent the attack of the midnight murderer; arms are plundered at hours when suspicion herself is off her guard, when men are engaged in the labour of the field, or attending on the worship of their God. By the long continued practice of this open plunder, by the secret importation of arms and ammunition, and by an extensive manufacture of pikes and other weapons, the Roman catholic population has become, in many parts of the country, an armed band of formidable foes. The protestant scarcely dares to venture after sunset from his home; he fears to transact his business in the fair or the market; he is waylaid, insulted, beaten, robbed, or assassinated on his return. The fact precludes the necessity of either comment or detail. The miseries he endures, and the evils he apprehends, burst all the ties that bind him to his home, and force him to seek in exile, on the Transatlantic shore, the rest denied him in the land of his fathers. To such an extent have these sufferings pressed upon the protestants of Ireland, that it appears on good authority that more than sixty thousand have fled to America since the emancipation bill has passed the British legislature. Thus, so far

to resist the payment of tithes, and of the vestry-cess, or church-rates was organised over three out of the four provinces, very soon after the grant of emancipation. The miserable incumbents, afraid to leave their homes after sunset, on the long continuance of this conspiracy, were often left with hardly means of procuring the commonest necessities of life within their carefully secured habitations; nor did the priestly party hesitate, on various occasions, to express an intention of overturning the protestant establishment altogether. It is true, that Romish members of parliament take an oath meant to restrain them from all attempts against the church, and the English section of them, in consequence, very rarely voted upon ecclesiastical questions. The Irish section practised no such abstinence, and while holding the balance of power, some concession to it early became inevitable.

§ 15. In 1833, accordingly, a bill was introduced into parliament, for the suppression of ten sees, and of the various chapters, in Ireland, as soon as the terminations of existing incumbencies should render the several preferments vacant. By this measure, the country was to lose two of its archbishoprics, Cashel and Tuam, the province of Munster being intended for the eventual superintendence of the see of Dublin, Connaught for that of Armagh. These latter arrangements have actually taken effect, the archbishops both of Cashel and Tuam having died. The mass of property to be set at liberty by the suppression of so many sees was to find a substitute, in the first instance, for the vestry-cess, an impost analogous to the English church-rate, but applicable to more purposes.⁸ Thus the land

from an increase of tranquillity, the country presents but a melancholy picture of increased disturbance, agitation, partial insurrection, and crime, on the one hand; and on the other, of suffering, of apprehension, of voluntary exile, and despair." Appeal of the Protestants of Ireland to their brethren the Protestants of England and Wales, prepared by the committee appointed at the great Conservative Meeting, lately held at the Mansion House, Dublin. *Brit. Mag.* March, 1832, p. 52.

⁸ The estimated amount of income to be provided on the abolition of the vestry-cess was 60,000*l.* a year. The means reckoned upon as eventually available for meeting this claim, and the other

objects contemplated by the bill, were 155,000*l.* a year. The whole amount of income receivable by the established church of Ireland appears to be under 800,000*l.* a year. The number of parochial benefices was reckoned at about 1250. Respecting the number of protestants, very different statements were commonly made, Romanists, undoubtedly, being desirous of estimating it as low as possible: protestants were thought to rate it somewhat too high. They made it in 1832, 1,269,288. This population, which is peaceful and thriving, resides chiefly in Ulster, a province which, being extensively colonized from Scotland, comprises a large body of dissenters. It appeared, however, by official inquiries,

was to be relieved from a burthen under which it had been inherited, bought, and granted immemorially, at the expense of the church. Other objects, far more defensible, to be gained by the suppression of so many sees, were the improvement of small livings, the building of churches, and the supplying of suitable glebe-houses. These objects, however, were obviously of remote attainment, the first thing in view being the immediate abolition of the vestry-cess; and as no see was actually vacant to meet its demands, the new board could not begin operations without borrowing money, which episcopal estates, when placed at liberty by the deaths of incumbents, would have gradually to repay. This and many other objections to the plan were pressed with great vigour and ability upon its supporters: but all such efforts were vain. The measure was carried, and thus ten Irish prelacies were placed under a rapid process of abolition: an evil that may be found of considerable magnitude, when the people shall generally become sensible of their error in adhering to religious opinions incapable of a confident appeal to Scripture, and even now of some account in a country suffering from the want of resident proprietors; because it greatly diminishes a class of landlords whose residence is a matter of duty. How far the government might have been blameable in thus yielding to the duress impinged upon it by its Irish supporters, cannot, perhaps, be accurately estimated by the present generation. There was undoubtedly a most difficult and painful choice of evils. The conspiracy against every thing protestant which raged through the south and west of Ireland was so fierce and uncompromising, that nothing short of a civil war seemed equal to its suppression, and many persons accordingly of good information, who grieved over the extinction of ten sees, doubted whether the sacrifice was not absolutely necessary to allay the furious opposition that assailed the vestry-cess.

§ 16. In 1835 a plan for the more advantageous disposition of English dioceses was brought forward by a board of commissioners appointed by the crown to consult upon reforms in the church. Some of the dioceses were of inconvenient extent,

instituted in 1834, that Irish protestants under-rated their number. This was found to be 1,516,228. Of this number 852,064 were of the established church, 642,356 were presbyterians, and 21,808

were of other protestant sects. The Roman catholics were 6,427,712. Belonging to the establishment there were found 1338 churches, and 196 other places of worship.

while others might be enlarged without any unreasonable call upon the attention of a single prelate. The most eligible mode, unquestionably, of dealing with such anomalies would have been the erection of new bishoprics in addition to all those already existing; efficiency of supervision and reference obviously depending very much upon the number of individuals employed upon such duties. But an increase in the number of sees, with bishops admitted to parliamentary rank and privileges, would have been found impracticable from the temper of the times. To institute, however, permanently a secondary order of prelates, with civil distinctions inferior to those of the first order, would have been to endanger these advantages altogether, and thus to risk the church's dignity, efficiency, and independence. It was, therefore, determined to make as good a provision for existing difficulties as the times allowed, by uniting two of the smaller dioceses with others contiguous to them, and by founding in their places two new dioceses in the populous districts of northern England. The sees marked out for union, were those of Bristol with Gloucester, and St. Asaph with Bangor. In the former case, however, the jurisdiction of Gloucester was only to be augmented by that over Bristol city, with its contiguous parishes. The detached county of Dorset, which Henry VIII. had severed from the see of Salisbury to place under the new bishopric of Bristol, was to be restored to its ancient prelate, and Berkshire was to be transferred from his supervision, to the see of Oxford. An opening was made for completing these arrangements, by the death, in September, 1834, of the learned Robert Gray, the last holder of the see of Bristol separately. That see was united with Gloucester, in October, 1836. The union of the two north Welsh dioceses encountered great and persevering opposition: in consequence of which the project was abandoned. The sees most disproportionably burthened with business were those of York, Lincoln, and Chester. To diminish this evil, new sees were to be founded at Ripon and Manchester, each of these towns being sufficiently well seated for the heads of new dioceses that are much needed, and each of them being furnished with a collegiate church suitable for a cathedral. Ripon was converted into an episcopal see by an order of council, dated October 5th, 1836, the day on which Gloucester was united with Bristol. This union made the required vacancy. The erection of Manchester

into a bishopric was to wait for a vacancy in one of the North Welsh sees, but the project for uniting them being given up, an act, passed in 1847, legalised that alteration, and a new see was immediately created at Manchester. Thus a twenty-seventh English prelate was called into existence in the autumn of 1847. But the act, which authorised this addition to the episcopal body, restricted the parliamentary privilege to the old number of twenty-six prelates. It was provided that the prelate last appointed should not have a seat in parliament, until the next vacancy among his brethren, unless he should have been consecrated to one of the archbishoprics, or to London, Durham, or Winchester. Whatever may be thought of this new feature in the episcopal arrangements of England, no difference of opinion is likely to arise upon that particular in the prelate reform, which assigns an adequate endowment to every member of the episcopal body, and hence removes the old necessity to make up incomes for bishops by allowing them to hold, *in commendam*, benefices intended for the inferior clergy. The whole reform, indeed, seems to require nothing for making it permanently satisfactory, but the transfer of estates of a certain estimated value, from the wealthier sees, to those that are newly founded, or need augmentation of emolument. Stipends are a new feature in the prelate endowments of England, and one that may fairly be looked upon with some degree of suspicion.

§ 17. In 1836 was passed an Act for the Commutation of Tithes into a variable rent-charge. The ancient tithe endowment of the church had long been violently opposed in many quarters, often palpably from interest. By objectors whose motives were above suspicion, it was considered very injurious to the religious interests of men, by producing serious disagreements between pastors and people. That such objections to it were not without foundation is unquestionable, but they were grossly exaggerated. A very large proportion of the most obstinate contentions to which clergymen were exposed by the tithe system arose from persons who had lands but not residences in their parishes, and who, therefore, had especial facilities for shifting stock, and managing crops, so as to baffle the tithe owner. Many others of his more acrimonious opponents were dissenters; so that really the spiritual evils arising from this most venerable of clerical remunerations were much smaller than persons imperfectly acquainted with rural affairs commonly

believed. But although religion suffered but slightly from the tithe system, it brought clergymen into disputes as to the value of their property, which were commonly a great drawback from their personal comfort, and for which their previous habits generally fitted them very ill. The tithe commutation was, therefore, a boon of considerable value to the clerical profession upon the whole. It cuts off, however, from the church that prospect of improved income which the progress of national prosperity and enlightenment may open. Had a similar measure been carried into execution some centuries ago, commuted tithes in the present age would be little else than a quit-rent. The commutation also acts unequally, from laying down the principle of estimating tithes according to the net receipts of their several owners upon an average of seven years to be computed backwards from Christmas, 1835. Thus properties will become permanently chargeable with this payment, in proportions varying according to the laxity or strictness used by individuals within a small specified term.

§ 18. In 1838 an act was passed to restrain pluralities. A clamour against them, more or less violent according to the circumstances of the times, had been raised almost uninterruptedly downwards from the Reformation. Men commonly did not stop to consider the poverty of the great majority of benefices, the small extent and population of many parishes, and the justice of enabling clergymen to fill a middle station with comfort and respectability. Nothing was thought of but the advantage of obtaining for every parish efficient clerical services, and the expenditure of a well-conditioned family. Those who accurately know the church are well aware that both these unquestionable advantages cannot be attained with any certainty, in a very large proportion of cases, from inadequacy of endowment. The Pluralities Act, accordingly, merely forbids those indiscriminate accumulations of preferment by which some few persons of great interest had hitherto abused the law. No clergyman but an archdeacon can take in future more than two benefices of any kind. A reservation was made in favour of archdeacons, because their office, although highly useful, had been generally requited by a very trifling payment, seldom enough to cover the expenses that it entails. Two parochial benefices also are not to be taken when distant more than ten miles from each other, nor where the parishes contain

a large population, nor when the joint incomes exceed the yearly value of one thousand pounds. Thus all the most objectionable facilities of the old system are effectually removed, and the reasonable expectations of the clerical order receive that fair attention to which every class of men is justly entitled.

§ 19. In 1840 an act was passed for the reduction of cathedral establishments. Great clamour had, at intervals, assailed these also, ever since the rise of puritanism. That they might, however, be rendered highly serviceable to the church, is obvious. They might serve for the encouragement of ecclesiastical and religious literature, for making needful additions to the incomes of parochial ministers inadequately remunerated from their cures, and for providing with refuges in old age deserving clergymen grown unequal to more active duties. All these services had been rendered by cathedral preferments, though far less frequently than either justice or expediency required. But even if abuses of chapter patronage could hereafter be prevented, it is not certain that the preservation of capitular bodies in their full integrity is more desirable than the partial direction of their funds into other channels. The population of England has greatly overgrown, in certain districts, the parochial provision anciently made for its religious wants. Chapter property affords means of remedying this evil to a considerable extent; for that purpose, therefore, such a portion of it may reasonably be asked, as would neither sacrifice the country's magnificent cathedrals, nor the sublime ministrations performed in them, nor all the facilities for encouraging and rewarding clerical exertions which their endowments supply. These objects are contemplated by the act of 1840. It provides for the reduction of canonries to the number of four in each cathedral, unless there are special circumstances requiring a larger number, and for taking from non-residentiary dignities all right to their old endowments. The appointments themselves were to remain, and there was no interference with the duties imposed upon them. Thus, although the future performance in the older cathedral establishments of anything required by the statutes of the church from its non-resident dignitaries was to be gratuitous, in most other respects the chapter was to continue on its ancient footing. This preservation of these venerable institutions in their full integrity was not originally intended, but many persons were very desirous of it, and thought that fit holders might be found for offices of such high antiquity even without emolu-

ment. The mass of property set at liberty by the various diversions of capitular estates from their original destinations, is to be vested in a board of commissioners, by whom it is to be applied to relieve the spiritual necessities of the country at large. From this disposition great advantages undoubtedly will flow to the people of England. Perhaps nothing is to be lamented in the plan but its approach to the stipendiary system. Certain dignitaries are to pay away such portions of their revenues as will reduce their incomes to a particular amount; others are to be placed upon one uniform scale of receipts. In all these cases the scale adopted seems unexceptionable, but a reasonable partiality for arrangements that have stood the test of long experience, and an allowable distrust of a principle, far from unlikely to suggest other plans of a similar kind, may raise a hope that ultimately, estates will be transferred from dignities which will bear curtailment to such as need augmentation.

§ 20. There are few subjects upon which a religious Englishman can think with less pleasure than upon the slight attention long paid by his country to the spiritual wants of her colonies. When Romish governments plant any considerable number of their people upon some distant shore, they have rarely omitted to establish an episcopal see among them within a very short period. The English government long rooted valuable and extensive colonies in almost every quarter of the globe, without making any religious provision for them beyond the supply of a few unconnected and unsupported clergymen. The first individual of weight and influence who successfully drew attention to this discreditable and impolitic omission was the religious and high-minded Shute Barrington, then bishop of Salisbury, but who died at a patriarchal age, bishop of Durham. This admirable prelate, in 1786, offered to the notice of Mr. Pitt's administration, a valuable and judicious paper, entitled *Thoughts on the Establishment of the Church of England in Nova Scotia*. In this he recommended the appointment of a bishop, a provision for the established clergy, and a seminary for clerical education.⁹ All these recommendations were eventually adopted, and in 1787 a bishop was appointed to the diocese of Nova Scotia, being the first colonial bishop that the church of England ever commissioned. An endowment for this new prelacy

⁹ Harford's *Life of Bishop Burgess*, p. 394, Lond. 1840.

was provided by means of a fund that originated in a legacy of 1000*l.*, left by archbishop Tenison in 1715, towards the settlement of bishops in America, and subsequent benefactions increased. In 1793, a second Anglo-American prelate was consecrated; his see being Quebec, and his diocese, Canada.¹⁰ For England's enormous Indian empire, no episcopal provision was made when the eighteenth century closed: a few chaplains, appointed by the East India Company, were the only symptoms of any care for the spiritual interests of those numerous natives of the British isles who sought subsistence or advancement in Hindostan, and of whom a large proportion never returned to enjoy again the religious privileges of their mother-country. There were, indeed, occasionally heard animadversions upon the imperfect and niggardly provision made for the eternal welfare of so many expatriated Christians, and occasionally the appointment of a bishop was recommended. But this latter was usually represented as a project which could not be entertained by any discreet person anxious to preserve the British power. The native population was thought likely to take instant alarm, if it saw a prelate land, being nearly certain to consider him as the harbinger of some forced conversion. In such apprehensions, however, the more discerning and strenuous friends of episcopacy did not participate. When, accordingly, a renewal of the East India Company's charter came under parliamentary discussion in 1813, the project of establishing a bishopric in the great oriental Peninsula was actively canvassed, and gained largely upon the public approval. Parliament was, however, cautious in sanctioning the plan. It was not until extensive inquiries were made, and the safety of the proposed measure fully established by sufficient evidence, that legislative authority was given for the foundation of an Indian see. These preliminaries having been terminated satisfactorily, when the East India Company's charter was renewed in 1814, a warm discussion in the House of Commons ended in the passing of resolutions for the appointment of a bishop, and of three archdeacons. The prelate appointed was Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, known as the learned author of *The doctrine of the Greek Article applied to the Criticism and Illustration of the New Testament*, and as an exemplary, energetic clergyman. Even after this appointment, so dubious were many upon the policy of sending a bishop to

¹⁰ *Quarterly Review*, No. 149, p. 21.

India, that the archbishop of Canterbury forbore to pay the customary compliment of desiring the consecration sermon to be published, for fear of causing any needless excitement in the public mind. All these alarms proved wholly unfounded: but they were suffered to cast a shadow even over the new bishop's arrival in his diocese. He landed with no more notice from the constituted authorities than if he had come over to fill some inferior station. Eventually all such unworthy misgivings were abandoned, and native respect for Britain obviously increased, when she was at last seen to place her religion upon a becoming and efficient footing. Bishop Middleton's vast diocese proved, however, too much for his physical powers, although these were apparently above the average, and he died suddenly, in July, 1822. His successor also, the amiable Reginald Heber, conspicuous alike for poetic talent, moral worth, and religious feelings soon sank under the fatigues and anxieties of a cure so much above the ordinary strength of man. Nor were the two succeeding prelates found more equal to such a task. They too fell early victims to labours which an European might find excessive in the temperate region of his birth, but can scarcely hope to bear under an Indian sun. This truth, at length, was duly felt, and the fifth Indian bishop was relieved from a large portion of that weighty charge which overwhelmed his predecessors. He is bishop of Calcutta and metropolitan. For each of the two other presidencies, Madras and Bombay, a bishopric was erected in 1837. In the West Indies two bishops were appointed in the year 1824; one being seated in Jamaica, the other in Barbados; and in 1836 a bishop was appointed for Australia, and another for Montreal in Canada. In October, 1841, a bishop was consecrated at Lambeth, for New Zealand, and in the following month, one was consecrated at the same place for Jerusalem. The latter appointment occasioned a good deal of remark at the time, Jerusalem being neither under the English government, nor a Protestant town. The new prelacy, however, was proposed by the King of Prussia, who wished its duties to embrace all protestants in that part of the east, willing to live under it, without any consideration of nation. The Prussian monarch gave 15,000*l.* as part endowment of the new see, and stipulated for the alternate nomination of its occupant; but agreed that the archbishop of Canterbury should have an absolute veto upon all Prussian nominations. In 1839, a bishop was con-

secrated for Toronto, in Upper Canada. In August, 1842, bishops were consecrated for Gibraltar, Tasmania, Antigua, and Guiana. In 1844, a bishop was consecrated for Newfoundland. In 1845, the same service was rendered to New Brunswick and Ceylon. In 1847, four new colonial sees were created, of which three are in Australia, or New South Wales, namely, Newcastle, Adelaide, and Melbourne. The fourth see is that of Cape Town, which is to have jurisdiction over the Cape of Good Hope, with its dependencies, and the island of St. Helena. In 1849, two more new bishoprics were erected, namely Victoria, in the island of Hong Kong, recently acquired from China, and Rupert's Land, in North America. Provision has been chiefly made for these latter appointments by means of a subscription, proposed June 10, 1840, and supported with very considerable spirit. Thus England has relieved herself, in every quarter of the globe, from the disadvantage and discredit of possessing important colonies without making any suitable provision for their spiritual wants.

§ 21. Among the religious movements of latter years, few have been conceived with sounder wisdom, and executed with greater liberality, than the provision of new seminaries for academical instruction. The lead was taken in remedying national deficiencies of this kind by the late amiable, pious, and learned bishop Burgess. Having been most deservedly promoted to the see of St. David's, in 1803, he soon became shocked and surprised at the prevalence of dissent in his diocese. This evil he considered as partly owing to clerical inefficiency, and that evil again to the difficulty of commanding a university education with persons bred in comparative poverty, and likely to live in it. Young men were commonly presented for ordination who had only spent one year previously at the seminary from which they were expected to appear before the bishop.¹⁰ Up to this brief beginning of their higher studies, they had usually been employed in the ordinary labours of their paternal farms. As a preliminary measure towards a succession better qualified for their profession, bishop Burgess licensed four schools for the education of candidates for holy orders, and required an attendance of seven years upon one of them. Still these places of instruction could not possess the character and advantages of an institution exclusively meant for intellectual

¹⁰ Harford's *Bp. Burgess*, p. 225.

training of a higher grade. Such, therefore, it became the bishop's earnest endeavour to provide. For this object he regularly set apart a tenth of his episcopal revenue, and he prevailed upon his clergy, straitened as they generally were in circumstances, to do the same with their several benefices. By these sacrifices, so truly noble when the general condition of those who made them is considered, several thousand pounds were raised after a perseverance of eighteen years. The fund thus raised was augmented by lay subscriptions within the principality, and by liberal donations from England, one of a thousand pounds coming from George the Fourth. By these various means a college was founded at Lampeter, in Cardigan-shire, on the site of an ancient castle, which had wholly disappeared. It was a most inviting spot, healthy in itself, and looking down upon a beautifully watered vale, shut in by lofty hills. Here was laid the first stone of the new building in 1822, and the erection was completed in 1827. The institution is now in full activity, and although without the privilege of conferring degrees, it can hardly fail of rendering permanently the most important benefits to the principality. The excellent prelate whose exertions called it into being was translated to the see of Salisbury in 1825, and he died possessed of that preferment in 1837. He did not, however, lose his interest in the college of Lampeter by removal from South Wales. To it he bequeathed his noble library, with a sum of money for providing the collection with a suitable apartment.¹ In 1828, an academical institution, connected with the Church of England, was founded by subscription, in London. It was called King's College, in honour of George IV. then on the throne, who aided the undertaking by his countenance and liberality. A similar institution had already been set on foot in the metropolis, but upon the principle of leaving religious questions entirely to the students themselves. Many people thought this likely to prove a seminary hostile to the national church, and were, therefore, anxious to provide another, which might offer the same educational advantages, but inculcate a different bias. Within a short time afterwards, another academical institution, and one of a very dignified and effective character, was established at Durham. The distance of the northern counties from the two universities had long been felt as a considerable disadvantage, especially by

¹ Harford's *Bp. Burgess*, p. 506.

young men intended for the church. In their case, indeed, it often led to that necessity for the admission of inferior clerical attainments, which acted so injuriously upon Wales. The expediency of founding a university at Durham had, accordingly been frequently suggested, and a project of this kind was, much to Cromwell's honour, under his consideration. It slumbered, however, until the prelacy of the late bishop Van Mildert, one of the best divines and most public-spirited men of his day, who, notwithstanding the deficiency of private fortune, would hardly be outdone in liberality by his wealthy predecessor, Barrington. The example of such a diocesan was not lost upon the opulent chapter of his cathedral. That body honourably determined upon sacrificing a considerable portion of its endowments to remove the academical deficiency, which had been an immemorial subject of complaint in northern England. By an act of parliament, obtained in 1832, it alienated property producing nearly 3000*l.* a year, to found the contemplated university. That most beneficial institution, which offers advantages analogous to those of Oxford and Cambridge, was opened in October, 1833. A royal charter, granted on the 1st of June, 1837, gave it all the privileges of the elder universities, and accordingly, on the 8th of that month, its first degrees were conferred. For its use was appropriated the ancient castle of Durham. This was immemorably a place of occasional residence for the prelates of that once princely see, and it was worthy of them. It is a commanding pile, proudly sharing with its venerable neighbour, the massive Anglo-Norman cathedral, the crest of that unrivalled rock that shoots with woody sides above the Wear. Never did the ecclesiastical magnificence of former days find a happier field for its display than at Durham, and hardly any where did it work with greater liberality and judgment. Thus England's tardy acquisition of a third university has not at length been made, without an ample share of those advantages for impressing youthful minds of taste and generous feeling, that recommend elder institutions in the south.

§ 22. In the United States of America great progress has been made by the protestant episcopal church during the nineteenth century. It seems now to number about a million and a half of members. Its clergy, in 1844, amounted to 1224.² The Protestant Episcopalians are, however, among the wealthiest

² Wilberforce's *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America*, p. 398.

and most intelligent of the people. Hence their numbers are certain steadily to increase with the growing opulence and information of the country. In 1802 this interesting branch of the catholic church identified herself completely with her elder sister in the British isles, by adopting the Thirty-nine Articles. There was much debate before a step so decided was taken, but in the end it was thought advisable to accept the Anglican formulary exactly as it stood, leaving even its phraseology wholly untouched. But while the American church was daily enlarging her boundaries, it became obvious that she could not do herself justice without facilities of her own for academical instruction. Public attention was called to this matter in 1814, and in three years afterwards arrangements were made for establishing a theological seminary upon church principles at New York.³ This institution has led the way for others of the same kind, and thus North-American churchmen will, at no great distance of time, be sufficiently supplied with a competent ministry. It is obvious that their principles require this advantage before they can become extensively popular. In England, besides the higher orders, the church is generally followed by the poor: it is chiefly among the inferior sections of the middle classes that dissent flourishes. In America it would, probably, be found much the same, if there were a well-trained church clergy brought fully into contact with the population.

§ 23. The first fifty years of the nineteenth century have exhibited Romanism under very striking changes of fortune. At the beginning of that period it was yet reeling under the assaults of the French revolution, and although then again adopted by the mighty nation that had, a few years before, so contumeliously shaken it off, its improved position long seemed of doubtful continuance. The restoration of the Bourbons, however, in 1814, confirmed by their second and better-secured restoration in the following year, was a solid advantage gained by the papal cause. Lewis XVIII., indeed, was no very slavish adherent to the church which had received so many services from his fathers, ever since the apostacy of Henry IV. But his protection of it was not like that of Napoleon, a mere matter of state policy. He patronized principles which he really held. His brother, Charles X., went far beyond him, and a policy essentially religious appeared again likely to pre-

³ Caswall's *America and the American Church*, p. 188.

vail in the councils of France. But the prospect proved delusive, the revolution of July, 1830, driving the elder Bourbon branch from its ancestral throne, and undermining that sacerdotal influence which the deposed monarch had been anxious to extend. This influence, however, showed all its ancient strength immediately afterwards, in the neighbouring Belgic provinces. It had been thought advisable, on the dissolution of Buonaparte's power, to re-unite most of those territories in the Netherlands, which had formerly owned a common sovereignty in the house of Burgundy, and had descended from it to the Austrian family enthroned in Spain. An efficient counterpoise, it was thought, would be thus provided on her northern frontier against the ambition of France. To the house of Orange was confided the task of ruling over all the Low Countries, whether Dutch or Austrian. But that house was protestant, and hence, in spite of its respect for the rights of conscience, and the privileges of the papal church, it was obnoxious to the Romish priesthood. The Flemish population, therefore, in which the long rule of Spain has nurtured a strong predilection towards popery, was led into dissatisfaction under the connexion with Holland. This was cordially shared, though not upon religious, but upon political grounds⁴, by the Walloon race, which occupies the south-eastern districts of Belgium. Both Flemings and Walloons being, however, agreed in disliking the Dutch government, the populace of Brussels was encouraged to rise against it, in the autumn of that very year which had seen a Parisian street riot of three days overthrow Charles X. In this case, probably, Holland would soon have brought about a different result, but France interfered, and the protestant royal family was driven from its Flemish provinces. It is true that a protestant, Leopold, of Saxe Coburg, once husband of the Princess Charlotte of Great Britain, was placed upon the newly-created Belgic throne. He now, however, married a Romish princess, and in her faith his family is to be educated. Thus the papal church was relieved from her apprehensions respecting Belgium. The advantage gained in that quarter was, undoubtedly, somewhat counterbalanced by the suppression of monasteries in the great peninsula of southern Europe. Portugal suppressed all these institutions in 1834, and moreover, strictly prohibited the taking of monastic vows, except in the

⁴ Hough's *Notices of the State of Religion in Geneva and Belgium*, p. 109.

case of sisters of charity. Spain entirely abolished convents for males in 1836; those for females were left in existence, but a provision was made for their gradual extinction. In both countries the state broke up these defenceless establishments, in order to lighten its own financial difficulties by the confiscation of their estates. It remains to be seen how far the Romish system, in those regions of its inveterate supremacy, can make head against such a loss of its most effective appliances. In the Rhenish and Westphalian states of Prussia, it has recently advanced all its old pretensions. The Prussian government found its elder Romish acquisitions governed by a law which directed, in case of marriages between protestants and Romanists, that male children should be educated in the father's creed, female in the mother's. This arrangement leading to much family dissension, Frederic William III. ordered in 1803, that in mixed marriages, all the issue should be educated in the father's religion. This order he extended to the new provinces on the Rhine, acquired by the peace of 1815. But he there found a spirit in the Romish clergy, that he had no where encountered before. They did not venture openly to disobey him, but they refused to marry such as would not voluntarily, to appearance, promise to bring up all their children Roman catholics. In this refusal they were confirmed by a papal brief to the prelates of Cologne, Treves, Paderborn, and Münster, which appeared on the 28th of March, 1830. Among the parties thus addressed such an obstinate resistance to mixed marriages, was made by the archbishop of Cologne, that he was removed from his diocese, and imprisoned at Minden, in 1837. The pope immediately strove to raise a ferment among the Romish subjects of Prussia, and with considerable success. Their discontents upon the question of matrimonial connections with protestants, were not allayed when the king died in June, 1840. His successor, the present king, accomplished a reconciliation with the court of Rome, in January, 1842, but without any sacrifice of principle. In practice, however, the high ground which had been taken in the late reign upon the question of mixed marriages was partially abandoned.⁵ From its protestant subjects the Prussian government has met with a degree of submission, scarcely to be expected and often little to be desired, when religious questions are at issue. It has fused into one

⁵ Cotterell's *Religious Movements of Germany in the Nineteenth Century*. Lond. 1849, p. 60.

common mass the Lutherans and Calvinists, without any consent regularly given by their own clergy in council, but simply by a royal ordinance. Nor has the body thus formed made any difficulty about the acceptance of a liturgy prepared for its use under authority of the crown, but as it is believed, with very little advice from theologians.⁶

§ 24. Continental protestants, indeed, especially in Germany, have latterly shown not only a latitudinarian spirit, but also a dangerous and delusive disposition to bring down all scriptural truth to the level of ordinary human knowledge and experience. From thus pushing religious inquiry into the very territories of infidelity, England has been protected both by the cool sense of her people, and by the restraints of her religious institutions. A liturgy, articles, and an ecclesiastical polity, all universally binding, and capable of the most confident appeals to documentary evidence, are a firm security against the rash indulgence of a speculative spirit. They act, no doubt, favourably even upon those who dissent from the national church. English churchmen, accordingly, have only differed upon subjects which leave the main land-marks of belief quite untouched. In the beginning of the century they were divided upon the propriety or expediency of joining the Bible Society. That body was formed in 1804, and it secured the patronage of the bishops Porteus, Barrington, and Burgess, who were all very highly respected among the prelates of their day. The episcopal bench, however, generally stood aloof from the society, thinking the long-established Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge quite sufficient for the circulation of Bibles, and questioning the wisdom of joining a body which brought sectarians of the most discordant views into close contact with each other, and with churchmen. A great majority of the clergy held the same opinions, and the whole question raised a lengthened controversy. This, after the lapse of a few years, wholly subsided. Subsequently, the doctrine of baptismal regeneration was extensively canvassed, and it still continues to excite considerable attention.

§ 25. Since 1833, religious minds in England have been much fixed upon a class of theological questions which affects many things besides baptism. In that year, a few talented and excellent men at Oxford resolved upon combining their efforts to fix public attention upon some points of principle and practice,

⁶ Dewar's *German Protestantism*, p. 218, Oxf. 1844.

which England, in common with Rome, has inherited from catholic antiquity. They were led into this project by political events. The party then in power depended so much upon Romanists and Protestant Dissenters, that the church, to please these allies, was constantly harassed and alarmed by projects and interference. Nothing was thought more likely to place it in a safer position than the diffusion of such knowledge upon ecclesiastical questions as had received but a sparing share of general attention since the earlier days of the non-jurors. This was attempted by publishing a series of papers, known as the *Tracts for the Times*, of which ninety appeared. Upon many young men in Oxford these revivals of Laudian and nonjuring divinity, for such they were, took very powerful hold, but little was known of them in the country at large. Their tendency, clergymen generally were aware, was to maintain what are called *church principles*, and since the public mind seemed to want such a corrective, the Oxford *Tracts* were loosely considered as useful and seasonable. In time, however, the school of theology which they nurtured, made various approaches towards Rome, and some of their pupils actually became Romanists. The great bulk showed no disposition to go thus far, but eventually, notwithstanding, became bent upon making several changes in public worship. It was contended, that various rubrics had been disregarded, neither to the credit of the clergy, nor advantage of the laity; and that certain formalities, not rubrically prescribed, but anciently observed, might, with great propriety and utility, be revived. The chief rubrical deficiencies charged, were, the omission, when there is no sacrament, of the offertory sentences and collection, together with that portion of the old prayer of consecration, known as the *prayer for the Church militant*, and the baptizing of children at some other time than after the second lesson. The things for which no rubrical authority was pleaded, were certain positions and movements. Inconsistencies, however, were soon detected in the rubrics produced, which rendered the bare legal standing of the desired alterations rather questionable, and it was doubted, besides, whether forms immemorially sanctioned by general acquiescence, could be constitutionally changed by individual authority. Hence, in most parts of England, public worship was conducted as it had been heretofore. Where the altered system was adopted, great lay dissatisfaction generally arose, and this, in some few instances,

even broke out into demonstrations of a tumultuous character. After the evils arising from this rubrical movement had spread over about two years, the archbishop of Canterbury, by a letter, addressed to the clergy and laity of his province, dated January 11, 1845, recommended, that the alterations should continue where they had met with *general acquiescence*, and should not be attempted in any fresh places. As the *general acquiescence* in them had been rare, and most clergymen who had adopted them had grown weary of contention with their congregations, this letter was fatal to their continuance in the majority of instances.⁷

§ 26. While Romish principles were obtaining unexpected countenance among the younger clergymen of England, serious dangers were gathering round them in some parts of continental Europe. Their influence in Bavaria and western Germany had been very much shaken within the last twenty years. Reflecting Romanists there were grown anxious for public worship in the vernacular tongue, the admission of all communicants to the sacramental cup, the abolition of compulsory confession, and the abrogation of clerical celibacy. These questions of discipline were not canvassed without an effect upon doctrine. Minds awakened by them also began to think unfavourably of the blessed Virgin's prominence in Romish devotions. Hence have arisen the terms, *Jesus-worshippers* and *Mary-worshippers*!⁸ By these things Germany was prepared for another anti-papal movement of a character much more decided. For this an opening was made by William Arnoldi, bishop of Treves, who issued an announcement, in July, 1844, that on the 18th of the following August, and during the six succeeding weeks, our Saviour's "coat without seam" would be exhibited in his cathedral, for the benefit and gratification of all devout pilgrims. To the astonishment even of numbers who believe such objects to be genuine relics, and value them, above a million of persons made a religious, or rather superstitious, journey to Treves during the period of this exhibition. Many Romanists, however, were ashamed, even more than astonished. While thus feeling for their creed, they saw its claims to confidence vigo-

⁷ Full information upon the earlier stages of the Oxford movement may be seen in *A Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the*

Times, a pamphlet by the Rev. William Palmer.

⁸ *Quarterly Review*, No. 147, p. 165.

rously assailed by John Ronge, a Romish priest in Silesia, then just thirty-one years of age. His father, a small Silesian farmer of strong understanding, and void of all superstition, had supplied him, though far from easily, with means of education for the priesthood. As this training advanced more closely to its destination, young Ronge became dissatisfied with many parts of the Romish system, and after he was provided with a cure in 1841, his discontent kept constantly upon the increase. It first found a vent in a newspaper article, occasioned by some subjects of dissension in the chapter of Breslau, which Ronge published anonymously in 1843. Being sufficiently known as the author of this, although he would not formally admit it, advantage was taken of some objections to his appearance as unclerical, and to his mode of officiating as irreverent, joined with his refusal to disclaim the anonymous article, to suspend him. The bulk of his parishioners, however, highly respected him; hence his influence was any thing rather than diminished, by a suspension which most impartial observers thought illegal and unjust. While thus in a better condition than ever to command attention, *the holy coat of Treves* found conversation for all Germany and the neighbouring regions. Ronge now published another newspaper article, but signed with his name, to expose the Treves relic, Arnoldi's conduct in inviting pilgrimages to it, and the divinity which can thus mislead ignorance and credulity. This new offence filled up the measure of Ronge's provocations, and in the December following he was formally degraded and excommunicated. He had, however, already set Rome publicly and wholly at defiance: nor in this did he stand alone. His letter on the Treves pilgrimages appeared on the 16th of October. Three days afterwards appeared *The public Confession of Faith of the Christian Apostolic Catholic Community of Schneidemühl*. This place is a small town in the circle of Posen, in Prussian Poland; and its pastor, John Czerzki, who, like Ronge, was a Romish ecclesiastic, drew up the *Confession*. The two leaders quickly found numerous followers, among whom were a few of the papal clergy, but the great majority were of the trading class. The whole body called itself *The German Catholic Church*, and it held a synod, or council, at Leipsic, in March, 1845. To this repaired delegates from fifteen communities, and it sat four days. The great principle established by this new community, is the repudiation

of all doctrines uncontained in Scripture, but it might seem that mass in the vernacular tongue is contemplated, apart from a communion; and although the Romish doctrine of purgatory is denied, some posthumous purification of the soul is admitted.⁹ The friends of the new system, indeed, are evidently desirous of keeping in mind their original connection with Rome, and of dissenting from her in no particular which they do not consider absolutely necessary. Their secession is, however, too recent for an accurate estimate of its ultimate position. But it has, undoubtedly, inflicted a wound upon the papal church which cannot easily be healed. Its popularity has, however, sensibly declined. The German governments, Protestant, no less than Romish, are hostile to it, and refuse their patronage to its adherents. It is, therefore, found impossible to join the new religious party without compromising material interests, and few men in these days appear to have the zeal that such a sacrifice requires. No leader, besides, of first-rate talent and intrepidity has appeared. Hence mere external power has had facilities for acting upon the new movement, which another Luther would speedily have cleared away.¹⁰

§ 27. In Scotland has occurred a great secession from the Presbyterian church-establishment. Its members from the first have been averse from extraneous patronage, or the presentation, by the representatives of those who founded churches, of ministers to serve them. This aversion being entertained by a party that had aided importantly in settling William and Mary upon the throne, led to an act passed in 1690, for vesting the patronage of churches in the elders and landowners of parishes. In the tenth of Queen Anne's reign, this arrangement was by a new act set aside, and patronage reverted to its ancient channels. But many people never could be reconciled to this. Hence a feeling was constantly at work, which at length induced the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to pass the *Veto Act*. As the law had stood since Anne's reign, the several presbyteries were bound to inquire into the competence of any person presented for a cure by the lawful patron, and if they

⁹ This information upon the *German Catholic Church* has been drawn from *The Luther of the Nineteenth Century*, which is a translation of Ronge's own pamphlet, from Laing's *Notes on the Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Schism from the*

Church of Rome, called the German Catholic Church, and from an article in the *Evening Mail* of Sept. 22, 1845.

¹⁰ Cotterell's *Religious Movements of Germany*, p. 67.

found him competent, he was regularly to be placed in possession of the benefice. The *Veto Act*, however, did not allow presbyteries to sit in judgment upon the competence of presentees, if a majority of the male heads of families, being communicants in any parish where the pastoral charge was vacant, should formally object to the party nominated. These objectors were not even to be called upon for any tangible reasons, but merely to declare themselves, if interrogated, free from all malicious motives, and solely actuated by anxiety for the spiritual advantage of the parish. The General Assembly passed this act as a provisional measure, in 1834. A majority of the presbyteries, however, lost no time in sanctioning it, and hence, in 1835, it was made by the General Assembly regularly binding. A minority of the Assembly had strongly protested against it, both in 1834 and 1835, and before the latter year closed, it set the Presbyterian body in a flame. It caused the rejection of a presentee whom the indicated majority in the parish of Auchterarder disapproved, and who appealed, in consequence, to the court of session. By this body his rejection was pronounced illegal, on the 8th of March, 1838. The case now was taken into the House of Lords, and there again, on the 3rd of May, 1839, the rejection complained of was declared illegal. The General Assembly would, however, not retract; but in the same year 1839, came to a resolution, that neither the civil court, nor the legislature, could do any more than deprive a minister of the endowments affixed to his church; questions upon the pastorship of a parish being such as none but a religious body was competent to decide. The cure, therefore, of Auchterarder was treated by the General Assembly as absolutely vacant, and that body nominated another minister to take charge of it, leaving the civil rights and fixed endowments which had provided for its incumbents wholly out of sight. Many people now thought the General Assembly to have indiscreetly exceeded its powers, and accordingly, seven ministers in the presbytery of Strathbogie determined upon a cautious obedience to the law. A presentee came regularly before them, but encumbered with objections from a majority of the communicants in the congregation for which he was presented. The Strathbogie ministers waited until this presentee had obtained a legal call upon them from the court of session, and then proceeded in the customary way for ascertaining his fitness for the cure. On this they

were suspended by the commission of the General Assembly. They now sought legal protection, and thus began a contest, between the General Assembly and the Court of Session, which was protracted over about two years. At length, on the 23rd of May, 1843, an *Act of Separation and Deed of Demission*, was very numerously signed, by which the subscribing ministers left the established church of Scotland, and resigned all claim to the profits and advantages of their respective benefices. Upon their secession arose immediately the *Free Church of Scotland*, which now numbers a great majority of the people of that country among its adherents, and which combines with the old presbyterian principles, that perfect self-government which can scarcely co-exist with fixed endowments. Whether it was judicious to treat a clerical freehold in every parish as less useful than a power in communicants to reject pastors whom they may dislike, will, probably, hereafter be commonly thought very questionable, even in Scotland. But undoubtedly the memories of those ministers who maintained this power, in the face of ejection from home and living, must always be respected every where.¹

§ 28. In Ireland, much has been done with a view to conciliate and improve the Romanists. Facilities were provided in 1844, by means of the *Charitable Bequests and Donations' Act*, for enabling individuals to confer fixed endowments upon Romish chapels; and papal commissioners of their episcopal order, named under this act, are to be designated *archbishop*, or *bishop*, as the case may be; the mention of any see being of course omitted in deference to the legal claims of Protestants. Thus the existence of a Romish hierarchy is statutably recognised in Ireland. These concessions, however, did not satisfy the more violent Romanists, because no advantage was gained by the regulars, or monastic bodies. The parliamentary session of 1845 offered other boons to Irish Romanism. The college of Maynooth, founded by the Irish parliament in 1795, and supported ever since by annual grants of public money, had become, it was found, quite inadequate to educate the Romish priesthood of Ireland. Hence, an act was obtained to raise the

¹ Considerable information upon the subject of this paragraph may be found in a little book entitled, *Authoritative Exposition of the Free Church of Scotland*,

Edinburgh, 1845. Most of the details are very well condensed under the article *Veto*, in Brande's *Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art*.

parliamentary provision for this institution, from 8000*l.* a year, to 30,000*l.* a year, and to make this sum no longer contingent upon an annual vote. Besides thus liberally providing for clerical education, parliament also voted in the session of 1845, funds for the establishment and endowment of three new Irish universities, to be placed in the south, west, and north of the country, respectively. These institutions are not to be of a theological character; but in the south and west of Ireland, where Romanism is altogether the predominating religion, education in them is likely to be sought by few who do not profess it. The whole scheme is, therefore, no mean concession to the Romish creed. Its prelates were, however, disappointed because the new colleges are not to be placed under them, and a violent clamour against the new institutions was excited in the country; which the new pope abetted, by expressing a formal disapprobation of them, and a wish for a regular Romish university in their stead. England was, however, very far from quiescent even under the prospect of extended facilities for educating merely the Romish clergy of Ireland. The proposal of an increased and permanent, instead of an annual grant, to Maynooth, proved highly unpopular in the country, although it encountered in parliament, no very serious opposition. By this grant, by the foundation of new colleges, and by the *Bequests'* act of 1844, the British legislature has, undoubtedly, made concessions to Rome, which she may fairly set against her mortifications on the continent. There she has not only to watch, in sorrow and alarm, the rising *German Catholic Church*. Her most able and uncompromising defenders, the Jesuits, have become odious to the Romish body generally, and in consequence, the present pope decreed the dispersion of their order, in 1848. This act, and other late events, chiefly of a political nature, can scarcely fail to cripple the energies of Romanism; and it may be reasonably doubted whether increased facilities for education in Ireland may ultimately prove in its favour. Most of the students in the three new colleges will necessarily come from the middle classes; exactly, therefore, from that section of society which is now leaving Rome in Germany, and which shook Paganism, by its desertions, under the Roman empire. Additional means of information may, therefore, gradually weaken Romish prejudice in Irishmen of this class. Nor are altered views unlikely with a better educated clerical body. Upon the

whole, therefore, the position of Romanism, even in the British isles, does not seem to be really improved. Its adherents have, indeed, been delighted and surprised by advances, towards portions of their creed, made within the church of England; but none of these movements have succeeded in gaining favour from the English nation generally. Nor have arguments and statements advocating Romish views, or principles that make approaches to them, shaken England's value for the Reformation. Thus the attention now generally fixed upon religion may merely serve to purge it of errors and abuses. Infidelity has been tried, and men are grown ashamed of it. The world knows better, and will, probably, in time, admit no articles of faith which cannot safely plead infallibility, from having places in the recorded oracles of God.

§ 29. Human progress towards a theological position so well secured, will, probably, be aided by that eclipse which has overtaken papal greatness. On the first of June, 1846, died Mauro Cappellari, who called himself Gregory XVI. A conclave, unusually short, provided a successor for him, on the 16th of the same month, in John Maria Mastai Ferretti, who took the designation of Pius IX. The new pope immediately found himself in a very difficult position, from the inveterate imbecility and consequent unpopularity of the papal government. His own talents for settling its affairs upon a more satisfactory footing soon appeared to be very questionable. He seems to have imbibed the old Italian hatred of German domination, which might be wise and patriotic, if Italy were an united country, tenanted by a manly people. As that interesting peninsula is really situated, animosity towards imperial power beyond the Alps, can merely explode in idle declamation and petty violence. Of all the Italian states, however, that which is least fitted for self-dependence, is the popedom. Austria had, accordingly, long supplied the strength required for sustaining the decrepitude of Rome. Pius could not see this, but was rash and vain enough to dream of delighting and astonishing Europe by the spectacle of a liberal pope. The penalty of this delusion was his flight from the Quirinal, in November, 1848. Like the nuncio who fled from London, on the downfall of James II., he seems to have been disguised as a livery servant. His ostensible master was the Bavarian minister, on whose coach-box he rode, until he reached that personage's house, where he habited

himself clerically, and then he proceeded as his chaplain to the Neapolitan territory. It is true, that the revolutionary leaders, whose conduct drove him from Rome, were overthrown, in July, 1849, by the French, who thus violently wrested from a foreign people that liberty of cashiering an obnoxious sovereign which they had just assumed themselves. But Pius has hitherto wanted either the power, or the disposition, to return. Nor is he likely, at any time, to regain the proud position which has been occupied by former popes.

§ 30. In theology, Pius has made no advance. An encyclical epistle of his, dated November 9th, 1846, denounces Bible societies, and recommends invocation of the sainted dead, just as if the world were standing still. A divinity, however, which cowers before the Bible, and sets up mediators without knowing any thing of their power even to hear an earthly suppliant, has hitherto been indebted largely to monastic and political aids. If these advantages be withdrawn entirely, or to a great extent, the system which they have so importantly befriended, may prove unequal to maintain its ground. But however events, within the last twenty years, may affect religion upon the whole, those years have been, not enlightened only, but religious too. Hence the seed sown in them can scarcely fail of so growing to maturity, as to spread sound information upon heavenly truth.

COUNCILS.

	A. D.		A. D.
London ¹	1604	Dort	1618
Mechlin	1607	Bordeaux	1624
Narbonne	1609	Dublin ³	1635
Dublin ²	1615	Constantinople ⁴	1642

POPES.

Name and Surname.	Official Designation.	Accession.	Death.
Alexander de' Medici.	Leo XI.....	April 1, 1605	Ap. 26, 1605
Camillus Borghese ...	Paul V.....	May 16, 1605	Jan. 22, 1621
Alexander Ludovisi .	Gregory XV...	.....	July 8, 1623
Maffei Barberini.....	Urban VIII....	Aug. 6, 1623	July 29, 1644
John Baptist Pamfili.	Innocent X. ...	Sept. 15, 1644	Jan. 7, 1655
Fabius Chigi	Alexander VII.	April 8, 1655	May 22, 1667
Julius Rospigliosi ...	Clement IX. ...	June 20, 1667	Dec. 9, 1669
Æmilius Altieri	Clement X. ...	Ap. 29, 1670	July 22, 1676
Benedict Odeschalchi.	Innocent XI....	Dec. 10, 1676	Aug. 12, 1689
Peter Ottoboni	Alexander VIII.	Oct. 6, 1689	Feb. 1, 1691
Anthony Pignatelli...	Innocent XII. .	July 12, 1691	Sep. 17, 1700
John Francis Albani.	Clement XI....	Nov. 3, 1700	Nov. 19, 1721
Michael Angelo Conti	Innocent XIII.	.....	Mar. 7, 1724
Vincent Maria Orsini.			
Laurence Corsini ...	Benedict XIII.	May 29, 1724	Feb. 21, 1730
	Clement XII...	July 12, 1730	Feb. 6, 1740

¹ By this convocation the canons of the Church of England were authorized.

² Then were enacted the Irish articles incorporating those of Lambeth.

³ This convocation received the thirty-nine Anglican articles as the terms of conformity in Ireland.

⁴ This synod ranked Calvin among heretics.

Name and Surname.	Official Designation.	Accession.	Death.
Prosper Laurence } Lambertini }	Benedict XIV.	Aug. 17, 1740	May 2 ⁵ , 1758
Charles Rezzonico ...	Clement XIII.	..... 1758	..... 1769
Francis Laurence } Ganganelli }	Clement XIV.	..... 1769	..... 1774
John Angelo Braschi.	Pius VI.....	..... 1775	..... 1799
Barnabas Chiaro- } monti }	Pius VII. ....	..... 1800	..... 1823
Hannibal della Genga	Leo XII. ....	..... 1823	..... 1829
——— Castiglioni .	Pius VIII.....	..... 1829	..... 1830
Maurus Cappellari ...	Gregory XVI.	Feb. 2, 1831	June 1, 1846
John Maria Mastai } Ferretti }	Pius IX.	June 16, 1846	..... ..

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

Name and Surname.	Confirmation.	Death.
Richard Bancroft	Dec. 10, 1604	Nov. 2, 1610
George Abbot	April 9, 1611	Aug. 4, 1633
William Laud	Sept. 19, 1633	Jan. 10, 1644
William Juxon	Sept. 20, 1660	June 4, 1663
Gilbert Sheldon	Aug. 31, 1663	Nov. 9, 1677
William Sancroft ⁶.....	.....	Nov. 24, 1693
John Tillotson	May 28, 1691	Nov. 22, 1694
Thomas Tenison	Jan. 16, 1695	Dec. 14, 1715
William Wake	Jan. 16, 1716	Jan. 24, 1737
John Potter	Feb. 28, 1737	Oct. 10, 1747
Thomas Herring	Nov. 24, 1747	Mar. 13, 1757

⁵ Bower. For the names of the subsequent popes, the Editor is indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne.

⁶ Abp. Sancroft was consecrated to the see of Canterbury, Jan. 27, 1678. He was suspended for refusing to take the oaths to William and Mary, Aug. 1, 1689, and deprived Feb. 1, 1690. He continued, however, his residence at Lambeth, and in the same style as before, until the August following, when several of his attendants were dismissed,

and the scale of expenditure was lowered. He appears to have received all the revenues of the see until the succeeding Michaelmas. On May 20, 1691, he received an order from the queen to quit the palace in ten days; but not obeying, the process of legal ejectment was begun in the beginning of June; and this being completed on the twenty-third of that month, he privately left Lambeth on the evening of the same day. D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, 277.

Name and Surname.	Confirmation.	Death.
Matthew Hutton	April 29, 1757	Mar. 19, 1758
Thomas Secker	April 21, 1758	Aug. 3, 1768
Frederic Cornwallis	Sept. 30, 1768	Mar. 19, 1783
John Moore	April 26, 1783	Jan. 18, 1805
Charles Manners Sutton ⁷	Feb. 21, 1805	July 21, 1828
William Howley	Aug. 15, 1828	Feb. 11, 1848
John Bird Sumner	Mar. 10, 1848 .....	.....

ARCHBISHOPS OF ARMAGH.

Name and Surname.	Preferment.	Death.
Christopher Hampton.....	1613	1624
James Ussher	1624	1655
John Bramhall	1660	1663
James Margetson	1663	1678
Michael Boyle	1678	1702
Narcissus Marsh	1702	1713
Thomas Lindsay	1713	1724
Hugh Boulter ⁸	1724	1742
John Hoadly	1742	1747
George Stone	1747	1765
Richard Robinson ⁹	1765	1795
William Newcome	1795	1800
William Stuart ¹	1800	1823
John George Beresford ²	1823 .....	.....

⁷ Of the Rutland family, Sutton being an additional surname assumed by his father.

⁸ Ware. For the names of the subsequent archbishops, the Editor is indebted to the kindness of the Rt. Rev. R. Mant, late Bp. of Down and Connor.

⁹ Lord Rokeby in 1777.

¹ By courtesy, the *Honourable*, being son of John, third Earl of Bute.

² By courtesy, *Lord* John George, being son of George, first Marquess of Waterford.

ARCHBISHOPS OF ST. ANDREW'S.

Name and Surname.	Preferment.	Death.
George Gladstones ³	1606	1615
John Spottiswood ⁴	1615	1639
James Sharp ⁵	1661	1679
Alexander Burnet	1679	1684
Arthur Ross ⁶	1684	1704

³ He was not consecrated until 1610. Keith, 41.

⁴ "He was excommunicated by the rebellious assembly at Glasgow, and died next year at London, on the 26th of November, 1639, in the 74th year of his age, and was interred in Westmin-

ster Abbey, near to king James the VI's body." *Ibid.*

⁵ Murdered on Magus Moor, within two miles of St Andrew's, on Saturday, May 3, 1679. *Ibid.* 42.

⁶ Deprived, with the rest of the Scottish prelacy, at the Revolution.

A P P E N D I X.

A circumstantial and exact account (by Dr. Maclaine) of the Correspondence that was carried on, in the years 1717 and 1718, between Dr. William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, and certain Doctors of the Sorbonne, at Paris, relative to a project of Union between the English and Gallican Churches.

———Magis amica veritas.

WHEN the famous Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, laid an insidious snare for unthinking protestants, in his artful *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of Rome*, the pious and learned Dr. Wake unmasked this deceiver; and the writings he published on this occasion gave him a distinguished rank among the victorious champions of the protestant cause. Should any person, who had perused these writings, be informed that this “pretended champion of the protestant religion had set on foot a project of union with a popish church, with concessions in favour of the grossest superstition and idolatry¹,” he would be apt to stare: at least he would require the strongest possible evidence for a fact, in all appearance so contradictory and unaccountable. This accusation has, nevertheless, been brought against the eminent prelate, by the ingenious and intrepid author of the *Confessional*; and it is founded upon an extraordinary passage in Dr. Mosheim’s *Ecclesiastical History*, where we are told, that Dr. Wake “founded a project of peace and union between the English and Gallican churches, founded upon this condition, that each of the two communities should retain the greatest part of their respective and peculiar doctrines.”² This passage, though it is, perhaps, too un-

¹ See the *Confessional*, 2d edition, Preface, p. 76.

² Dr. Mosheim had certainly a very imperfect idea of this correspondence; and he seems to have been misled by the account of it, which Kiörning has given in his dissertation, *de Consecrationibus Episcoporum Anglorum*, published at Helmstadt in 1739; which account, notwithstanding the means of information its author seemed to have by his journey to England, and his conversations with Dr. Courayer, is full of mistakes. Thus Kiörning tells us, that Dr. Wake submitted to the judgment of the Romish doctors, his correspondents,

the conditions of peace between the two churches, which he had drawn up; — that he sent a learned man (Dr. Wilkins, his chaplain) to Paris, to forward and complete, if possible, the projected union; — that, in a certain assembly holden at Paris, the difficulties of promoting this union without the pope’s concurrence were insisted on by some men of high rank, who seemed inclined to the union, and that these difficulties put an end to the conferences; — that, however, two French divines (whom he supposes to be Du-Pin and Girardin) were sent to England to propose new terms. It now happens, unluckily for

charitably interpreted by the author already mentioned, would furnish, without doubt, just matter of censure, were it founded in truth. I was both surprised and perplexed while I was translating it. I could not immediately procure proper information with respect to the fact, nor could I examine Mosheim's proofs of this strange assertion, because he alleged none. Destitute of materials, either to invalidate or confirm the fact, I made a slight mention, in a short note of a correspondence which had been carried on between archbishop Wake and Dr. Du-Pin, with the particulars of which I was not acquainted; and, in this my ignorance, only made a general observation, drawn from Dr. Wake's known zeal for the protestant religion, which was designed not to confirm that assertion, but rather to insinuate my disbelief of it. It never could come into my head, that the interests of the protestant religion would have been safe in archbishop Wake's hands, had I given the smallest degree of credit to Dr. Mosheim's assertion, or even suspected that this eminent prelate was inclined to form an union between the English and Gallican churches, "founded on this condition, that each of the two communities should retain the greatest part of their respective and peculiar doctrines."

If the author of the *Confessional* had given a little more attention to this, he could not have represented me as confirming the fact alleged by Mosheim, much less as giving it what he is pleased to call the *sanction* of my approba-

Mr. Kiörning's reputation as an historian, that not one syllable of all this is true, as will appear sufficiently to the reader who peruses with attention the account and the pieces, which I here lay before the public. But one of the most egregious errors in the account given by Kiörning, is at page 61 of his dissertation, where he says, that archbishop Wake was so much elated with the prospect of success in the scheme of an accommodation, that he acquainted the divines of Geneva with it in 1713, and plainly intimated to them, that he thought it an easier thing than reconciling the protestants with each other. Let us now see where Kiörning received this information. Why, truly, it was from a letter of Dr. Wake to professor Turretin, of Geneva, in which there is not one syllable relative to a scheme of union between the English and Gallican churches; and yet Kiörning quotes a passage in this letter as the only authority he has for his affirmation. The case was this: Dr. Wake, in the former part of his letter to Turretin, speaks of the sufferings of the Hungarian and Piedmontese churches, which he had successfully endeavoured to alleviate, by engaging George I. to intercede in their behalf; and then proceeds to express his desire of healing the differences that

disturbed the union of the protestant churches abroad. "Interim (says he) dum hæc (*i. e.* the endeavours to relieve the Hungarian and Piedmontese churches) feliciter peraguntur, ignoscite, Fratres Dilectissimi, si majoris quidem laboris atque difficultatis, sed longè maximi omnibus commodi inceptum vobis proponam; unionem nimirum," &c. Professor Turretin, in his work entitled *Nubes Testium*, printed only the latter part of Dr. Wake's letter, beginning with the words, "Interim," &c., and Kiörning, not having seen the preceding part of this letter, which relates to the Hungarian and Piedmontese churches, and with which these words are connected, took it into his head that these words were relative to the scheme of union between the English and Gallican churches. Nor did he only take this into his head by way of conjecture, but he affirms, very sturdily and positively, that the words have this signification: "Hæc verba, (says he) tangunt pacis cum Gallis instaurandæ negotium, quod ex temporum rationibus manifestum est." To show him, however, that he grossly errs, I have published among the annexed pieces, (No. XX.) the *whole* letter of archbishop Wake to Turretin.

tion. I did not confirm the fact; for I only said there was a correspondence on the subject, without speaking a syllable of the displeasing *condition* that forms the charge against Dr. Wake. I shall not enter here into a debate about the grammatical import of my expressions, as I have something more interesting to present to the reader who is curious of information about archbishop Wake's *real* conduct in relation to the correspondence already mentioned. I have been favoured with authentic copies of the letters which passed in this correspondence, which are now in the hands of Mr. Beauvoir, of Canterbury, the worthy son of the clergyman who was chaplain to lord Stair in the year 1717, and also with others, from the valuable collection of manuscripts left by Dr. Wake to the library of Christ Church college, in Oxford. It is from these letters that I have drawn the following account, at the end of which copies of them are printed, to serve as proofs of the truth of this relation, which I publish with a disinterested regard to truth. This impartiality may be, in some measure, expected from my situation in life, which has placed me at a distance from the scenes of religious and ecclesiastical contention in England, and cut me off from those personal connexions that nourish the prejudices of a party spirit, more than many are aware of; but it would be still more expected from my principles, were they known.

From this narrative, confirmed by authentic papers, it will appear with the utmost evidence—

First, That archbishop Wake was not the *first mover* in this correspondence, nor the person who formed the project of union between the English and Gallican churches.

Secondly, That he never made any concessions, nor offered to give up, for the sake of peace, any one point of the established doctrine and discipline of the church of England in order to promote this union.

Thirdly, That any desires of union with the church of Rome, expressed in the archbishop's letters proceeded from the hopes (well founded, or illusory, is not my business to examine here) that he at first entertained of a considerable reformation in that church, and from an expectation that its most absurd doctrines would fall to the ground, if they could once be deprived of their great support, the papal authority;—the destruction of which authority was the very basis of this correspondence.

It will further appear, that Dr. Wake considered union in external worship as one of the best methods of healing the uncharitable dissensions that are often occasioned by a variety of sentiments in point of doctrine, in which a perfect uniformity is not to be expected. This is undoubtedly a wise principle, when it is not carried too far; and whether or no it was carried too far by this eminent prelate, the candid reader is left to judge from the following relation.

In the month of November, 1717, archbishop Wake wrote a letter to Mr. Beauvoir, chaplain to the earl of Stair, then ambassador at Paris, in which his grace acknowledges the receipt of several obliging letters from Mr. Beauvoir. This is manifestly the first letter which the prelate wrote to that gentleman, and the whole contents of it are matters of a literary nature.³ In

³ The perusal of this letter (which the reader will find among the pieces here subjoined, No. I.) is sufficient to remove the suspicions of the author of the *Confessional*, who seems inclined to believe that archbishop Wake was the

answer to this letter, Mr. Beauvoir, in one dated the 11th of December, 1717, O. S., gives the archbishop the information he desired about the method of subscribing to a new edition of St. Chrysostom, which was at that time in the press at Paris, and then mentions his having dined with Du-Pin, and three other doctors of the Sorbonne, who talked as if the whole kingdom of France was to appeal (in the affair of the bull *Unigenitus*) to a future general council, and who "wished for an union with the church of England, as the most effectual means to unite all the western churches." Mr. Beauvoir adds, that Dr. Du-Pin had desired him to give his duty to the archbishop.⁴ Here we see the first hint, the very first overture that was made relative to a project of union between the English and Gallican churches; and this hint comes *originally* from the doctors of the *Sorbonne*, and is not occasioned by any thing contained in preceding letters from archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir, since the one only letter which Mr. Beauvoir had hitherto received from that eminent prelate, was entirely taken up in inquiries about some new editions of books that were then publishing at Paris.

Upon this the archbishop wrote a letter to Mr. Beauvoir, in which he makes honourable mention of Du-Pin as an author of merit, and expresses his desire of serving him, with that benevolent politeness which reigns in our learned prelate's letters, and seems to have been a striking line in his amiable character.⁵ Dr. Du-Pin improved this favourable occasion of writ-

first mover in the project of uniting the English and Gallican churches. This author having mentioned Mr. Beauvoir's letter, in which Du-Pin's desire of this union is communicated to the archbishop, asks the following question:—"Can any man be certain that Beauvoir mentioned this merely out of his own head, and without some previous occasion given, in the archbishop's letter to him, for such a conversation with the Sorbonne doctors?" I answer to this question, that every one who reads the archbishop's letter of the 28th of November, to which this letter of Mr. Beauvoir is an answer, may be *very certain* that Dr. Wake's letter did not give him the least occasion for such a conversation, but relates entirely to the Benedictine edition of St. Chrysostom, *Martene's Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, and *Moreri's Dictionary*. "But," says our author, "*there is an &c.* in this copy of Mr. Beauvoir's letter, very suspiciously placed, as if to cover something improper to be disclosed."* But really, if any thing was covered here, it was covered from the archbishop as well as from the public, since the very same &c.

that we see in the printed copy of Mr. Beauvoir's letter, stands in the original. Besides, I would be glad to know, what there is in the placing of this &c. that can give rise to suspicion? The passage of Beauvoir's letter runs thus: "They" (the Sorbonne doctors) "talked as if the whole kingdom was to appeal to the future general council, &c. They wished for an union with the Church of England, as the most effectual means to unite all the western churches." It is palpably evident, that the &c. here has not the least relation to the union in question; and gives no sort of reason to *suspect* any thing but the spirit of discontent, which the insolent proceedings of the court of Rome had excited among the French divines.

⁴ See the Letters subjoined, No. II.

⁵ This "handsome mention" of Dr. Du-Pin, made by the archbishop, gives new subject of suspicion to the author of the *Confessional*. He had learned the fact from the article Wake, in the *Biographia Britannica*: "But," says he, "we are left to guess what this 'handsome mention' was;—had the biographer given us this letter, together with that of November 27, they might probably

* The other reflections that the author has there made upon the correspondence between archbishop Wake and the doctors of the Sorbonne, are examined in the following note.

ing to the archbishop a letter of thanks, dated January 31 (February 11, N. S.) 1717-18; in which, toward the conclusion, he intimates his desire of an union between the English and Gallican churches, and observes, that the

(it would have been more accurate to have said *possibly*) have discovered what the biographer did not want we should know, namely, the share Dr. Wake had in forming the project of an union between the two churches." This is guessing with a witness; and it is hard to imagine how the boldest calculator of probabilities could conclude from Dr. Wake's *handsome mention* of Dr. Du-Pin, that the former had a *share*, of any kind, in *forming* the project of union now under consideration. For the ingenious guesser happens to be quite mistaken in his conjecture; and I hope to convince him of this, by satisfying his desire. He desires the letter of the 27th (or rather the 28th) of November; I have referred to it in the preceding note, and he may read it at the end of this account. He desires the letter in which handsome mention is made of Du-Pin; and I can assure him, that in that letter there is not a single syllable relative to an union. The passage that regards Dr. Du-Pin is as follows: "I am much obliged to you" (says Dr. Wake, in his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, dated January 2, 1717-18 ("for making my name known to Dr. Du-Pin. He is a gentleman by whose labours I have profited these many years; and I do really admire how it is possible for one man to publish so much, and yet so correctly, as he has generally done. I desire my respects to him; and that, if there be any thing here whereby I may be serviceable to him, he will freely command me." Such was the archbishop's handsome mention of Du-Pin; and it evidently shows, that, till then, there never had been any communication between them. Yet these are all the proofs which the author of the *Confessional* gives of the probability that the archbishop was the first mover in this affair.

But "his grace accepted the party, a formal treaty commences, and is carried on in a correspondence of some length," says the author of the *Confessional*. And I would candidly ask that author, upon what principles of Christianity, reason, or charity, Dr. Wake could have refused to hear the proposals, terms, and sentiments of the Sorbonne doctors, who discovered an

inclination to unite with his church? The author of the *Confessional* says elsewhere, "that it was, at the best, officious and presumptuous in Dr. Wake to enter into a negotiation of this nature, without authority from the church or the government." But the truth is, that he entered into no negotiation or treaty on this head; he considered the letters that were written on both sides as a personal correspondence between individuals who could not commence a negotiation until they had received the proper powers from their respective sovereigns; and I do think he was greatly in the right to enter into this correspondence, as it seemed very likely, in the *then* circumstances of the Gallican church, to serve the Protestant interest and the cause of reformation. If, indeed, in the course of this correspondence he had discovered any thing like what Mosheim imputes to him, even a disposition toward an union, founded upon the condition that each of the two churches should retain the greatest part of their respective and peculiar doctrines, I should think his conduct liable to censure. But no such thing appears in his letters, which I have subjoined to this account, that the candid examiner may receive full satisfaction in this affair. Mosheim's mistake is palpable, and the author of the *Confessional* seems certainly to have been too hasty in adopting it. He alleges, that Dr. Wake might have maintained the justice and orthodoxy of every individual article of the church of England, and yet "give up some of them for the sake of peace." But the archbishop expressly declares, in his letters, that he would give up none of them, and that though he was a friend to peace, he was a still greater friend to truth. The author's reflection, that, without some concessions on the part of the archbishop, the treaty could not have gone a step further, may be questioned in theory; for treaties are often carried on for a long time without concessions on both sides, or perhaps on either; and the archbishop might hope that Du-Pin, who had yielded several things, would still yield more; but this remark is overturned by the plain fact. Besides

difference between them, in most points, was not so great as to render a reconciliation impracticable, and that it was his earnest wish, that all Christians should be united in one sheep-fold. His words are: "Unum addam cum bona venia tua, me vehementer optare, ut unionis inter Ecclesias Anglicanam et Gallicanam ineundæ via aliqua inveniri posset: non ita sumus ab invicem in plerisque dissiti, ut non possimus mutuo reconciliari. Atque utinam Christiani omnes essent unum ovile." The archbishop wrote an answer to this letter, dated February 13-24, 1717-18; in which he asserts, at large, the purity of the church of England, in faith, worship, government, and discipline, and tells his correspondent that he is persuaded that there are few things in the doctrine and constitution of that church which even he himself (Du-Pin) would desire to see changed; the original words are: "Aut ego vehementer fallor, aut in ea pauca admodum sunt, quæ vel tu—immutanda velles;" and again, "Sincere judica, quid in hac nostra ecclesia invenias, quod jure damnari debeat, aut nos atra hæreticorum, vel etiam schismaticorum, nota inurere." The zeal of the venerable prelate goes still further; and the moderate sentiments which he observed in Dr. Du-Pin's letter induced him to exhort the French to maintain, if not to enlarge, the rights and privileges of the Gallican church, for which the existing disputes,

I repeat what I have already insinuated, that this *correspondence* does not deserve the name of a *treaty*.* Proposals were made only on Du-Pin's side; and these proposals were positively rejected by the archbishop, in his letters to Mr. Beauvoir. Nor did he propose any thing in return to either of the Sorbonne doctors, but that they should entirely renounce the authority of the pope, hoping, though perhaps too fancifully, that, when this was done, the two churches might come to an agreement about other matters, as far as was necessary. But the author of the *Confessional* supposes, that the archbishop must have made some concessions, because the letters on both sides were sent to Rome, and received there as "so many trophies gained from the enemies of the church." This supposition, however, is somewhat hasty. Could nothing but concessions from the archbishop make the court of Rome consider those letters in that light? Would they not think it a great triumph, that they had obliged Du-Pin's party to give up the letters as a token of their submission, and defeated the archbishop's design of engaging the Gallican church to assert its liberty, by throwing off the papal yoke? If Dr. Wake made concessions,

where are they? And if these were the trophies, why did not the partisans of Rome publish authentic copies of them to the world? Did the author of the *Confessional* ever hear of a victorious general, who carefully hid under ground the standards he had taken from the enemy? This, indeed, is a new method of dealing with trophies. Our author, however, does not, as yet, quit his hold; he alleges, that the French divines could not have acknowledged the *catholic benevolence* of the archbishop, if he made no concessions to them. This reasoning would be plausible, if charity toward those who err consisted in embracing their errors; but this is a definition of charity, that, I fancy, the ingenious author will give up, upon second thoughts. Dr. Wake's catholic benevolence consisted in his esteem for the merit and learning of his correspondents, in his compassion for their servitude and their errors, in his desire of the reformation and liberty of their church, and his inclination to live in friendship and concord, as far as was possible, with all that bear the Christian name; and this disposition, so suitable to the benevolent genius of Christianity, will always reflect a true and solid glory upon his character as a Christian bishop.

* See post, note⁹, and the letters subjoined, No. XI.

about the constitution *Unigenitus*, furnished the most favourable occasion. He also expresses his readiness to concur in improving any opportunity that might be offered by these debates, to form an union that might be productive of a further reformation, in which not only the most rational Protestants, but also a considerable number of the Roman Catholic churches, should join with the church of England; “*si exhinc*” (says the archbishop, speaking of the recent commotions excited by the constitution) “*aliquid amplius elici possit ad unionem nobiscum ecclesiasticam ineundam; unde forte nova quædam reformatio exoriat, in quam non solem ex Protestantibus optimi quique, verum etiam pars magna ecclesiarum Communionis Romano-Catholicæ, una nobiscum conveniant.*”

Hitherto we see that the expressions of the two learned doctors of the English and Gallican churches, relating to the union under consideration, are of a vague and general nature. When they were thus far advanced in their correspondence an event happened which rendered it more close, serious, and interesting, and even brought on some particular mention of preliminary terms, and certain preparatives for a future negotiation. The event I mean, was a discourse delivered in an extraordinary meeting of the Sorbonne, March 17-28, 1717-18, by Dr. Patrick Piers de Girardin, in which he exhorts the doctors of that society to proceed in their design of revising the doctrines and rules of the church, to separate things necessary from those which are not so, by which they will show the church of England that they do not hold every decision of the pope for an article of faith. The learned orator observes further (upon what foundation it is difficult to guess), that the English church may be more easily reconciled than the Greek was; and that the disputes between the Gallican church and the court of Rome, removing the apprehensions of papal tyranny, which terrified the English from the Catholic communion, will lead them back into the bosom of the church with greater celerity than they formerly fled from it: “*Facient*” (says he) “*perfecto offensiones, quæ vos inter et senatum Capitolinum videntur intervenire, ut Angli, deposito servitutis metu, in ecclesiæ gremium revolent alacrius quam olim inde, quorundam exosi tyrannidem, avolarunt. Meministis ortas inter Paulum et Barnabam dissentiones animorum tandem eo recidis, ut singuli propagandæ in diversis regionibus fidei felicius insudaverint sigillatim, quam junctis viribus fortasse insudassent.*” This last sentence (in which Dr. Girardin observes, that Paul and Barnabas probably made more converts in consequence of their separation, than they would have done had they travelled together, and acted in concert,) is not a little remarkable; and, indeed, the whole passage discovers rather a desire of making proselytes, than an inclination to form a coalition founded upon concessions and some reformation on the side of popery. It may, perhaps, be alleged, in opposition to this remark, that prudence required a language of this kind, in the infancy of a project of union, whatever concessions might be offered afterwards to bring about its execution; and this may be true.

After the delivery of this discourse in the Sorbonne, Dr. Du-Pin showed to Girardin archbishop Wake’s letter, which was also communicated to cardinal de Noailles, who admired it greatly, as appears from a letter of Dr. Piers de Girardin to Dr. Wake, written, I believe, April 18-29, 1718. Before the arrival of this letter, the archbishop had received a second from Dr. Du-

Pin, and also a copy of Girardin's discourse. But he does not seem to have entertained any notion, in consequence of all this, that the projected union would go on smoothly. On the contrary, he no sooner received these letters, than he wrote to Mr. Beauvoir (April 15, 1718), that it was his opinion, that neither the regent nor the cardinal would ever come to a rupture with the court of Rome; and that nothing could be done in point of doctrine, until this rupture was brought about. He added, that fundamentals should be distinguished from matters of less moment, in which differences or errors might be tolerated. He expresses a curiosity to know the reception which his former letter to Du-Pin had met with; and he wrote again to that ecclesiastic, and also to Girardin (May 1, 1718), and sent both his letters toward the end of that month.

The doctors of the Sorbonne, whether they were set in motion by the real desire of an union with the English church, or only intended to make use of this union as the means of intimidating the court of Rome, began to form a plan of reconciliation, and to specify the terms upon which they were willing to bring it into execution. Mr. Beauvoir acquaints the archbishop, in July, 1718, that Dr. Du-Pin had made a rough draft of an essay toward an union, which cardinal de Noailles desired to peruse before it was sent to his grace; and that both Du-Pin and Girardin were highly pleased with his grace's letters to them. These letters, however, were written with a truly Protestant spirit; the archbishop insisted, in them, upon the truth and orthodoxy of the articles of the church of England, and did not make any concession which supposed the least approximation to the peculiar doctrines, or the smallest approbation of the ambitious pretensions of the church of Rome; he observed, on the contrary, that it was now the time for Dr. Du-Pin, and his brethren of the Sorbonne, to declare openly their true sentiments with respect to the superstition and tyranny of that church; that it was the interest of all Christians to unmask that court, and to reduce its authority to its primitive limits; and that, according to the fundamental principles of the Reformation in general, and of the church of England in particular, Jesus Christ is the only founder, source, and head of the church. Accordingly, when Mr. Beauvoir had acquainted the archbishop with Du-Pin's having formed a plan of union, his grace answered in a manner which showed that he looked upon the removal of the Gallican church from the jurisdiction of Rome as an essential preliminary article, without which no negotiation could even be commenced. "To speak freely," (says the prelate, in his letter of the 11th of August, to Mr. Beauvoir,) "I do not think the regent (the duke of Orleans) yet strong enough in his interest to adventure at a separation from the court of Rome. Could the regent openly appear in this, the divines would follow, and a scheme might fairly be offered for such an union, as alone is requisite, between the English and Gallican churches. But till the time comes that the state will enter into such a work, all the rest is mere speculation. It may amuse a few contemplative men of learning and probity, who see the errors of the church, and groan under the tyranny of the court of Rome. It may dispose them secretly to wish well to us, and think charitably of us; but still they must call themselves Catholics, and us heretics; and, to all outward appearance, say mass, and act so as they have been wont to do. If, under the shelter of Gallican privileges,

they can now and then serve the state by speaking big in the Sorbonne, they will do it heartily : but that is all, if I am not greatly mistaken."

Soon after this the archbishop received Du-Pin's *Commonitorium*, or advice relating to the method of re-uniting the English and Gallican churches ; of the contents of which it will not be improper to give here a compendious account, as it was read in the Sorbonne, and was approved there, and as the concessions it contains, though not sufficient to satisfy a true protestant, are yet such as one would not expect from a very zealous papist. Dr. Du-Pin, after some reflections, in the tedious preface, on the Reformation, and the present state of the church of England, reduces the controversy between the churches to three heads, viz. articles of faith,—rules and ceremonies of ecclesiastical discipline,—and moral doctrine, or rules of practice ; and these he treats by entering into an examination of the Thirty-nine Articles of the church of England. The first five of these articles he approves. With regard to the sixth, which affirms that the Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation, he expresses himself thus : " This we will readily grant, provided that you do not entirely exclude tradition, which does not exhibit new articles of faith, but confirms and illustrates those which are contained in the sacred writings, and places about them new guards to defend them against gainsayers⁶," &c. He thinks that the apocryphal books will not occasion much difficulty. He is, indeed, of opinion, that " they ought to be deemed *canonical*, as those books concerning which there were doubts for some time ;" yet, since they are not in the first or Jewish canon, he will allow them to be called *Deutero-Canonical*. He consents to the Xth article, which relates to free-will, provided that by the word *power* be understood what school divines call *potentia proxima*, or a direct and immediate power, since, without a *remote* power of doing good works, sin could not be imputed.

With respect to the XIth article, which contains the doctrine of justification, he thus expresses the sentiments of his brethren : " We do not deny that it is by faith alone that we are justified, but we maintain that faith, charity, and good works, are necessary to salvation ; and this is acknowledged in the following article."⁷

Concerning the XIIIth article, he observes, " that there will be no dispute, since many divines of both communions embrace the doctrine contained in that article," (viz. that works done before the grace of Christ are not pleasing to God, and have the nature of sin). He indeed thinks " it very harsh to say, that all those actions are sinful which have not the grace of Christ for their source ;" but he considers this rather as a matter of theological discussion than as a term of fraternal communion.⁸

⁶ The original words are : " Hoc lubenter admittemus, modo non excludatur traditio, quæ articulos fidei novos non exhibet, sed confirmat et explicat ea, quæ in sacris literis habentur, ac adversus aliter sapientes munit eos novis cautionibus, ita ut non nova dicantur, sed antiqua nove."

⁷ The original words are : " Fide sola in Christum non justificari, quod articulo XI^{mo} exponitur, non inficiamur ; sed

fide, charitate, et adjunctis bonis operibus, quæ omnino necessaria sunt ad salutem, ut articulo sequenti agnoscitur."

⁸ " De articulo XIII^{mo} nulla lis erit, cum multi theologi in eadem versentur sententia. Durius videtur id dici, eas omnes actiones quæ ex gratia Christi non fiunt, esse peccata. Nolim tamen de hac re disceptari, nisi inter theologos."

On the XIVth article, relating to works of supererogation (undoubtedly one of the most absurd and pernicious doctrines of the Romish church), he observes, "that works of supererogation mean only works conducive to salvation, which are not matters of strict precept, but of counsel only; that the word, being new, may be rejected, provided it be owned that the faithful do some such works."

He makes no objections to the XV. XVI. XVII. and XVIIIth articles.

His observations on the XIXth are, that to the definition of the church, the words *under lawful pastors* ought to be added; and that though all particular churches, even that of Rome, may err, it is needless to say this in a confession of faith.

He consents to the decision of the XXth article, which refuses to the church the power of ordaining any thing that is contrary to the word of God; but he says, it must be taken for granted, that the church will never do this in matters which overturn essential points of faith, or, to use his own words, "*quæ fidei substantiam evertant.*"

It is in consequence of this notion that he remarks on the XXIst article, that general councils, received by the universal church, cannot err; and that though particular councils may, yet every private man has not a right to reject what he thinks contrary to Scripture.

As to the important points of controversy contained in the XXIIInd article, he endeavours to mince matters as nicely as he can, to see if he can make the cable pass through the eye of the needle; and for this purpose observes, that souls must be *purged*, *i.e.* purified, from all defilement of sin, before they are admitted to celestial bliss; that the church of Rome does not affirm this to be done by fire: that indulgences are only relaxations or remissions of temporal penalties in this life; that the Roman catholics do not worship the cross, or relics, or images, or even saints before their images, but only pay them an external respect, which is not of a religious nature; and that even the external demonstration of respect is a matter of indifference, which may be laid aside or retained without harm.

He approves the XXIIIrd article; and does not pretend to dispute about the XXIVth, which ordains the celebration of divine worship in the vulgar tongue. He, indeed, excuses the Latin and Greek churches for preserving their ancient languages; but as great care has been taken that every thing be understood by translations, he allows that divine service may be performed in the vulgar tongue, where that is customary.

Under the XXVth article he insists that the five Romish sacraments be acknowledged as such, whether instituted immediately by Christ or not.

He approves the XXVIth and XXVIIth articles; and he proposes expressing the part of the XXVIIIth that relates to transubstantiation (which term he is willing to omit entirely), in the following manner: "That the bread and wine are really changed into the body and blood of Christ, which last are truly and really received by all, though none but the faithful partake of any benefit from them." This extends also to the XXIXth article.

With regard to the XXXth, he is for mutual toleration, and would have the receiving of the communion in both kinds held indifferent, and liberty

left to each church to preserve, or change, or dispense with its customs on certain occasions.

He is less inclined to concessions on the XXXIst article, and maintains that the sacrifice of Christ is not only commemorated, but continued, in the eucharist, and that every communicant offers him along with the priest.

He is not a warm stickler for the celibacy of the clergy, but consents so far to the XXXIInd article, as to allow that priests may marry, where the laws of the church do not prohibit it.

In the XXXIIIrd and XXXIVth articles, he acquiesces without exception.

He suspends his judgment with respect to the XXXVth, as he never perused the homilies mentioned therein.

As to the XXXVIth, he would not have the English ordinations pronounced null, though some of them, perhaps, are so; but thinks that, if an union be made, the English clergy ought to be continued in their offices and benefices, either by right or indulgence, "sive ex jure, sive ex indulgentia ecclesiæ."

He admits the XXXVIIth, so far as relates to the authority of the civil power; denies all temporal and all immediate spiritual jurisdiction of the pope; but alleges that by virtue of his primacy, which moderate (he ought to have said *immoderate*) church-of-England-men do not deny, he is bound to see that the true faith be maintained; that the canons be observed every where; and, when any thing is done in violation of either, to provide the remedies prescribed for such disorders by the canon laws, "secundum leges canonicas, ut malum resarciatur, procurare." As to the rest, he is of opinion, that every church ought to enjoy its own liberties and privileges, which the pope has no right to infringe. He declares against going *too far* (the expression is vague, but the man probably meant well) in the punishment of heretics, against admitting the inquisition into France, and against war without a just cause.

The XXXVIIIth and XXXIXth articles he approves. Moreover, in the discipline and worship of the church of England, he sees nothing amiss, and thinks no attempts should be made to discover or prove by whose fault the schism was begun. He further observes, "that an union between the English and French bishops and clergy may be completed, or at least advanced, without consulting the Roman pontiff, who may be informed of the union as soon as it is accomplished, and may be desired to consent to it; that, if he consents to it, the affair will then be finished; and that, even without his consent, the union shall be valid; that, in case he attempts to terrify by his threats, it will then be expedient to appeal to a general council."⁹ He concludes by observing, "that this arduous matter must first be discussed between a few; and if there be reason to hope that the bishops, on both sides, will agree about the terms of the designed union, that then application must be made to the civil power, to advance and confirm the work," to which he wishes all success.

⁹ "Unio fieri potest aut saltem promoveri, inconsulto pontifice, qui, facta unione, de ea admonebitur, ac suppliciter rogabitur, ut velit ei consentire.

Si consentiat, jam peracta res erit: sin abnuat, nihilominus valebit hæc unio. Et si minas intenet, ad concilium generale appellabitur."

It is from the effect which these proposals and terms made upon archbishop Wake, that it will be most natural to form a notion of his sentiments with respect to the church of Rome. It appears evident, from several passages in the writings and letters of this eminent prelate, that he was persuaded that a reformation in the church of Rome could only be made gradually; that it was not probable that they would renounce all their follies at once; but that, if they should once begin to make concessions, this would set in motion the work of reformation, which, in all likelihood, would receive new accessions of vigour, and go on until a happy change should be effected. This way of thinking might have led the archbishop to give an indulgent reception to these proposals of Du-Pin, which contained some concessions, and might be an introduction to more. And yet we find that he rejected this piece, as insufficient to serve as a basis, or groundwork, to the desired union. On receiving the piece, he immediately perceived that he had not sufficient ground for carrying on this negotiation, without previously consulting his brethren, and obtaining a permission from the king for this purpose. Beside this, he was resolved not to submit either to the direction of Dr. Du-Pin, or to that of the Sorbonne, in relation to what was to be retained, or what was to be given up, in the doctrine and discipline of the two churches; nor to treat with the church of Rome upon any other footing than that of a perfect equality in point of authority and power. He declared more especially, that he would never comply with the proposals made in Du-Pin's *Commonitorium*, of which I have now given the contents; observing, that though he was a friend to peace, he was still more a friend to truth: and that, "unless the Roman catholics gave up some of their doctrines and rites," an union with them could never be effected. All this is contained in a letter written by the archbishop to Mr. Beauvoir, on receiving the *Commonitorium*. This letter is dated August 30, 1718; and the reader will find a copy of it subjoined to this Appendix.¹ About a month after, his grace wrote a letter to Dr. Du-Pin, dated October 1, 1718, in which he complains of the tyranny of the pope, exhorts the Gallican doctors to throw off the papal yoke in a national council, since the *general* one is not to be expected; and declares, that this must be the great preliminary and fundamental principle of the projected union, which being settled, an uniformity might be brought about in other matters, or a diversity of sentiments mutually allowed, without any violation of peace or concord. The archbishop commends, in the same letter, the candour and openness that reign in the *Commonitorium*; entreats Dr. Du-Pin to write to him always upon the same footing, freely, and without disguise or reserve; and tells him he is pleased with several things in that piece, and with nothing more than with the doctor's declaring it as his opinion, that there is not a great difference between their respective sentiments; but adds, that he cannot at present give his sentiments at large concerning that piece.²

Dr. Wake seems to have aimed principally, in this correspondence, at bringing about a separation between the Gallican church and the court of Rome. The terms in which the French divines often spoke about the liber-

¹ See this Letter, No. III.

as also the archbishop's letters to Dr. P.

² See this Letter to Du-Pin, No. V., Piers de Girardin, No. VI.

ties of their church, might give him some hope that this separation would take place, if ever these divines should be countenanced by the civil power of France. But a man of the archbishop's sagacity could not expect that they would enter into an union with any other national church *all at once*. He acted, therefore, with dignity, as well as with prudence, when he declined to explain himself on the proposals contained in Du-Pin's *Commonitorium*. To have answered ambiguously would have been mean; and to have answered explicitly would have blasted his hopes of separating them from Rome, which separation he desired upon the principles of civil and ecclesiastical liberty, independent of the discussion of theological tenets. The archbishop's sentiments in this matter will still appear further from the letters he wrote to Mr. Beauvoir, in October, November, and December, 1718, and the January following, of which the proper extracts are here subjoined.³ It appears from these letters, that Dr. Wake insisted still upon the abolition of the pope's jurisdiction over the Gallican church, and leaving him no more than a primacy of rank and honour, and that merely by ecclesiastical authority, as he was once bishop of the imperial city; to which empty title our prelate seems willing to have consented, provided that it should be attended with no infringement of the independence and privileges of each particular country and church. "Si quam prærogativam" (says the archbishop in his letter to Girardin⁴, after having defied the court of Rome to produce any precept of Christ in favour of the primacy of its bishop) "ecclesiæ concilia sedis imperialis episcopo concesserint (etsi cadente imperio etiam ea prærogativa excidisse merito possit censi) tamen quod ad me attinet, servatis semper regnorum juribus, ecclesiarum libertatibus, episcoporum dignitate, modo in cæteris conveniatur, per me licet, suo fruatur qualicumque primatu; non ego illi locum primum, non inanem honoris titulum invidео. At in alias ecclesias dominari, &c. hæc nec nos unquam ferre potuimus, nec vos debetis."

It appears, further, from these letters, that any proposals or terms conceived by the archbishop, in relation to this project of union, were of a vague and general nature, and that his views terminated rather in a plan of mutual toleration, than in a scheme for effecting an entire uniformity. The scheme that seemed to his grace the most likely to succeed was, that "the independence of every national church, or any other, and its right to determine all matters that arise within itself, should be acknowledged on both sides; that, for points of doctrine, they should agree, as far as possible, in all articles of any moment (as in effect the two churches either already did, or easily might); and, in other matters, that a difference should be allowed until God should bring them into an union in them also."⁵ It must be allowed, however, though the expression is still general, that the archbishop was for "purging out of the public offices of the church all such things as hinder a perfect communion in divine service, so that persons coming from one church to the other might join in prayers, and the holy sacrament, and the public service."⁶ He was persuaded, that, in the liturgy of the church of England, there was nothing but what the Roman catholics would adopt, except the single rubric relating to the eucharist; and that in the Romish

³ See Nos. IV. VII. VIII. IX. X.

⁴ No VI.

⁵ See the pieces subjoined to this Appendix, No. VIII.

⁶ Ibid.

liturgy there was nothing to which protestants object, but what the more rational Romanists agree might be laid aside, and yet the public offices be not the worse, or more imperfect, for the want of it. He therefore thought it proper to make the demands already mentioned the groundwork of the project of union, at the beginning of the negotiation; not that he meant to stop here, but that, being thus far agreed, they might the more easily go further, descend to particulars, and render their scheme more perfect by degrees.⁷

The violent measures of the court of Rome against that part of the Gallican church which refused to admit the constitution *Unigenitus* as an ecclesiastical law, made the archbishop imagine that it would be no difficult matter to bring this opposition to an open rupture, and to engage the persons concerned in it to throw off the papal yoke, which seemed to be borne with impatience in France. The despotic bull of Clement XI. dated August 28, 1788, and which begins with the words *Pastoralis officii*, was a formal act of excommunication, thundered out against all the anti-constitutionists, as the opposers of the bull *Unigenitus* were called; and it exasperated the doctors of the Sorbonne in the highest degree. It is to this that the archbishop alludes when he says, in his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, dated the 23rd of January, 1718⁸, "At present, he (the pope) has put them out of his communion. We have withdrawn ourselves from his; both are out of communion with him, and I think it is not material on which side the breach lies." But the wished-for separation from the court of Rome, notwithstanding all the provocations of its pontiff, was still far off. Though, on numberless occasions, the French divines showed very little respect for the papal authority, yet the renouncing it altogether was a step which required deep deliberation, and which however inclined they might be to it, they could not make, if they were not seconded by the state. But from the state they were not likely to have any countenance. The regent of France was governed by the abbé Du Bois; and Du Bois was aspiring eagerly after a cardinal's cap. This circumstance (not more unimportant than many secret connexions and trivial views that daily influence the course of public events, the transactions of government, and the fate of nations) was sufficient to stop the Sorbonne and its doctors in the midst of their career; and, in effect, it contributed greatly to stop the correspondence of which I have been now giving an account, and to nip the project of union in the bud. The correspondence between the archbishop and the two doctors of the Sorbonne had been carried on with a high degree of secrecy. This secrecy was prudent, as neither of the corresponding parties had been authorised by the civil power to negotiate an union between the two churches⁹; and, on Dr. Wake's part, it was partly owing

⁷ See No. VIII.

⁸ See No. X.

⁹ Dr. Wake seems to have been sensible of the impropriety of carrying on a negotiation of this nature without the approbation and countenance of government. "I always (says he, in his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, which the reader will find at the end of this Appendix, No. XI.) took it for granted, that no step

should be taken toward an union, but with the knowledge, approbation, and even by the authority of civil powers. All, therefore, that has passed hitherto stands clear of any exception as to the civil magistrate. It is only a consultation in order to find out a way how an union might be made if a fit occasion should hereafter be offered."

to his having nobody that he could trust with what he did. He was satisfied (as he says in a letter to Mr. Beauvoir) "that most of the high-church bishops and clergy would readily come into such a design; but these (adds his grace) are not men either to be confided in, or made use of, by me."¹

The correspondence, however, was divulged; and the project of union engrossed the whole conversation of the city of Paris. Lord Stanhope and the earl of Stair were congratulated thereupon by some great personages, in the royal palace. The duke regent himself, and the abbé Du Bois, minister of foreign affairs, and M. Joli de Fleury, the attorney-general gave the line at first, appeared to favour the correspondence and the project, and let things run on to certain lengths. But the Jesuits and Constitutionists sounded the alarm, and overturned the whole scheme, by spreading a report, that the cardinal de Noailles, and his friends the Jansenists were upon the point of making a coalition with the heretics. Hereupon the regent was intimidated; and Du Bois had an opportunity of appearing a meritorious candidate for a place in the sacred college. Dr. Piers Girardin was sent for to court, was severely reprimanded by Du Bois, and strictly charged, upon pain of being sent to the Bastille, to give up all the letters he had received from the archbishop of Canterbury, as also a copy of all his own. He was forced to obey; and all the letters were immediately sent to Rome, "as so many trophies (says a certain author) gained from the enemies of the church."² The archbishop's letters were greatly admired, as striking proofs both of his catholic benevolence and extensive abilities.

Mr. Beauvoir informed the archbishop by a letter dated February 8, 1719, N. S., that Dr. Du-Pin had been summoned, by the abbé Du Bois, to give an account of what had passed between him and Dr. Wake. This step naturally suspended the correspondence, though the archbishop was at a loss, at first, whether he should look upon it as favourable, or detrimental, to the projected union.³ The letters which he wrote to Mr. Beauvoir and Dr. Du-Pin after this express the same sentiments which he discovered through the whole of this transaction.⁴ The letter to Du-Pin, more especially, is full of a pacific and reconciling spirit, and expresses the archbishop's desire of cultivating fraternal charity with the doctors, and his regret at the ill success of their endeavours toward the projected union. Du-Pin died before this letter, which was retarded by some accident, arrived at Paris.⁵ Before the archbishop had heard of his death, he wrote to Mr. Beauvoir, to express his concern, that an account was going to be published of what had passed between the two doctors and himself, and his hope, "that they would keep in generals, as the only way to renew the good design, if occasion should serve, and to prevent themselves trouble from the reflections of their enemies."

¹ See the letters subjoined, No IX.

² These *trophies* were the defeat of the moderate part of the Gallican church, and the ruin of their project to break the papal yoke, and unite with the church of England. See above, note⁵, p. 504, where the conclusion which the author of the *Confessional* has drawn

from this expression is shown to be groundless.

³ See his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, in the pieces subjoined, No. XI. dated February 5 (16), 1718-19.

⁴ See Nos. XI—XVIII.

⁵ See his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, No. XV.

on account (as the archbishop undoubtedly means) of the concessions they had made, which, though insufficient to satisfy true protestants, were adapted to exasperate bigoted papists. The prelate adds, in the conclusion of this letter, "I shall be glad to know that your doctors still continue their good opinion of us; for, though we need not the approbation of men on our own account, yet I cannot but wish it as a mean to bring them, if not to a perfect agreement in all things with us, (which is not presently to be expected,) yet to such an union as may put an end to the odious charges against, and consequential aversion of us, as heretics and schismatics, and in truth, make them cease to be so."

Dr. Du-Pin (whom the archbishop very sincerely lamented, as the only man, after Mr. Ravechet, on whom the hopes of a reformation in France seemed to depend) left behind him an account of this famous correspondence. Some time before he died, he showed it to Mr. Beauvoir, and told him that he intended to communicate it to a very great man (probably the regent). Mr. Beauvoir observed to the doctor, that one would be led to imagine, from the manner in which this account was drawn up, that the archbishop made the first overtures with respect to the correspondence, and was the first who intimated his desire of the union; whereas it was palpably evident that he (Dr. Du-Pin) had first solicited the one and the other. Du-Pin acknowledged this freely and candidly, and promised to rectify it, but was prevented by death. It does not, however, appear that his death put a final stop to the correspondence; for we learn by a letter from the archbishop to Mr. Beauvoir, dated August 27, 1719, that Dr. Piers Girardin frequently wrote to his grace. But the opportunity was past; the appellants from the bull *Unigenitus*, or the anti-constitutionists, were divided; the court did not smile at all upon the project, because the regent was afraid of the Spanish party and the Jesuits; and therefore the continuation of this correspondence after Du-Pin's death was without effect.

Let the reader now, after having perused this historical account, judge of the appearance which Dr. Wake makes in this transaction. An impartial reader will certainly draw from this whole correspondence the following conclusions: that archbishop Wake was invited to this correspondence by Dr. Du-Pin, the most moderate of all the Roman Catholic divines; that he entered into it with a view to improve one of the most favourable opportunities that could be offered of withdrawing the church of France from the jurisdiction of the pope; a circumstance which must have immediately weakened the power of the court of Rome, and, in its consequences, offered a fair prospect of a farther reformation in doctrine and worship, as the case happened in the church of England, when it happily threw off the papal yoke; that he did not give Du-Pin, or any of the doctors of the Sorbonne, the smallest reason to hope that the church of England would give up any one point of belief or practice to the church of France; but insisted on the contrary, that the latter should make alterations and concessions, in order to be reconciled to the former; — that he never specified the particular alterations which would be requisite to satisfy the rulers and doctors of the church of England, but only expressed a general desire of an union between the churches, if that were possible, or at least of a mutual toleration; that he never flattered himself that this union could be perfectly accomplished, or that the doctors of the

Gallican church would be entirely brought over to the church of England; but thought that every advance made by them, and every concession, must have proved really advantageous to the protestant cause.

The pacific spirit of Dr. Wake did not only discover itself in his correspondence with the Romish doctors, but in several other transactions in which he was engaged by his constant desire of promoting union and concord among Christians; for it is well known that he kept up a constant friendly correspondence with the most eminent ministers of the foreign protestant churches, and showed a fraternal regard to them, notwithstanding the difference of their discipline and government from that of the church of England. In a letter written to the learned le Clerc in 1716, he expresses, in the most cordial terms, his affection for them, and declares positively, that nothing can be further from his thoughts, than the notions adopted by certain bigoted and furious writers who refuse to embrace the foreign protestants as their brethren, will not allow to their religious assemblies the denomination of *churches*, and deny the validity of their sacraments. He declares, on the contrary, these churches to be true Christian churches, and expresses a warm desire of their union with the church of England. It will be, perhaps, difficult to find, in any epistolary composition, ancient or modern, a more elegant simplicity, a more amiable spirit of meekness, moderation, and charity, and a happier strain of that easy and unaffected politeness which draws its expressions from a natural habit of goodness and humanity, than we meet with in this letter.⁶ We see this active and benevolent prelate still continuing to interest himself in the welfare of the protestant churches abroad. In several letters written in the years 1718 and 1719, to the pastors and professors of Geneva and Switzerland, who were then at variance about the doctrines of predestination and grace, and some other abstruse points of metaphysical theology, he recommends earnestly to them a spirit of mutual toleration and forbearance, entreats them particularly to be moderate in their *demands* of subscription to articles of faith, and proposes to them the example of the church of England as worthy of imitation in this respect. In one of these letters he exhorts the doctors of Geneva not to go too far in explaining the nature, determining the sense, and imposing the belief of doctrines, which the Divine Wisdom has not thought proper to reveal clearly in the Scriptures, and the ignorance of which is very consistent with a state of salvation; and he recommends the prudence of the church of England, which has expressed these doctrines in such general terms in its articles, that persons who think very differently about the doctrines, may subscribe the articles without wounding their integrity.⁷ His letters to professor Schurer of Bern, and to the excellent and learned John Alphonso Turretin of Geneva, are in the same strain of moderation and charity, and are here subjoined⁸, as every way worthy of attentive perusal. But what is more peculiarly worthy of attention here, is a letter written May 22, 1719⁹, to Mr. Jablonski of Poland, who, from a persuasion of Dr. Wake's great wisdom, discernment, and moderation,

⁶ See an extract of it among the pieces subjoined, No. XIX.

⁸ See these letters, Nos. XXI. XXII. XXIII.

⁷ See the pieces here subjoined, No. XX.

⁹ No. XXV.

had proposed to him the following question, viz. "Whether it was lawful and expedient for the Lutherans to treat of an union with the church of Rome; or whether all negotiations of this kind ought not to be looked upon as dangerous and delusive?" The archbishop's answer to this question contains a happy mixture of protestant zeal and Christian charity. He gives the strongest cautions to the Polish Lutherans against entering into any treaty of union with the Roman Catholics, except on a footing of perfect equality, and in consequence of a previous renunciation on the part of the latter, of the tyranny, and even of the superiority and jurisdiction of the church of Rome and its pontiff; and as to what concerns points of doctrine, he exhorts them not to sacrifice truth to temporal advantages, or even to a *desire of peace*. It would carry us too far, were we to give a minute account of Dr. Wake's correspondence with the protestants of Nismes, or of Lithuania, and other countries: it may, however, be affirmed, that no prelate, since the Reformation, had so extensive a correspondence with the protestants abroad, and none could have a more friendly one.

It does not appear that the dissenters in England made to the archbishop any proposals relative to an union with the established church or that he made any proposals to them on that head. The spirit of the times and the situation of the contending parties, offered little prospect of success to any scheme of that nature. In queen Anne's time he was only bishop of Lincoln; and the disposition of the House of Commons, and of all the Tory part of the nation, was then so unfavourable to the dissenters, that it is not at all likely that any attempt toward reuniting them to the established church would have passed into a law. And, in the next reign, the face of things was so greatly changed in favour of the dissenters, and their hopes of recovering the rights and privileges of which they had been deprived, were so sanguine, that it may be well questioned whether they would have accepted the offer of an union had it been made to them. Be that as it will, one thing is certain, and it is a proof of archbishop Wake's moderate and pacific spirit, that in 1714, when the spirit of the court and of the triumphant part of the ministry was, with respect to the Whigs in general, and to dissenters in particular, a spirit of enmity and oppression, this worthy prelate had the courage to stand up in opposition to the schism-bill, and to protest against it as a hardship upon the dissenters. This step, which must have blasted his credit at court, and proved detrimental to his private interest, as matters then stood, showed that he had a friendly and sincere regard for the dissenters. It is true, four years after this, when it was proposed to repeal the schism-bill and the act against occasional conformity, both at once, he disapproved this proposal; and this circumstance has been alleged as an objection to the encomiums that have been given to his tender regard for the dissenters, or at least as a proof that he changed his mind; and that Wake, bishop of Lincoln, was more their friend than Wake, archbishop of Canterbury. I do not pretend to justify this change of conduct. It seems to have been, indeed, occasioned by a change of circumstances. The dissenters, in their state of oppression during the ministry of Bolingbroke and his party, were objects of compassion; and those who had sagacity enough to perceive the ultimate object which that ministry had in view in oppressing them, must have interested themselves in their sufferings, and opposed their op-

pressors, from a regard to the united causes of protestantism and liberty. In the following reign their credit rose; and while this encouraged the wise and moderate men among them to plead with prudence and with justice their right to be delivered from several real grievances, it elated the violent (and violent men there are in all parties, even in the cause of moderation) to a high degree. This rendered them formidable to all those who were jealous of [*zealous for*] the power, privileges, and authority of the established church; and archbishop Wake was probably of this number. He had protested against the shackles that were imposed upon them when they lay under the frowns of government; but apprehending, perhaps, that the removal of these shackles in the day of prosperity would render their motions toward power too rapid, he opposed the abrogation of the very acts which he had before endeavoured to stifle in their birth. In this, however, it must be acknowledged, that the spirit of party mingled too much of its influence with the dictates of prudence; and that prudence, thus accompanied, was not very consistent with Dr. Wake's known principles of equity and moderation. As I was at a loss how to account for this part of the archbishop's conduct, I addressed myself to a learned and worthy clergyman of the church of England, who gave me the following answer: "Archbishop Wake's objection to the repeal of the schism-act was founded on this consideration only, that such a repeal was needless, as no use had been made, or was likely to be made, of that act. It is also highly probable, that he would have consented without hesitation to rescind it, had nothing farther been endeavoured at the same time. But, considering what sort of spirit was then shown by the dissenters and others, it ought not to be a matter of great wonder, if he was afraid that, from the repeal of the other act (*viz.* that against occasional conformity), considerable damage might follow to the church over which he presided; and even, supposing his fears to be excessive, or quite groundless, yet certainly they were pardonable in a man who had never done, or designed to do, any thing disagreeable to the dissenters in any other affair, and who, in this, had the concurrence of some of the greatest and wisest of the English lords, and of the earl of Ilay, among the Scotch, though a professed Presbyterian."

However some may judge of this particular incident, I think it will appear, from the whole tenor of archbishop Wake's correspondence and transactions with Christian churches of different denominations, that he was a man of a pacific, gentle, and benevolent spirit, and an enemy to the feuds, animosities, and party prejudices, which divide the professors of one holy religion, and by which Christianity is exposed to the assaults of its virulent enemies, and wounded in the house of its pretended friends. To this deserved eulogy we may add what a learned and worthy divine¹ has said of this eminent prelate, considered as a controversial writer, even "that his accurate and superior

¹ Dr. William Richardson, master of Emanuel College in Cambridge, and canon of Lincoln. See his noble edition, and his very elegant and judicious continuation of bishop Godwin's *Commentarius de Præsulibus Angliæ*, published in 1743, at Cambridge. His words (p. 167)

are: "Nemo uspiam ecclesiæ Romanæ vel Anglicanæ statum penitus cognitum et exploratum habuit; et proinde in disputandi arenam prodiit tum ad opugnandum tum ad propugnandum instructissimus."

knowledge of the nature of the Romish hierarchy, and of the constitution of the church of England, furnished him with victorious arms, both for the subversion of error and the defence of truth."

AUTHENTIC COPIES OF THE ORIGINAL LETTERS, FROM
WHICH THE PRECEDING ACCOUNT IS DRAWN.

No. I.

A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Lambeth, Nov. 28, S. V., 1717.

I AM indebted to you for several kind letters, and some small tracts, which I have had the favour to receive from you. The last, which contains an account of the new edition that is going on of Chrysostome, I received yesterday. It will, no doubt, be a very valuable edition; but as they propose to go on with it, I shall hardly live to see it finished. They do not tell us, to whom here we may go for subscriptions; and it is too much trouble to make returns to Paris. They should, for their own advantage, say where subscriptions will be taken in London, and where one may call for the several volumes as they come out, and pay for the next that are going on.

Among the account of books you were pleased to send me, there is one with a very promising title, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, 5 volumes. I wish I could know what the chief of those anecdotes are; it may be a book very well worth having. I admire they do not disperse some sheets of such works. What they can add to make Moreri's Dictionary so very voluminous, I cannot imagine. I bought it in two exorbitant volumes, and thought it big enough so. While I am writing this, company is come in, so that I am forced to break off; and I can only assure you, that, upon all occasions, you shall find me very sincerely,

Reverend Sir,
Your faithful friend,
W. CANT.

N.B. This is the earliest letter in the whole collection; and, by the beginning of it, seems to be the first which the archbishop wrote to Mr. Beauvoir.

No. II.

A LETTER FROM MR. BEAUVOIR TO ARCHBISHOP WAKE.

MY LORD,

Paris, Dec. 11, 1717, O. S.

I HAD the honour of your grace's letter of the 28th ultimo but Sunday last, and therefore could not answer it sooner. A person is to be appointed to receive subscriptions for the new edition of St. Chrysostome, and deliver the copies. Enclosed is an account of the *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*. Dr. Du-Pin, with whom I dined last Monday, and with the syndic of the Sorbonne, and two other doctors, tells me, that what swells Moreri's Dictionary are several additions, and particularly the families of Great Britain. He hath the chief hand in this new edition. They talked as if the whole kingdom was to appeal to the future general council, &c. They wished for an union with the church of England, as the most effectual means to unite all the western churches. Dr. Du-Pin desired me to give his duty to your grace, upon my telling him that I would send you an *arrêt* of the parliament of Paris relating to him, and a small tract of his. I have transmitted them to Mr. Prevèreau, at Mr. Secretary Addison's office.

No. III.

A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Aug. 30, 1718.

I TOLD you, in one of my last letters, how little I expected from the present pretences of an union with us. Since I received the papers you sent me, I am more convinced that I was not mistaken. My task is pretty hard, and I scarce know how to manage myself in this matter. To go any farther than I have done in it, even as a divine only of the church of England, may meet with censure; and, as archbishop of Canterbury, I cannot treat with these gentlemen. I do not think my character at all inferior to that of an archbishop of Paris; on the contrary, without lessening the authority and dignity of the church of England, I must say it is in some respects superior. If the cardinal were in earnest for such an union, it would not be below him to treat with me himself about it. I should then have a sufficient ground to consult with my brethren, and to ask his majesty's leave to correspond with him concerning it. But to go on any farther with these gentlemen, will only expose me to the censure of doing what, in my station, ought not to be done without the king's knowledge; and it would be very odd for me to have an authoritative permission to treat with those who have no manner of authority to treat with me. However, I shall venture at some answer or other to both their letters and papers; and so have done with this affair.

I cannot tell well what to say to Dr. Du-Pin. If he thinks we are to take their direction what to retain, and what to give up, he is utterly mistaken. I am a friend to peace, but more to truth. And they may depend upon it, I shall always account our church to stand upon an equal foot with theirs; and that we are no more to receive laws from them, than we desire to impose any

upon them. In short, the church of England is free, is orthodox : she has a plenary authority within herself, and has no need to recur to any other church to direct her what to retain or what to do. Nor will we, otherwise than in a brotherly way, and in a full equality of right and power, ever consent to have any treaty with that of France. And, therefore, if they mean to deal with us, they must lay down this for the foundation, that we are to deal with one another upon equal terms. If, consistently with our own establishment, we can agree upon a closer union with one another, well ; if not, we are as much, and upon as good grounds, a free independent church as they are. And for myself, as archbishop of Canterbury, I have more power, larger privileges, and a greater authority than any of their archbishops ; from which by the grace of God, I will not depart—no, not for the sake of an union with them.

You see, sir, what my sense of this matter is ; and may perhaps think that I have a little altered my mind since this affair was first set on foot. As to my desire of peace and union with all other Christian churches, I am still the same : but with the doctor's *Commonitorium*, I shall never comply. The matter must be put into another method ; and, whatever they think, they must alter some of their doctrines, and practices too, or an union with them can never be effected. Of this, as soon as I have a little more leisure, I shall write my mind as inoffensively as I can to them, but yet freely too.

If any thing is to come of this matter, it will be the shortest method I can take of accomplishing it, to put them in the right way. If nothing (as I believe nothing will be done in it), it is good to leave them under a plain knowledge of what we think of ourselves and our church, and to let them see that we neither need nor seek the union proposed, but for their sake as well as our own ; or rather neither for theirs nor ours ; but in order to the promotion of a catholic communion (as far as is possible) among all the true churches of Christ.

I have now plainly opened my mind to you ; you will communicate no more of it than is fitting to the two doctors, but keep it as a testimony to my sincerity in this affair : and that I have no design but what is consistent with the honour and freedom of our English church, and with the security of that true and sound doctrine which is taught in it, and from which no consideration shall ever make me depart. I am,

Reverend Sir,

Your affectionate friend and brother,
W. CANT.

No. IV.

FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Oct. 8, 1718.

WHATEVER be the consequence of our corresponding with the Sorbonne doctors about matters of religion, the present situation of our affairs plainly seems to make it necessary for us so to do. Under this apprehension, I have written, though with great difficulty, two letters to your two doctors, which I

have sent to the secretary's office, to go with the next packet to my lord Stair. I beg you to inquire after them; they made up together a pretty thick packet, directed to you. In that to Dr. Du-Pin, I have, in answer to two of his MSS., described the method of making bishops in our church. I believe he will be equally both pleased and surprised with it. I wish you could show him the form of consecration, as it stands in the end of your large Common Prayer-books. The rest of my letters, both to him and Dr. Piers, is a venture which I know not how they will take, to convince them of the necessity of embracing the present opportunity of breaking off from the pope, and going one step farther than they have yet done in their opinion of his authority, so as to leave him only a primacy of place and honour; and that merely by ecclesiastical authority, as he was once bishop of the imperial city. I hope they both show you my letters: they are at this time very long, and upon a nice point. I shall be very glad if you can any way learn how they take the freedom I have used, and what they really think of it. I cannot so much trust to their answers, in which they have more room to conceal their thoughts, and seldom want to overwhelm me with more compliments than I desire, or am well able to bear.

Pray do all you can to search out their real sense of, and motions at the receipt of, these two letters; I shall thereby be able the better to judge how far I may venture hereafter to offer any thing to them upon the other points in difference between us; though, after all, I still think, if ever a reformation be made, it is the state that must govern the church in it. But this between ourselves.

No. V.

A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO DR. DU-PIN, DATED
OCTOBER 1, 1718.

Spectatissimo Viro, eruditorum suæ gentis, si non et sui sæculi, principi; Dno
L. Ell. Du-Pin, Doctori Parisiensi.

Gal. prov. Div. Cant. Archs. in omnibus εὐφρονεῖν καὶ εὐπράττειν.

Dru est, amplissime Domine, ex quo debitor tibi factus sum ob plures tractatus MSS. quos tuo beneficio a dilecto mihi in Christo D. Beauvoir accepi. Perlegi diligenter omnes, nec sine fructu; plurima quippe ab iis, cognitu dignissima, vel primum didici, vel clarius intellexi; beatamque his difficillimis temporibus censeo ecclesiam Gallicanam, quæ talem sibi in promptu habeat doctorem, in dubiis consiliarium, in juribus suis tuendis advocatum; qui et possit et audeat, non modo contra suos vel erroneos vel perfidos symmystas dignitatem ejus tueri, sed et ipsi summo pontifici (ut olim B. Apostolus Paulus Petro) in faciem resistere, quia reprehensibilis est. Atque utinam hæc quæ jam Romæ aguntur, tandem aliquando omnibus vobis animum darent ad jura vestra penitus asserenda! Ut deinceps non ex pragmaticis (ut olim) sanctionibus, non (ut hoc fere tempore) ex concordatis, non ex præjudicatis hominum opinionibus, res vestras agatis: sed ea autoritate

qua decet ecclesiam tam illustris ac præpotentis imperii; quæ nullo jure, vel divino, vel humano, alteri olim aut ecclesiæ aut homini subicitur; sed ipsa jus habet intra se sua negotia terminandi, et in omnibus, sub rege suo Christianissimo, populum suum commissum propriis suis legibus et sanctionibus gubernandi.

Expergiscimini itaque, viri eruditi; et quod ratio postulat, nec refragatur religio, strenue agite. Hoc bonorum subditorum erga regem suum officium, Christianorum erga episcopos suos, heu! nimium extraneorum tyrannide oppressos, pietas exigit, flagitat, requirit. Excutite tandem jugum istud, quod nec patres vestri, nec vos ferre potuistis. Hic ad reformationem non prætensam, sed veram, sed justam, sed necessariam ecclesiæ nostræ, primus fuit gradus. Quæ Cæsaris erant, Cæsari reddidimus; quæ Dei, Deo. Coronæ imperiali regni nostri suum suprematum, episcopatui suam *ἀξίαν*, ecclesiæ suam libertatem restituit, vel eo solum nomine semper cum honore memorandus, rex Henricus VIII. Hæc omnia sub pedibus conculcaverat idem ille tunc nobis, qui jam vobis inimicus. Sæpius autoritas papalis intra certos fines legibus nostris antea fuerat coercita; et iis quidem legibus, quas siquis hodie inspiceret, impossibile ei videretur eas potuisse, aliqua vel vi vel astutia, perrumpere. Sed idem nobis accidit quod illis, qui dæmoniacum vinculis ligare voluere. Omnia frustra tentata; nihil perfecere inania legum repagula, contra nescio quos prætextus potestatis divinæ nullis humanis constitutionibus subditæ. Tandem defatigato regno dura necessitas sua jura tuendi oculos omnium aperuit. Proponitur quæstio episcopis ac clero in utriusque provinciae synodo congregatis, an episcopus Romanus in sacris scripturis habeat aliquam majorem jurisdictionem in regno Angliæ quam quivis alius externus episcopus! In partem sanam, justam, veram, utriusque concilii suffragia concurrere. Quod episcopi cum suo clero statuerant, etiam regni academiæ calculo suo approbarunt, rex cum parlamento sancivit; adeoque tandem, quod unice fieri poterat, sublata penitus potestas, quam nullæ leges, nulla jura, vel civilia vel ecclesiastica, intra debitos fines unquam poterant continere. En nobis promptum ac paratum exemplum; quod sequi vobis gloriosum, nec minus posteris vestris utile fuerit! Quo solo pacem, absque veritatis dispendio, tueri valeatis, ac irridere bruta de Vaticano fulmina, quæ jamdudum ostenditis vobis non ultra terrori esse, utpote a sacris scripturis edoctis, quod *maledictio absque causa prolata non superveniet*. Prov. xxvi. 2.

State ergo in libertate qua Christus vos donaverit. Frustra ad concilium generale nunquam convocandum res vestras refertis. Frustra decretorum vim suspendere curatis, quæ ab initio injusta, erronea, ac absurda, ac plane nulla erant. Non talibus subsidiis vobis opus est. Regia permissione, autoritate sua a Christo commissa, archiepiscopi et episcopi vestri in concilium nationale coeant: academiarum, cleri, ac præcipue utrorumque principis theologicæ facultatis Parisiensis, consilium atque auxilium sibi assumant: sic muniti quod æquum et justum fuerit decernant: quod decreverint etiam civili autoritate firmandum curent: nec patiantur factiosos homines alio res vestras vocare, aut ad judicem appellare qui nullam in vos auctoritatem exposcere debeat, aut, si exposcat, merito a vobis recusari et poterit et debuerit.

Ignoscas, vir *πολυμαθέστατε*, indignationi dicam an amoris meo, si forte aliquanto ultra modum commoveri videar ab iis quæ vobis his proximis annis acciderint. Veritatem Christi omni qua possum animi devotione colo.

Hanc vos tuemini : pro hac censuras pontificias subiistis, et porro ferre parati estis.

Ille, qui se pro summo ac fere unico Christi vicario venditat, veritatem ejus sub pedibus proterit, conculcat. Justitiam veneror : ac proinde vos injuste, ac plane tyrannice, si non oppressos, at petitos, at comminatos ; at ideo solum non penitus obrutos, subversos, prostratos, quia Deus furori ejus obicem posuit, nec permiserit vos in ipsius manus incidere ; non possum non vindicare, et contra violentum oppressorem, meum qualecunque suffragium ferre.

Jura ac libertates inclyti regni, celeberrimæ ecclesiæ, præstantissimi clerici cum honore intueor. Hæc papa reprobatur, contemnit ; et, dum sic alios tractat, merito se aliis castigandum, certe intra justos fines coercendum, exhibet. Siquid ei potestatis supra alios episcopos Christus commiserit, proferantur tabulæ ; jus evincatur ; cedere non recusamus.

Siquam prærogativam ecclesiæ concilia sedis imperialis episcopo concesserint (etsi cadente imperio, etiam ea prærogativa excidisse merito possit censer) ; tamen quod ad me attinet, servatis semper regnorum juribus, ecclesiarum libertatibus, episcoporum dignitate, modo in cæteris conveniatur, per me licet, suo fruatur, qualicunque primatu ; non ego illi locum primum, non inanem honoris titulum invideo. At in alias ecclesias dominari ; episcopatum, cujus partem Christus unicuique episcopo in solidum reliquit, tantum non in solidum sibi soli vindicare ; siquis ejus injustæ tyrannidi sese opposuerit, cælum ac terram in illius perniciem commovere ; hæc nec nos unquam ferre potuimus, nec vos debetis. In hoc pacis fundamento si inter nos semel conveniatur, in cæteris aut idem sentiemus omnes, aut facile alii aliis dissentienti libertatem absque pacis jactura concedemus.

Sed abripit calamum meum nescio quis *Ἐνθουσιασµὸς*, dum de vestris injuriis nimium sum sollicitus ; et forte liberius quam par esset de his rebus ad te scripsisse videbor.

Ego vero uti ea omnia, quæ tu in tuo *Commonitorio* exaraveris, etiam illa in quibus ab invicem dissentimus, grato animo accipio ; ita ut aperte, ut candide et absque omni fuco porro ad me scribere pergas, eaque *παῖρησία* qua amicum cum amico agere deceat, imprimis a te peto ; eo te mihi amiciorem fore existimans, quo simplicius, quo planius, quicquid censueris, libere dixeris.

Nec de *Commonitorio* tuo amplius aliquid hoc tempore reponam ; in quo cum plurima placeant, tum id imprimis, quod etiam tuo judicio, non adeo longe ab invicem distemus, quin si de fraterna unione ineunda publica aliquando autoritate deliberari contigerit, via facile inveniri poterit ad pacem inter nos stabiliendam, salva utrinque ecclesiæ catholicæ fide ac veritate.

Quod ad alteros tuos tractatus de constitutione episcoporum in ecclesiis vacantibus, siquidem papa, legitime requisitus, facultates suas personis a rege nominatis obstinate pernegaverit ; in iis sane reperio quod non tua eruditione et judicio sit ; quare, ne prorsus *ἀσύµβολος* discedam, ordinem tibi breviter delineabo constituendi episcopos in hac reformata nostra ecclesia.

Tu judicabis, an aliquid magis canonice vel excogitari vel statui potuerit.

No. VI.

A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO DR. P. PIERS GIRARDIN,
WRITTEN IN OCTOBER, 1718.

Præstantissimo Viro, consummatissimo Theologo, Dno Patricio Piers de Girardin,
sacræ Facultatis Parisiensis Theologiæ Doctori.

Gul. prov. Div. Cant. Archs. Gratiam, Pacem, ac Salutem in Domino.

Post prolixiores epistolas eruditissimo confratri tuo Dno Dri Du-Pin hoc ipso tempore exaratas; quasque ego paulo minus tuas quam illius existimari, velim; facilius a te veniam impetrabo, vir spectatissime, si aliquanto brevius ad te rescribam; et in illis quidem animi mei vel amoris vel indignationi libere indulsi; eaque simplicitate, qua decet Christianum, et maxime episcopum, quid vobis, mea saltem sententia, factu opus sit, aperte exposui. Siquid, vel tuo vel illius judicio, asperius quam par esset a me exciderit, cum vestri causa adeo commotus fuerim, facile id homini tam benevole erga vos animato, uti spero, condonabitur: unaque reminiscemini, nullam unquam vobis stabilem inter vos pacem, aut catholicam cum aliis unionem, haberi posse, dum aliquid ultra merum honoris primatum ac προερίαν pontifici Romano tribuitis. Hoc nos per aliquot sæcula experti sumus; vos jam sentire debetis, qui, nescio quo insano ipsius beneficio, adeo commodam occasionem nacti estis, non tam ab illius decretis appellandi, quam ab ipsius dominio ac potestate vos penitus subducendi. Ipse vos pro schismaticis habet; qualem vos eum censere debetis. Ipse a vestra communione se suosque separandos publice denunciatur. Quid vobis in hoc casu faciendum? Liceat mihi veteris illius Cæsareæ episcopi Firmiliani verbis respondere; sic olim Stephanum papam acriter quidem, sed non ideo minus juste, castigavit: *Vide qua imperitia reprehendere audeas eos qui contra mendacium pro veritate nituntur. Peccatum vero quam magnum tibi exaggerasti, quando te a tot gregibus scidisti: excidisti enim te ipsum, noli te fallere; siquidem ille est vere schismaticus qui se a communione ecclesiastica unitatis apostatam fecerit. Dum enim putas omnes a te abstinere posse, solum te ab omnibus abstinuisti.* Cypr. Op. Epist. 75.

Agite ergo, viri eruditi, et quo vos divina providentia vocat, libenter sequimini. Clemens papa vos abdicavit: a sua et suorum communione repulit, rejecit. Vos illius authoritati renunciatur. Cathedræ Petri, quæ in omnibus catholicis ecclesiis conservatur, adhærete; etiam nostram ne refugiatis communionem; quibuscum si non in omnibus omnino doctrinæ Christinæ capitibus conveniatis, at in præcipuis, at in fundamentalibus, at in omnibus articulis fidei ad salutem necessariis plane consentitis; etiam in cæteris, uti speramus, brevi consensuri. Nobis certe eo minus vos vel hæreticos vel schismaticos fore confidite, quod a papa ejecti pro hæreticis et schismaticis Romæ æstimemini. Sed contrahenda vela, nec indulgendum huic meo pro vobis zelo, etsi sit secundum scientiam. Prudentibus loquor; vos ipsi, quod dico, judicate.

Ad literas tuas, præstantissime Domine, redeo; in quibus uti tuum de

mediocritate mea iudicium, magis ex affectu erga me tuo, quam secundum merita mea prolatum, gratanter accipio, ita in eo te nunquam falli patiar, quod me pacis ecclesiasticæ amantissimum credas, omniaque illi consequendæ danda putem, præter veritatem. Quantam ad illam promovendam tu jamjam contuleris, ex sex illis propositionibus quas tuis inseruisti literis, gratus agnosco; ac nisi ambitiose magis quam hominem privatum deceat, me facturum existimarem, etiam eruditissimis illis confratribus tuis doctoribus Sorbonicis, quibus priores meas literas communicasti, easdem per te gratias referrem. Sane facultas vestra Parisiensis, uti maximum in his rebus pondus merito habere debeat, sive numerum, sive dignitatem, sive denique eruditionem suorum membrorum spectemus: ita a vobis exordium sumere debebit unio illa inter nos tantopere desiderata, siquidem eam aliquando iniri voluerit Deus.

Interim gratulor vobis post illustrissimum card. Noaillium, alterum illum ecclesiæ Gallicanæ, fidei catholicæ, columnam et ornamentum, procuratorem regium D. D. Joly de Fleury; quem virum ego non jam primum ex tuis literis debito prosequi honore didici, verum etiam ob ea quæ vestri causa his proximis annis publice egerit, antea suspicere, et pene venerari, consueveram. Sub his ducibus, quid non sperandum in publicum vestrum ac catholicæ ecclesiæ commodum? Intonet de Vaticano pontifex Romanus: fremant inter vos ipsos conjurata turba. Romanæ curiæ servi magis quam suæ Galliæ fideles subditi. His præsiidiis ab eorum injuriis tuti, vanas eorum iras contemnere valeatis.

Ego vero, uti omnia vobis publice fausta ac felicia precor, ita tibi, spectatissime vir, me semper addictissimum fore promitto. De quo quicquid alias censeris, id saltem ut de me credas jure postulo; me sincere veritatem Christi et amare et quærere, et, nisi omnino me fallat animus, etiam assecutum esse. Nulli Christiano inimicus antehac aut fui aut deinceps sum futurus; sic de erroribus eorum, qui a me dissident, judico, ut semper errantes Deo judicandos relinquam. Homo sum, errare possum; sic vero animatus audacter dicam, hæreticus esse nolo. Te vero, siquidem id permittas, fratrem; sin id minus placeat, saltem id indulgebis, ut me vere et ex animo profitear, excellentissime Domine, tui amantissimum.

W. C.

No. VII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Nov. 6, O. S., 1718.

YOUR last letter gives me some trouble, but more curiosity. I little thought, when I wrote to your two doctors, that my letters should have been read, much less copies of them given to any such great persons as you mention. I write in haste, as you know, and trust no amanuensis to copy for me, because I will not be liable to be betrayed. And upon a review of my foul, and only copy of them, since I had your account from Paris, I find some things might have been more accurately expressed, had I taken more time to correct my style. But I wish that may be the worst exception against them: I fear the freedom I took in exhorting them to

do somewhat in earnest, upon so fair a provocation with regard to the papal authority, though excused as well as I could, will hardly go down so effectually as I could wish with them. This raises my curiosity to know truly and expressly how that part of my letters operated on both your doctors; which, by a wary observation, you may in good measure gather from their discourse. I cannot tell whether they showed my letters to you; if they did, I am sure you will think I did not mince the matter with them in that particular.

Of your two doctors, Dr. Piers seems the more polite: he writes elegantly both for style and matter, and has the free air, even as to the business of an union. Yet I do not despair of Dr. Du-Pin, whom, thirty years ago, in his collection of tracts relating to church discipline, I did not think far from the kingdom of God.

No. VIII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Nov. 18, 1718.

AT present, my more particular curiosity leads me to know the sentiments of the leading men in France with regard to the court of Rome; from which, if we could once divide the Gallican church, a reformation in other matters would follow of course. The scheme that seems to me most likely to prevail, is, to agree in the independence (as to all matters of authority) of every national church on any others; and in their right to determine all matters that arise within themselves; and, for points of doctrine, to agree, as far as possible, in all articles of any moment (as in effect we either already do, or easily may); and for other matters, to allow a difference, till God shall bring us to an union in those also. One only thing should be provided for, to purge out of the public offices of the church such things as hinder a perfect communion in the service of the church, that so, whenever any one come from us to them, or from them to us, we may all join together in prayers and the holy sacraments with each other. In our liturgy there is nothing but what they allow, save the single rubric relating to the eucharist; in theirs nothing but what they agree may be laid aside, and yet the public offices be never the worse or more imperfect for want of it. Such a scheme as this I take to be a more proper ground of peace, at the beginning, than to go to more particulars; if in such a foundation we could once agree, the rest would be more easily built upon it. If you find occasion, and that it may be of use, you may extract this object, and offer it to their consideration, as what you take to be my sense in the beginning of a treaty; not that I think we shall stop here, but that, being thus far agreed, we shall the more easily go into a greater perfection hereafter. I desire you to observe, as much as you can, when it is I may the most properly write to the doctors. I took the subject of the pope's authority in my last, as arising naturally from the present state of their affairs, and as the first thing to be settled in order to an union. How my freedom in that respect has been received, I desire you freely to communicate.

No. IX.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Dec. 2. O. S., 1718.

I AM glad the two doctors seem to receive my last letters so well. The truth is, that while they manage as they do with the court of Rome, nothing will be done to any purpose: and all ends in trifling at the last. We honestly deny the pope all authority over us: they pretend, in words, to allow him so much as is consistent with what they call their Gallican privileges; but let him ever so little use it contrary to their good liking, they protest against it, appeal to a general council, and then mind him as little as we can do. In earnest, I think we treat his holiness not only with more sincerity, but more respect than they; for, to own a power, and yet keep a reserve to obey that power only so far, and in such cases as we may make ourselves judges of, is a greater affront than honestly to confess that we deny the power, and, for that reason, refuse to obey it. But my design was partly to bring them to this, and partly to see how they would bear at least the proposal of totally breaking off from the court and bishop of Rome.

What you can observe or discover more of their inclinations in this particular will be of good use, especially if it could be found out what the court would do, and how far that may be likely to countenance the clergy in such a separation. In the mean time, it cannot be amiss to cultivate a friendship with the leading men of that side, who may in time be made use of to the good work of reforming in earnest the Gallican church. I am a little unhappy that I have none here I yet dare trust with what I do; though I am satisfied most of our high-church bishops and clergy would readily come into such a design. But these are not men either to be confided in, or made use of, by

Your assured friend,

W. CANT.

P.S.—Did cardinal de Noailles know what authority the archbishop of Canterbury has gotten by the reformation, and how much a greater man he is now than when he was the pope's *legatus natus*, it might encourage him to follow so good a pattern; and be assured (in that case), he would lose nothing by sending back his cardinal's cap to Rome. I doubt your doctors know little of these matters.

No. X.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Jan. 23. O. S., 1718.

WHEN you see my letter (for I conclude the doctor will show it you), you may do well to bring on the discourse of our episcopal rights and privileges in England, and particularly of the prerogatives of the archbishop of Can-

terbury, which, I believe, are greater than those of the archbishop of Rheims, or of all the archbishops in France. This may raise in them a curiosity to know more of this matter, which, if they desire, I will take the first little leisure I have to give them a more particular account of it. We must deal with men in their own way, if we mean to do any good with them. They have been used to a pompous ministry, and, like the Jews heretofore, would despise the Messiah himself if he should come in a poor and low estate to them. And, therefore, though, for myself, I account all temporal grandeur as nothing, and am afraid it has rather hurt the church of Christ, and the true spirit of piety and religion, than done any real service to either, yet it may be the means of disposing these gentlemen to a more favourable thought of, and inclination towards, a reformation ; to convince them that they may return to the truth of Christianity, and leave the corruptions of Rome, without losing any honour, any power, that a servant of Christ would desire to be troubled withal. Had the first reformers in France yielded to this scheme, as we in England showed them an example, the whole Gallican church had come in to them, and been at this day as we are now : we must therefore hit off the blot which they made, and satisfy their ambition so far as to show them that they may reform, without giving up either their authority or revenues, and be still as great, but much better, bishops, under our circumstances than under their own.

As to the pope's authority, I take the difference to be only this : that we may all agree (without troubling ourselves with the reason) to allow him a primacy of order in the episcopal college. They would have it thought necessary to hold communion with him, and allow him a little canonical authority over them, as long as he will leave them to prescribe the bounds of it. We fairly say we know of no authority he has in our realm ; but for actual submission to him, they as little mind it as we do.

At present he has put them out of his communion ; we have withdrawn ourselves from his ; both are out of communion with him, and I think it is not material on which side the breach lies.

No. XI.

A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Feb. 5. 1718-19, O. S.

I do not doubt that mine of the 18th of January, with the two enclosed for my lord Stair and Dr. Du-Pin, are before this come safe to you. I should not be sorry if, upon this late transaction between the doctor and ministry, you have kept it in your hands, and not delivered it to him. I had just begun a letter to Dr. Piers, but have thrown aside what I writ of it, since I received your last ; and must beg the favour of you to make my excuse to him, with the tenders of my hearty service, till I see a little more what the meaning of this present inquisition is. I am not so unacquainted with the finesses of courts, as not to apprehend, that what is now done may be as well in favour of the doctor's attempt as against it. If the *procureur-général* be indeed well affected to it, he might take this method,

not only to his own security, but to bring the affair under a deliberation, and give a handle to those whom it chiefly concerns, to discover their sentiments of it. But the matter may be also put to another use, and nobody can answer that it shall not be so : and till I see what is the meaning of this sudden turn, I shall write no more letters for the French ministry to examine, but content myself to have done enough already to men who cannot keep their own counsel, and live in a country where even the private correspondence of learned men with one another must be brought to a public inquiry, and be made the subject of a state inquisition. I am not aware, that in any of my letters there is one line that can give a just offence to the court. I always took it for granted, that no step should be taken toward an union, but with the knowledge and approbation, and even by the authority of civil powers ; and indeed, if I am in the right, that nothing can be done to any purpose in this case but by throwing off the pope's authority, as the first step to be made in order to it, it is impossible for any such attempt to be made by any power less than the king's. All, therefore, that has passed hitherto, stands clear of any just exception as to the civil magistrate ; it is only a consultation in order to find out a way how an union might be made, if a fit occasion should hereafter be offered for the doing of it. Yet still I do not like to have my letters exposed in such a manner, though satisfied there is nothing to be excepted against in them ; and think I shall be kind to the doctors themselves, to suspend, at least for a while, my further troubling of them. I hope you will endeavour by some or other of your friends, to find out the meaning of this motion ; from whom it came ; how far it has gone ; what was the occasion of it ; and what is like to be the consequence of it ; what the abbé Du Bois says of my letters, and how they are received by him and the other ministers. I shall soon discover whether any notice has been taken of it to our ministry ; and I should think, if the abbé spoke to your lord about it, he would acquaint you with it.

No. XII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Feb. 24. 1718.

I do not at all wonder that the cardinals Rohan and Bissi should do all they can to blacken the good cardinal de Noailles, and in him the party of the anti-constitutionists, but especially the Sorbonne, their most weighty and learned adversaries ; and I am sensible that such a complaint is not only the most proper to do this, but to put the court itself under some difficulties, which way soever it acts upon it. But I am still the more curious to learn, if it were possible, not only the proceedings of the ministry above board hereupon, but their private thoughts and opinions about it. I am under no concern upon my own account, further than that I would be unwilling to have my letters scanned by so many great men, which will scarcely bear the judgment of my very friends. You must do me the favour to get out of your doctors what will be most obliging to them, whether to continue to write to

them, or to be silent for a while, till we see what will be the effect of this inquiry. In the mean time, it grows every day plainer what I said from the beginning, that no reformation can be made but by the authority and with the concurrence of the court; and that all we divines have to do is, to use our interest to gain them to it, and to have a plan ready to offer to them, if they would be prevailed upon to come into it.

I am at present engaged in two or three other transactions of moment to the foreign protestants, which take up abundance of my time; God knows what will be the effect of it. Nevertheless, if I can in any way help to promote this, though I am at present without any help, alone, in this project, I shall do my utmost, both to keep up my poor little interest with the two doctors and their friends, and to concert proper methods with them about it. The surest way will be to begin as well, and to go as far as we can, in settling a friendly correspondence one with another; to agree to own each other as true brethren, and members of the catholic Christian church; to agree to communicate in every thing we can with one another (which, on their side, is very easy, there being nothing in our offices, in any degree, contrary to their own principles); and would they purge out of theirs what is contrary to ours, we might join in the public service with them, and yet leave one another in the free liberty of believing transubstantiation or not, so long as we did not require any thing to be done by either in pursuance of that opinion. The Lutherans do this very thing; many of them communicate not only in prayers, but in the communion with us; and we never inquire whether they believe consubstantiation, or even pay any worship to Christ as present with the elements, so long as their outward actions are the same with our own, and they give no offence to any with their opinions.

P.S. Since this last accident, and the public noise of an union at Paris, I have spoken something more of it to my friends here, who, I begin to hope, will fall in with it. I own a correspondence, but say not a tittle how far, or in what way, I have proceeded, more than that letters have passed, which can no longer be a secret. I have never shown one of my own or the doctor's to anybody.

No. XIII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

March 16. S. V. 1718.

I THANK you for your account of what passed between Mons. Hop and you, relating to the project of an union: I doubt that gentleman will not be pleased with it, because, indeed, the Gallican church will never unite with any church that has not an orderly episcopacy in it. I am very sorry my poor letters are made so public. The next thing will be, that either the imprudence of our friends, or the malice of our enemies, will print them; and then I shall have censures enough for them, perhaps some reflections printed upon them, or answers made to them; but this shall not engage me in any defence of them, or in taking any further notice of them. I beg you to keep those I have written to yourself from all view; for I have no copies of them, and I

wrote them as I do my other ordinary letters, without any great thought or consideration, more than what my subject (as I was writing) led me in that instant to. This is the liberty to be taken with a friend, where one is sure what he writes shall go no further; but for the same reason, will require the strictest suppression from any other view. I cannot yet guess what this turn means, nor how it will end; I wish your doctors could give you some further light into it.

P.S. I entreat you never to forget me to the two good doctors, whom I love and honour: keep up the little interest I have with them. As soon as ever the present turn is over, I will write to Dr. Girardin. I hope my letters will not always be carried as criminals before the secretary of state, though I am persuaded he bears no ill-will to me.

No. XIV.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

April 29. 1718.

I AM much concerned to hear that Dr. Du-Pin decays so fast: I feared by his last letter that he was sinking apace. Pray, is there any good print of him taken these last years? for I have one that was made when he was a young man. I am sorry Dr. Piers grows faint-hearted: I never thought any thing could be done as to a reformation in France, without the authority of the court: but I was in hopes the regent and others might have found their account in such an attempt; and then the good disposition of the bishops, clergy, and Sorbonne, with the Parliament of Paris, would have given a great deal of spirit and expedition to it. I have done what was proper for me in that matter: I can now go no further, till the abbot Du Bois is better disposed; yet I shall still be pleased to keep up a little esteem between those gentlemen, which will do *us* some good, if it does not do *them* any service. I am apt to think the good old man (Du-Pin) does not think us far from the kingdom of heaven. I have with this sent a letter of friendship to Dr. Piers, which you will be so kind as to send him, with my kind respects.

No. XV.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO DR. DU-PIN, DATED LAMBETH, MAY 1. 1719.

N.B. Du-Pin was dead before it arrived at Paris.

SPERAVERAM equidem tua auctoritate, constantia, eruditione, pietate, moderatione, quæ omnia adeo in te perfecta esse noscuntur, ut vix in aliis singula, præclari aliquid ad Dei gloriam, ecclesiæque Gallicanæ utilitatem, perfici potuisse. Crediderim advenisse tempus, in quo, excusso Romanæ tyrannidis jugo, una nobiscum in eandem communionem coalesceretis. In dogmatibus, prout a te candide proponuntur, non admodum dissentimus: in

regimine ecclesiastico minus : in fundamentalibus, sive doctrinam sive disciplinam spectemus, vix omnino. Quam facilis erat ab his initiis ad concordiam progressus, modo animos haberemus ad pacem compositos ! Sed hoc principibus sæculi non arridet, unionis inimicis etiam plurimum displicet : neque nobis forte dabit Deus esse tam felicibus, ut ad hujusmodi unionem nostram qualemcunque operam conferamus. Relinquamus hoc illi, in cujus manu sunt rerum omnium tempora et occasiones. Sufficiat voluisse aliquid in tam insigni opere, forte et semina in terram projecisse, quæ fructum tandem multiplicem proferant. Interim, quod nemo nobis denegare possit, nos invicem ut fratres, ut ejusdem mystici corporis membra, amplectamur.

No. XVI.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Feb. 9. S. V. 1719-20.

I HEARTILY wish there were either spirit or inclination enough in the Sorbonne to go on with our friend the abbé's project ; but the fire decays, men's inclinations cool : the court will do nothing, and you are very sensible that, without the court, nothing can be done in any such affair. Nevertheless, their good opinion of the church of England should be kept up as much as possible ; we should encourage them all we can to account of us as brethren, who have only thrown off what they are weary of—the tyranny of the court of Rome, without any change in any fundamental article, either of the doctrine or government of the catholic church ; and upon this ground I shall be ready to continue a brotherly correspondence with any of their great men, provided it be done with such caution as may not expose my letters to be made prisoners to a secretary of state—a thing which can never become my character, and may carry an ill aspect, even in our own court, till the thing be rightly understood.

No. XVII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE ARCHBISHOP TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

March 31. 1720.

I THANK you for your account of the present state of the French church. It is a very odd one indeed, but will settle into an agreement at last. When once the appellants begin to break, the court will drive all the *obstinate* (as they will call them ; I should name them, the *honest* men of courage and constancy) to a compliance.

No. XVIII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE ARCHBISHOP TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

April 19. O. S. 1720.

I PERCEIVE, by some late letters from him (Piers Girardin), that he begins to despair of the business of the constitution. He has reason : the cardinal de Noailles is ensnared, and has gone too far to retire. The new archbishop of Cambray will be a cardinal ; and this affair of the constitution must procure the *calot* for him. The regent himself is afraid of the Spanish party and the Jesuits ; and he will gain, or at least appease them. For all these reasons, the doctrine of the church, and the Gallican liberties, must be abandoned ; and, on the slight pretence of a comment of no esteem with the opposite party, an accommodation will certainly be made ; and those who will not voluntarily go, shall be driven into it. If our poor friend be one of those who must hereby suffer, why may he not consider of a retreat hither, and, since he cannot yet bring on an union with the two churches, unite himself with ours, from which I am sure his principles, and I believe his inclinations, are not greatly distant ? But this must be managed very tenderly, and rather by a kind of rallying, than a direct proposal of it. If he inclines to it, he will easily understand your meaning ; if not, it is best not to go on far with him in a matter in which you will have no good success.

No. XIX.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. LE CLERC.

April, 1719.

NOVUM Testamentum Gallicum, notis tuis feliciter ornatum, totum, nec sine fructu, perlegi. Præfatione tua eidem præfixa mirifice affectus sum ; legi, relegi, quin et sæpius deinceps repetam. Ita me in ipso præsertim ejus initio commovit, ut veræ pietatis in ea relucens spiritum nunquam satis laudare possim, vel animo meo satis alte imprimere.

Et quamvis in annotationibus tuis quædam liberius dicta occurrant, quæ non æque omnibus placeant, neque mihi ipsi ubique satisfaciant ; fero tamen, et vel in ipso tuo a communi sententia discessu aliquid mihi invenire videor, quod ignoscere magis quam acerbius reprehendere debeam, multo minus inclementius damnare. Libertatem prophetandi, modo pia ac sobria sit, cum charitate ac mansuetudine conjuncta, nec contra analogiam *fidei semel sanctis traditæ*, adeo non vituperandam, ut etiam probandam censeam. De rebus adiaphoris cum nemine contendendum puto. Ecclesias reformatas, etsi in aliquibus a nostra Anglicana dissentientes, libenter amplector. Optarem equidem regimen episcopale bene temperatum, et ab omni injusta dominatione sejunctum, quale apud nos obtinet, et, siquid ego in his rebus sapiam, ab ipso apostolorum ævo in ecclesia receptum fuerit, et ab iis omnibus fuisset retentum ; nec despero quin aliquando restitutum, si non ipse videam, at posteri

videbunt. Interim absit ut ego tam ferrei pectoris sim, ut ob ejusmodi defectum (sic mihi absque omni invidia appellare liceat) aliquas earum a communione nostra abscindendas credam; aut, cum quibusdam furiosis inter nos Scriptoribus, eas nulla vera ac valida sacramenta habere, adeoque vix Christianos esse pronuntiem. Unionem arctiorem inter omnes reformatos procurare quovis pretio vellem. Hæc si in regimine ecclesiastico ac publicis ecclesiarum officiis obtineri potuit; aut ego plurimum fallor, aut id solum brevi conducere ad animorum inter eos unionem conciliandam, et viam sterneret ad plenam in omnibus majoris momenti dogmatibus concordiam stabiliendam. Quantum hoc ad religionis nostræ securitatem conducere; quantum etiam ad pseudo-catholicorum Romanensium conversionem, cæcus sit qui non videat. — Sed abripuit me longius quam par esset hæc semper mihi dulcis de pace ac unione ecclesiarum reformatarum cogitatio, — &c.

No. XX.

ARCHBISHOP WAKE'S LETTER TO THE PASTORS AND PROFESSORS OF GENEVA.

April 8. 1719.

QUAMVIS literis vestris nihil mihi gratius potuit afferri, non tamen absque summo dolore, vix oculis siccis, eas perlegi; neque credo quenquam esse tam ferrei pectoris, qui ad ea mala quæ in illis referuntur non perhorrescat, mireturque talia ab hominibus erga homines, a popularibus erga populares suos, a Christianis denique erga Christianos, idque (quod fidem omnem exuperare valeat) etiam religionis causa, fieri et perpetrari.

Vos interim, venerandi viri, quod vestri erat officii, sedulo præstitistis. Delegatos ecclesiarum Hungaricarum amice accepistis. Querimoniam eorum, ea qua par erat charitate atque sympathia fraterna audivistis; nullaque mora adhibita, ad remedium malis ipsorum inveniendum omnes vestras cogitationes convertistis. Per illustres magistratus vestros cæteros reformatæ religionis principes atque senatores, ad persecutiones horum fratrum vestrorum serio considerandas, excitavistis, et ut suam auctoritatem interponerent ad sedandas eorum oppressiones enixissime obsecrastis.

Denique, nequid vel minimi ponderis desideretur quo studium vestrum in hoc tam insigni charitatis opere exequendo ostendatis, etiam mea qualicunque opera uti voluistis, ad animum augustissimi regis nostri commovendum, ne in hac tam gravi sua necessitate afflictis Christi servis deesset.

O amorem vere Christianum! et qualem deceat ejusdem corporis membra erga se invicem habere! Dignum profecto et vobis, et eximio illo vestro congressu, opus: ut quo præcipue tempore convenistis ad laudes Dei celebrandas, qui per duo jam secula religionem reformatam vobis incolumem servaverit, eodem etiam illam ipsam religionem evangelicam in aliis regionibus oppressam, concussam, ac tantum non extremum quasi spiritum trahentem, sublevetis et, si fieri possit, in integrum restituatis.

Ego vero, fratres charissimi, et propria voluntate motus, et vestro tam illustri exemplo impulsus, adeo eodem vobiscum ardore accendor, ut nihil non tentandum putem, quo vestris tam piis, tam justis, tamque benignis conatibus optatum successum compararem.

Imprimis igitur nobilem virum comitem Sunderlandiæ primarium regis ministrum sedulo adivi : literas vestras illi communicavi ; petii, oravi, ut in hac re suam mihi operam atque auxilium concedere vellet ; utque simul regiam majestatem adiremus ; non quod de ipsius prompta voluntate dubitarem, sed ut quæ in hac causa facienda essent, eo majori vigore atque promptitudine perficerentur. Successit, fere ultra spem, conatus noster. Utriusque ecclesiæ tum Hungariæ tum vicinæ Vallensis, oppressiones regi, eo quo par erat affectu, exposuimus. Favorem ejus atque auctoritatem apud Cæsarem regemque Sardiniae obnixè imploravimus, ut ab his tam injustis vexationibus, eorum jussu et mandatis, liberentur. Et præcipue quod ad Pedemontanas ecclesias attinet, etiam adhortati sumus, ut jure suo a rege Sardinia postulare, ut pacta in his quæ religionis exercitium concernent, earum gratia inita, meliori fide in posterum observentur. Annuit votis nostris rex serenissimus ; neque dubito quin legatis suis jamdudum præceperit, ut omnem quam possunt operam suo nomine impendant, quo ab istis adeo iniquis oppressionibus utriusque ecclesiæ membra liberentur. Orandus Deus ut tanti principis conatibus, in hac tam justa, tam pia, tam religioni Christianæ proficua interpellatione, aspirare dignetur, et oppressis suis servis exoptatam requiem tandem concedere, pro immensa sua misericordia, velit.

Interim, dum hæc feliciter, uti spero, peraguntur, ignoscite, fratres dilectissimi, si majoris quidem laboris atque difficultatis, sed longe maximi omnibus commodi, inceptum vobis proponam ; in quo et sæpe alias et hoc tempore complures primariae dignitatis viri summo studio allaborant ; et quod ab omnibus, quibus puritas Evangelii reipsa cordi sit, una secum allaborandum sperant. Jamdudum sentitis quo mea tendit adhortatio ; ad unionem nimirum inter omnes quæ ubique sunt ecclesias, quæ his ultimis seculis a communione, seu verius tyrannide pontificis Romani, sese subdlexerunt, sedulo promovendam. Quin hoc fieri possit, si quidem animum ad concordiam promptum omnes attulerimus, nullatenus dubitandum est : quin fieri debeat, nemo prudens negaverit, &c. &c.

Vos interim, F. C., hoc agite, ut saltem inter vos ipsos pax atque concordia inviolabiliter conserventur. Summo quippe dolore, anno præterito, accepi dissensiones inter vos ortas fuisse, de capitulis aliquot circa doctrinam de gratia universali, aliisque quæstionibus longe difficillimis, in quibus optimi viri et doctissimi theologi idem per omnia haudquaquam sentiunt. Angit hoc sane, idque non mediocriter, animum meum. Et quamvis nollem vobis videri ἀλλοτριοεπισκοπεῖν, aut *in alienam* (quod aiunt) *messem, falcem meam immittere* ; permittite tamen ut in spiritu charitatis, eoque quo erga vos feror amore fraterno, vos obsecrem, et in Domino obtester, ut in hujusmodi rebus, quatenus id fieri possit, idem sentiatis omnes ; quod si id non assequi valeatis, ut saltem sic alii alios feratis, ut nullum sit inter vos schisma, nullus querimoniarum aliquorum adversus alios locus ; ut non nimium curiosi sitis in iis determinandis quæ Deus non admodum clare revelaverit, quæque absque salutis dispendio tunc nesciri poterint ; quæ sapientissimi prædecessores nostri in omnibus suis confessionibus caute tractanda censuerunt, eaque moderatione, ut universi in iis subscribendis consentirent ; et a quorum prudenti cautela sicubi postea discessum fuerit, contentiones, lites, inimicitiae, aliaque infinita incommoda, protinus subsecuta sunt.

In his disquisitionibus Lutherani a reformatis dissident; nec reformati ipsi prorsus inter se conveniunt. Ecclesia Anglicana optimo consilio, exemplo ab omnibus imitando, nullius conscientiae, his in rebus, jugum imponit. Quae de illis in articulis suis statuerit, talia sunt, ut ab omnibus ex æquo admittantur. His contenta, nec ipsa aliquid amplius requirit curiosius statuere. Hinc summa inter nos pax cum sobria sentiendi libertate conjuncta. Utinam et vobis, iisdem conditionibus, concordia stabiliatur, utque veteri confessione vestra Helvetica contenti, neque alicui permitteretis aliter docere, neque ab aliquo quidpiam profitendum requireretis, ultra id quod ab initio requisitum fuerit: cum tamen summi illi viri Calvinus et Beza (ut de aliis taceatur) secus de his articulis sentirent, quam alii plures; quos tamen non solum tolerandos, sed et pro fratribus habendos rite ac sapienter judicarunt.

Hoc vobis non modo pacem inter vos ipsos conciliabit, verum etiam concordiam cum aliis ecclesiis reformatis sartam tectam tuebitur. Absque hujusmodi temperamine, unio illa cum Protestantibus, tantopere desiderata, nullo modo iniri poterit: vos, igitur, serio hæc, ut par est, considerate: nec a nobis, a plerisque aliis reformatis, etiam a vestris antecessoribus, novis ac durioribus impositionibus secedite, &c.

N.B. The former part of this letter, which relates to the intercession of archbishop Wake in behalf of the Hungarian and Piedmontese churches, has never been hitherto published. The latter part, beginning with these words, "Interim dum hæc feliciter peraguntur, ignoscite," &c. was inserted, by professor Turretin of Geneva, in his work entitled, *Nubes Testium*. The words "Interim dum hæc," &c. were from an ignorance of their connexion with what goes before, supposed by some learned men to relate to the projected union between the English and Gallican churches; and Kiörning, who says in his Dissertation de *Consecrationibus Episcoporum Anglorum*, that Dr. Wake communicated this project to the divines of Geneva, fell into this mistake, and probably drew Dr. Mosheim after him.

No. XXI.

EXTRACT FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE'S LETTER TO PROFESSOR SCHURER, OF
BERN, JULY, 1718.

DE Anglia nostra te peramanter et sentire et scribere plurimum gaudeo. Quanquam enim non adeo cæcus sim patriæ meæ amator, ut non plurima hic videam quæ vel penitus sublata vel in melius mutata quovis pretio vellem, tamen aliqua etiam in hac temporum sæce occurrere, optimis etiam seculis digna, et quæ ipsa primæva ecclesia Christiana probare, ne dicam et laudare, potuisset, et tu æquissime agnoscis et nos nobis gratulamur.

No. XXII.

TO PROFESSOR TURRETIN, JULY, 1718.

Speaking of Bishop Davenant's opinion as agreeable to his own.

UTINAM sic sentiremus omnes, et fundamentalibus religionis articulis semper salvis, nihil ultra ab aliquo subscribendum requiremus, quod bonorum hominum conscientiis oneri esse potest, certe ecclesiæ utilitatem parum promovebit.—Ut enim de hac ecclesiarum reformatarum utilitate paucis dicam; primum earum stabilimentum in hoc consistere, ut omnes sese, quantum fieri possit, contra papalem potentiam ac tyrannidem tueantur, nemini credo dubium esse posse. Ut in hunc finem quam arctissime inter se uniantur, et in idem corpus coalescant, adeo ut siquid alicui ex iis ecclesiæ damni aut detrimenti a communi hoste fuerit illatum, id ab omnibus tanquam suum haberetur, concedi etiam necesse est.

Ut denique pax et concordia cujuslibet ecclesiæ reformatæ inter suos, ac cum aliis omnibus ejusmodi ecclesiis conserventur; unicuique viro bono, sed præsertim ecclesiarum illarum magistratibus atque ministris, totis viribus enitendum esse, adeo clare apparet, ut nulla probatione firmiori indigeat.

Afterwards :

Quid in hac re aliud faciendum restat, nisi ut tua et amicorum tuorum auctoritate primo facultas vestra theologica, magistratus, ministri, cives Genevenses, deinde eorum exemplo atque hortatu reliqua etiam fœderis Helveticæ membra reformatæ, omnem lapidem moveant, ut pacem ecclesiis Bernensibus restituant? Neque id ego sic fieri vellem, ut non simul et religionis veritati et doctrinæ puritati consulatur. Subscribant ministri, professores, theologi, confessioni vestræ veteri anno ⁷ [] editæ: prohibeantur, sub quavislibet pœna, ne ullam in concionibus, scriptis, thesibus, prælectionibus, sententiam publice tueantur illi confessioni quovis modo contrariam. Id solum caveatur, ne multiplicentur hujusmodi subscriptiones absque necessitate: neque stricte nimis inquiratur in privatas hominum eruditorum sententias: modo suis opinionibus frui pacifice velint, et neque docendo, neque disputando, neque scribendo, a publica confessione secedere, aut errores suos (si tamen errores revera fuerint) in scandalum cujusvis, multo magis ecclesiæ aut reipublicæ divulgare.—Habes, vir spectatissime, sententiam meam.

No. XXIII.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO PROFESSOR SCHURER,
JULY, 1719.

QUÆ de *Formula Consensus* mihi narras, abunde placent, qui, uti nolim laqueum absque causa injici conscientiis bonorum atque eruditorum hominum, ita neque fræna laxanda censeo quibuscunque novatoribus ad pacem publice

⁷ The date of the confession of faith is omitted in the archbishop's letter.

turbendam, eaque vel scribenda vel docenda, quæ viris piis jure scandalum præbeant, quæque confessioni vestræ olim stabilitæ falsitatis notam injuria inurere videantur. Intra hos igitur limites si steterint magistratus vestri, neque aliquid amplius a Lausannensibus requirant, nisi ut hoc demum fine *Formula Consensus* subscribant; sperandum est nullum schisma, ea de causa, inter vos exoriturum. Pacem publicam tueri, etiam in rebus ad fidem spectantibus, magistratus Christianus et potest et debet. Conscientiis hominum credenda imponere, nisi in rebus claris et perspicuis, et ad salutem omnino necessariis, nec potest, nec debet. Quod si contra faciat, subditis tamen semper licebit ad apostolorum exemplar, si quidem aliquid falsi, aut incertæ veritatis, iis subscribendum injunxerint, *obedire Deo potius quam hominibus.*

No. XXIV.

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE'S LETTER TO PROFESSOR TURRETIN, IN ANSWER TO ONE FROM HIM, DATED DECEMBER 1, 1718.

RES Bernensium ecclesiasticas nondum penitus tranquillas esse et doleo et miror; eoque magis, quod hisce temporibus hæ de decretis divinis alterationes ubique fere alibi ad exitum sint perductæ. Quæ mea sit de iis sententia, nec adhuc cuiquam aperte declaravi, neque, ut deinceps patefaciam, facile me patiar induci. Hoc apud nos, tum ex mandatis regiis, tum ex diu servata (utinam semper servanda) consuetudine fixum est atque stabilitum, neque a quoquam exquirere quid de his rebus sentiat, modo articulis religionis, publica auctoritate constitutis, subscribat: neque in concionibus aut etiam disputationibus theologicis, aliquid amplius de iis determinare, quam quod illi articuli expresse statuunt, et ab omnibus ad ministerii munus admitendis profitendum requirant.

Then follows an historical narrative of the rise, and occasion, and censure of the Lambeth articles; as also of the rise and progress of Arminianism under the reigns of James I. and Charles I., and of the subsiding of all disputes of that kind under Charles II. — He then subjoins:

Et quidem illud imprimis observatu dignum æstimo, quam moderate, quam prudenter, in hac tam difficili disquisitione, optimi illi viri, martyres ac confessores Christi constantissimi, quos Divina Providentia ad reformandam hanc nostram ecclesiam seligere dignatus est, se gesserunt. Non illi curiositati cujusvis aliquid indulgendum putarunt; non vanis et incertis hominum hypothesis de decretis divinis alicujus fidem alligare fas esse censuerunt. Sciebant quam inscrutabilia sint consilia Dei, et quanto intervallo omnes nostras cogitationes exuperent. Ideoque non religiose minus quam sapienter inter justos terminos sese continuerunt; neque in necessariis ad fidem nostram de hisce mysteriis stabiliendam deficientes; neque in non-necessariis determinandis officiosi; unde forte pro vera fide errorem, pro pace discordiam, pro fraterna unionem ac charitate divisionem, odia, inimicitias in ecclesiam Christi inducere poterant.

Hæc fuit eorum simplicitas vere evangelica: pietate non minus quam sapientia commendabilis; eoque magis suspicienda, ac fere pro divina habenda, quod tot annorum experientia reperta sit non solum optimam fuisse pacis ac concordiae regulam, verum etiam unicum contra schismata et divisiones remedium.

Speaking afterwards of the Consensus, he adds:

Sunt igitur horum articulorum pars maxima illius generis, in quibus ab invicem dissentire nobis omnibus liceat, absque dispendio veritatis; qui sunt ejusmodi de quibus Deus consilium suum non adeo clare aut præcise revelaverit, quin etiam eruditissimi atque perspicacissimi viri in suis de iis determinationibus errare possint, aut potius nunquam certi esse possunt se non errasse. Quid vero imprudentius, quid arrogantius, quid denique humilitate, non jam dico Christianorum, sed et hominum non nimium sibi blandientium indignius esset, quam de rebus adeo obscuris, adeo incertis, adeo inter ipsos ejusdem communionis symmystas adhuc litigatis, distincte aliquid definire; et ab illis auferre eam quam nos nobis quasi jure nostro asserimus sentiendi libertatem? O quantum potuit insana *φιλανθία*! Et in aliorum conscientias, quam omnes verbis rejicimus, plerique re exerere cupimus, dominandi libido! Benedictus Deus, qui alium plerumque, in hoc nostro orbe, animum indiderit!

No. XXV.

ARCHBISHOP WAKE'S LETTER TO MR. JABLONSKI, IN ANSWER TO THE TWO FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

An de Unione Evangelicorum cum Ecclesia Romana agendum sit?

Vel,

An omnis ea de Re Tractatio tanquam periculosa et fallax omnino sit evitanda?

Quod de fœdere nescio quo cum pontificiis ineundo scribis somnare temerarios quosdam apud vos homines, suæ tranquillitatis magis quam veritatis amatores; non possum non mirari ecquod inde commodi ecclesiis reformatis proponunt. Adeone ulli e nostris aut incognita aut inexperta est Romanensium superbia atque tyrannis, ut credatur vel illos a suo fastigio potestatis ac infallibilitatis, nostri gratia, sese dimissuros, vel nos eorum causa ad servitutem tam diu rejectam ultro iterum redituros? Hoc tam perniciosum, tam infame facinus, ab animis omnium nostrorum longe avertat Deus! Imo potius bona, patriam, parentēs, omnia relinquamus quam ut sic inveniamur *ἑτεροζυγοῦντες ἀπίστοις*: (quidni enim ipsis hic apostoli vocibus utar?)

Neque tamen sic intelligi vellem quasi omnem omnino de pace tractatum etiam cum pontificiis refugendum putarem. Tractemus, si libet, sed ut decet, cum æqualibus: neque aut nos in illos potestatem indebitam nobis arrogemus, neque illis in nos concedamus. Christiani sunt illi? et nos Christiani. Catholici? et nos Catholici. Errare nos possumus? etiam illi possunt errare. Liberi sunt illi a dominio nostro? neque nos illis ulla in re subditi sumus. Si igitur cum illis omnino sit agendum, ante omnia

necesse fuerit in prævias condiciones tractandi convenire; utque mutuo statuatur, nullum esse inter eos vel inter nos infallibilitatis prærogativam, alterutri nostrum a Christo concessam; posse utrinque errari, forte et utrinque erratum esse. Utrorumque ergo dogmata libere examinanda, et ad amussim verbi Dei exigenda. Renuntiandum insuper prætensæ auctoritati tum summi quem vocant pontificis, tum ecclesiæ Romanæ in alias Christi ecclesias; ut sic ab eorum dominatione tuti, ex æquo cum illis agere possimus. De pluribus atque præcipuis doctrinæ Christianæ capitibus, in quibus utrinque consentimus, nulla lis erit. De cæteris consideretur imprimis quousque invicem concordari valeat; et in quibus nondum in eandem sententiam concurri potest, quæatur porro, an talia sint, quæ salva pace mutuo tolerari nequeant. Si hoc conveniatur, quæatur denique de liturgia publica, an talem nobis exhiberi curabunt, ut omnes simul ad eundem Dei cultum amice accedere valeamus. Si qui sint Romanæ ecclesiæ symmystæ adeo æqui, ut his conditionibus sincere nobiscum agere velint, non video cur ab eorum colloquio abstineamus. Absque hujusmodi stipulatione præmissa frustra cum iis tractabimus, nisi sub pacis conciliandæ prætextu veritate renuntiare decreverimus.

Habes, vir clarissime, meam qualemcunque hac de re sententiam; extemporaneam quidem illam, nec pro materiæ dignitate satis ponderatam; sed tamen justam, et, nisi ego plurimum fallor, talem a qua absque extremo periculo nunquam a nostris discedi possit. Faxit Deus, ut in hisce considerandis non tam nostra quæramus quam ea quæ sint Jesu Christi! Nec adeo hujus seculi pacem amemus, ut futuri præmia amittamus. Tibi, vir præstantissime, sapientiam, prudentiam, eruditionem non vulgarem, concessit Deus; etiam constantiam in veritate tuenda, pro qua tanta et huc usque passus fueris, et deinceps pati te paratum ostendis. Tuo itaque exemplo alios instruas, neque concordiam atque unionem cum ullis Christi discipulis, ubi justis conditionibus iniri possit, pertinaciter refugere; neque iniquis conditionibus stolidè timideve admittere; aut vana spe pacis deliniti, ad servitutis papalis *jugum colla* submittere, *quod neque nos neque patres nostri ferre potuere*. Hoc tam grave scandalum, tam perniciosam prævaricationem ab ecclesiis reformatis ut semper avertat Deus, summo ardore precatur, spectatissime vir, frater tuus in Christo colendissimus, &c.

Maii 22, 1719.

TABLES
OF
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
FROM THE
ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY
TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

ABSTRACTED FROM VATER'S *SYNCHRONISTISCHEN TAFELN*,

By FRANCIS CUNNINGHAM.

[Reprinted from the Edition of 1831, Boston, New England.]

	Political Events.	External History of the Church.	Internal Government.
33	Tiberius is emperor of the Romans. 37. CALIGULA. 43. CLAUDIUS. 50. 54. NERO. 64. 70. Destruction of Jerusalem. 95. Under DOMITIAN,	Institution of Christianity. Day of Pentecost. Oppression of the Christians by Herod Agrippa. Paul's first apostolical journey to Greece. Paul's second great journey. Many churches founded wholly independent of Judaism. Christians put to death at Rome. the Christians oppressed at Rome. Continued spread of Christianity in the Roman empire.	The 'council of Jerusalem,' so called. Christians gradually freeing themselves from the Jewish law. Growing authority and dignity of the first presbyter (<i>ἐπίσκοπος</i>).
100	Under TRAJAN . Under ADRIAN . ANTONINUS, the philosopher. 193. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.	Oppression (under the edict against secret societies). Pliny's letter. More protection. Persecution of the Christians in Asia Minor, and at Lyons. Diffusion of Christianity more and more rapid.	Synods in Asia Minor. Traces of union for purposes of discipline and of closer connexion of the churches in different places. Synods held to consult on the subject of the Easter festival. Gradual advance toward ecclesiastical aristocracy.
200	222. ALEXANDER SEVERUS Under MAXIMINUS . 244. Philip, the Arabian 249. DECIUS.	favourable to the Christians. the Christians oppressed. favours the Christians. The Christians persecuted throughout the empire, till 251.	Authority of the bishops more confirmed. Various new officers in the church. Severity shown to the <i>Lapsi</i> , or 'fallen' from their Christian profession.

N. B. The names of those who were known as theological writers are printed in italics, to distinguish them from those who are not so called, are enclosed in parentheses. The names of the Roman emperors, and of the popes, are printed in bold type.

Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Corruptions.	Religious Observances.	
<p>The Apostles and their assistants.</p> <p><i>St. Paul.</i></p> <p>The Epistles of St. Paul, and probably the other writings of the N. T. about this time.</p> <p><i>Clement at Rome.</i></p>	<p>(Simon Magus.)</p> <p>Controversy between the Jewish and Heathen Christians.</p> <p>Belief in the Millennium at Thessalonica.</p> <p>Γνωσις ψευδώνυμος at Ephesus. (Cerinthus.) The simple Christianity of the first centuries.</p>	<p><i>Agapæ</i>, or ‘feasts of charity.’</p> <p>The Sunday more and more solemnly observed.</p>	33
<p><i>Ignatius</i>, bishop of Antioch.</p> <p><i>Polycarp</i>, bishop of Smyrna.</p> <p><i>Papias</i>, bishop of Hierapolis.</p> <p><i>Justin Martyr.</i></p> <p>Anicetus, bishop of Rome.</p> <p><i>Irenæus</i>, bishop of Lyons.</p> <p><i>Miltiades, Athenagoras</i>, and other defenders of the Christian religion.</p> <p><i>Pantænus.</i></p> <p>Victor, bishop of Rome.</p> <p><i>Clement of Alexandria.</i></p> <p><i>Tertullian</i> at Carthage.</p>	<p>Separation of those who cling to the Mosaic law. (Nazarenes, Ebionites.) (Gnostics: Saturninus, Basilides, Valentine.) (Ophites.) (Marcion.) (Montanists.) (‘Tatian, Encratites.) (Praxeas, Artemon, Antitrinitarians.)</p> <p>Translations of the Bible. Agreement in the Creed of the chief churches.</p>	<p>Tendency to Demonology.</p> <p>Controversies concerning the time of keeping Easter, or the paschal feast.</p> <p>New dispute concerning the Easter festival.</p> <p>Various usages more settled.</p>	100
<p><i>Caius</i> at Rome.</p> <p><i>Origen</i> at Alexandria.</p> <p><i>Gregory</i>, Thaumaturgus.</p> <p><i>Dionysius</i>, bishop of Alexandria.</p> <p><i>Cyprian</i>, bishop of Carthage.</p>	<p>Philosophical Christianity at Alexandria.</p> <p>Tertullian, Montanist. Wrote in Latin.</p> <p>(Noëtus.)</p> <p>(Arabians.)</p> <p>Dispute about the reception of those who had fallen from the Christian faith.</p>	<p>Faith in the power of the sign of the cross.</p> <p>Over estimation of celibacy.</p> <p>Public confession before a return to the church was allowed.</p>	200

tinguish them from those who merely held offices in the church. The names of the heretics are printed in small capitals. The emperors of Constantinople are distinguished from

Political Events.	External History of the Church.	Internal Government.
<p>200 Under GALLUS . . .</p> <p>284. DIOCLETIAN with MAXIMIAN. Galerius and Constantius Chlorus.</p>	<p>new oppressions. After this more quiet.</p> <p>294. Christians not yet wholly free from oppression.</p>	<p>Synods held to consult concerning baptism of infants and heretics, and against Paul of Samosata.</p>
<p>300</p> <p>306. CONSTANTINE the Great. LICINIUS.</p> <p>323. CONSTANTINE alone,</p> <p>Constantinople, seat of government.</p> <p>337. The sons of Constantine. Division of the empire.</p> <p>340. CONSTANS alone in the Western empire. CONSTANTIUS in the Eastern.</p> <p>351. Constantius alone.</p> <p>361. JULIAN.</p> <p>363. JOVIAN. 364. VALENTINIAN I. VALENS in the East.</p> <p>379. THEODOSIUS the Great.</p> <p>395. Final separation of the Roman empire into the Eastern and Western empires.</p>	<p>303. Violent persecution of the Christians till 310 and 312.</p> <p>declares for Christianity.</p> <p>Ulphilas, bishop of the Goths. The Christians oppressed.</p> <p>More and more severe laws against heretics.</p>	<p>Severity shown to the <i>Lapsi</i> and <i>Traditores</i>, so called, — <i>i. e.</i> those who had delivered the sacred writings of the Christians to the magistrates, in order to be burned in the persecution under Diocletian.</p> <p>Meletian schism at Alexandria. 325. I. <i>Concil. œcumen.</i> at Nice. Its decrees confirmed by the emperor. Metropolitan government becomes confirmed.</p> <p>Synods at Antioch and Sardis, { to consult upon church government and the Arian controversy.</p> <p>Synods at Sirmium, 359. At Rimini, and Seleucia.</p> <p>Meletian schism at Antioch; the <i>Schisma Luciferi</i>.</p> <p>381. II. <i>Concil. œcumen.</i> against heretics at Constantinople. The bishop of Constantinople has equal rank with the Roman bishop. The bishops of Alexandria continually hostile to those of Constantinople.</p>

Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Corruptions.	Religious Observances.	
253. Stephen, bishop of Rome.	Novatians. (Sabellius.) (Paul of Samosata.) (Manichæans.)		200
<i>Pierius Pamphilus.</i> Methodius, bishop of Tyre.		Gradual approach to monastic life in Egypt.	
<i>Lactantius.</i>			300
Alexander, bishop of Alexandria.	311. Donatian controversy in Africa.	Antony, the most remarkable of the Eremites (Hermits) in Egypt.	
<i>Eusebius</i> , bishop of Cæsarea.	319. Arian controversy at Alexandria; <i>ἡμοούσιος</i> (opposed to <i>ἀνόμοιος</i> , and afterwards to <i>ἡμοιοούσιος</i>).		
<i>Athanasius</i> , bishop of Alexandria. (334. Exiled, returns, and is again exiled.)			
Eusebius of Nicomedia.			
Ursinus and Valens, bishops in Thrace.			
Cyril at Jerusalem.	The Arian doctrine the prevailing one.	The <i>Κοινὸς</i> of Pachomius (a sort of convent).	
<i>Hilarius</i> , bishop of Poitiers.	(The Arians divide into the semi-Arians and the strict Arians.)		
<i>Gregory</i> Nazianzen.	(Ætius.)		
<i>Ephraim</i> the Syrian.			
<i>Basil</i> the Great.			
<i>Gregory</i> of Nyssa.	Restoration of the rights of Nicæan teachers in the East.	Monastic laws of Basil the Great.	
<i>Epiphanius.</i>			
<i>Apollinaris.</i>			
<i>Ambrose</i> , bishop of Milan.			
<i>Diodorus</i> of Tarsus.	Messalians.	Jovinian interferes to suppress superstition.	
<i>Ithacius.</i>			
<i>Theophilus</i> , bishop of Alexandria.	(Priscillianists.)		
<i>Jerome.</i>			
<i>Augustin.</i>			
<i>Chrysostom.</i>	Controversies concerning Origen and his doctrine.		

	Political Events.	External History of the Church.	Internal Government.
400	<p>408. * THEODOSIUS II. German nations in possession of the Eastern Roman empire.</p> <p>VALENTINIAN III.</p> <p>Pulcheria. MARCIAN. 450.</p> <p>* LEO I. of Thrace. 476. End of the Western Roman empire.</p> <p>BASILISCUS.</p> <p>477. ZENO.</p> <p>486. Clovis, king of the Franks.</p> <p>491. ANASTASIUS.</p> <p>493. Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths.</p>	<p>Christianity in Persia confirmed.</p> <p>Many of the German nations become (Arian) Christians.</p> <p>Catholic Christians persecuted amongst the Vandals (who were Arians).</p> <p>496. Clovis, a Catholic Christian.</p>	<p>Innocent has a vicar at Thessalonica in right of his succession to the apostle Peter.</p> <p>411. Collision with the Donatists.</p> <p>Appeals to Rome.</p> <p>Contests between the dioceses of Vienna and Arles. The Roman bishop has vicars in Gaul.</p> <p>431. III. <i>Concil. œcumen.</i> at Ephesus.</p> <p>449. 'Robber-Synod' at Ephesus.</p> <p>451. IV. <i>Concil. œcumen.</i> at Chalcedon; where the patriarch of Constantinople was invested with new dignity, and the system of Patriarchs and Metropolitans perfected.</p> <p>Edict of Basiliscus in favour of the Monophysites.</p> <p>The eccles. oligarchy fully developed; Rome the centre of the Western church, in contest with the patriarch of Constantinople.</p>
500	<p>518. JUSTIN I.</p> <p>526. JUSTINIAN I.</p> <p>Conquests of the Franks.</p> <p>534. Conquest of the kingdom of the Vandals in Africa for the emperor. Conquests in Italy, which end</p>	<p>Spread of the Nestorian Church in the eastern parts of Asia</p> <p>Conversion of various nations in the east of Europe.</p> <p>In these conquered countries Arianism yields to the Catholic doctrines.</p>	<p>Collections of ecclesiastical laws by Dionysius the Little, Fulgentius Ferrandus, and John Scholasticus.</p>

Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Corruptions.	Religious Observances.
Innocent, bishop of Rome. <i>Theodorus</i> of Mop-suesta. <i>Cyril</i> of Alexandria. <i>Isidore</i> of Pelusium. <i>Orosius</i> . Zosimus, bishop of Rome. <i>Theodoret</i> . Nestor, bishop of Constantinople. <i>Prosper</i> of Aquitain. John, bishop of Antioch. 440. Leo the Great, bishop of Rome. <i>Socrates Sozomenus</i> . Dioscurus, bishop of Alexandria. Simplicius, patriarch of Rome. Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople. Felix, patriarch of Rome. 498. Symmachus, patriarch of Rome.	 The Pelagian controversy breaks out. Augustin's doctrines of free grace and original sin. Semipelagians in Gaul. 430. Nestorian controversy. Separation of the Nestorians from other Christians in Persia. Eutychians, or Monophysites. The doctrine of the church in opposition to Nestor and Eutychius. Continued disturbances of the Monophysites in Egypt and Syria. (Petrus Fullo, Timotheus Ælurus, Petrus Mongus.) 482. Henoticon. (Acephali.) In the west the decisions of the council of Chalcedon held fast. Separation of the Eastern and Western churches.	 Celibacy made more important than ever. 400 Vigilantius opposes the superstitions of the times. Jo. Cassian in Gaul, an advocate of monastic life. 'Stylitæ,' or 'pillar saints.' 'Acœmeti,' or 'Watchers.' Private confessional. Liturgy of Mamertus, bishop of Vienna, regulating processions, &c.
<i>Boëthius</i> . 514. Hormisdas, patriarch of Rome. <i>Cassiodorus</i> . <i>Theodorus</i> . <i>Procopius</i> of Gaza. 537. Vigilius, patriarch of Rome.	 518. Abolition of the Henoticon. 519. Re-union of the Eastern and Western churches, and exclusion of the united Monophysites. (Severus, Phthartolatræ. Aphthartolatræ. Agnoëtæ.)	500 515. Benedict's monastic rules. Forms of hymns. Decided that one of the Trinity was crucified in the flesh.

	Political Events.	External History of the Church.	Internal Government.
500	<p>553. with the downfall of the kingdom of the Ostrogoths.</p> <p>568. Kingdom of the Lombards.</p>	<p>Restraints on Christianity in Britain.</p> <p>King of the Lombards adopts the tenets of the Nicene Catholics.</p> <p>Gregory the Great sends a successful mission amongst the Anglo-Saxons.</p> <p>Columban in the south of Germany.</p>	<p>553. V. <i>Concil. œcumen.</i> at Constantinople.</p> <p>Violent contest about the title : <i>Episcopus œcum.</i></p>
600	<p>610. HERACLIUS.</p> <p>Great consequence of the 'major domus' in France.</p> <p>641. CONSTANS II.</p> <p>Pepin of Herstall.</p>	<p>St. Gal. in Helvetia.</p> <p>Doctrines of Mohamed spread wide by his conquests.</p> <p>Further conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity.</p> <p>Oppression of the Christians under the Saracens.</p> <p>Conversion of the Frieslanders and Germans, by Kilian and Willibrord.</p>	<p>638. The edict of Heraclius called the 'Ecthesis.'</p> <p>648. Edict of Constans called the 'Type,' or 'Formula.'</p> <p>680. VI. <i>Concil. œcumen.</i> at Constantinople.</p>
700	<p>711. PHILIPPICUS.</p> <p>712. The kingdom of the Visigoths subdued by the Saracens.</p> <p>713. ANASTASIUS.</p> <p>717. Leo Isauricus.</p> <p>Luitprand, king of the Lombards, extends his power in Italy.</p>	<p>Boniface, apostle of the Germans.</p>	<p>Boniface true to the pope of Rome.</p>

Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Corruptions.	Religious Observances.	
<i>Junilius.</i>	Contest in Gaul for Augustine's doctrines of 'free grace' and 'original sin.'		500
553. Pelagius, patriarch of Rome.	Origen's doctrines condemned.		
	The Three Chapters condemned; continued dispute on this subject.		
<i>Gregory of Tours.</i>	Union of the various parties of the oppressed Monophysites through the exertions of Jacob;		
<i>John, 'the Faster.'</i>	— hence called 'Jacob's Christians,' or 'Jacobites.'		
<i>Gregory the Great, patriarch of Rome.</i>	(Philoponus.)		
<i>Isidore, bishop of Seville.</i>	Distinct traces of the worship of images and saints, and of a belief in purgatory.	Columban active in the cause of Monachism. Canon of the mass (instituted by Gregory). Pompous ceremonies. Hymns. Relics. Worship of images.	
Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople.	Body of divinity by Isidore and Leontius.	The western monks gradually merged in the clergy.	600
Honorius, patriarch of Rome.	Soon after by Taio, or Tajo.		
Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem.	Monothelism adopted to unite the Monophysites with the Catholic church.	Monastic life among the Anglo-Saxons.	
Maximus.			
Martin, patriarch of Rome, exiled.			
Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury.	Monothelism condemned.	Latin language used in public worship in England.	
Wilfrid, archbishop of York.			
Sergius, patriarch of Rome.			
<i>Beda Venerabilis.</i>			
Constantine, patriarch of Rome.			700
<i>John Damascenus.</i>			
GREGORY II. and III. Roman popes—independent of Constantinople.	Philippicus restores the doctrines of Monothelism to their former consequence; and Anastasius revives those of the IV. Council.	Latin service introduced into the churches of Germany, by Boniface.	

	Political Events.	External History of the Church.	Internal Government.
700	<p>741. CONSTANTINE Co-pronym.</p> <p>752. Pepin the Little, king of the Franks, conquers Aistulphus, king of the Lombards.</p> <p>771. Charles alone king of France.</p> <p>CONSTANTINE Porphyrogenitus, and his mother Irene.</p>	<p>Conquests and conversions of Charlemagne amongst the Saxons and Westphalians,</p>	<p>The pope absolves the Franks from the oath of allegiance to King Childeric. Pepin crowned by Boniface, and Pope Stephen II.</p> <p>Charlemagne's <i>Capitularia</i>.</p> <p>787. Synod at Nice for the re-introduction of the worship of images.</p> <p>794. Worship of images condemned by the synod of Frankfort.</p>
800	<p>CHARLEMAGNE, Roman emperor.</p> <p>801. NICEPHORUS.</p> <p>804. The Saxons wholly subdued by Charlemagne.</p> <p>813. *LEO Armen.</p> <p>814. LEWIS, the Debonnaire.</p> <p>827. Heptarchy of England united under Egbert.</p> <p>833. Lewis deposed by his sons, and replaced.</p> <p>840. LOTHAIRE in Italy.</p> <p>Lewis in Germany.</p> <p>Charles the Bald in France.</p> <p>855. LEWIS II. Lothaire, king of Lothringia.</p> <p>871. Alfred, king of England.</p>	<p>Bishoprics instituted among the Saxons.</p> <p>Christianity carried amongst the Bulgarians.</p> <p>Ansgar, apostle of the North.</p> <p>Conversion of the Bohemians and Moravians.</p> <p>The Bulgarians become Christians.</p> <p>Cyril and Methodius active in carrying Christianity amongst the Moravians.</p>	<p>The election of the popes must be confirmed by the emperor.</p> <p>The bishops and pope concerned in the rebellion of Lewis's sons against their father.</p> <p>Great influence of the clergy also in the quarrels of these sons with each other.</p> <p>Distinct traces of the 'decretal Epistles,' so called, attributed to Isidore, bishop of Seville.</p> <p>The papal authority extended over all the West.</p> <p>Controversy between the Greek and Latin churches.</p> <p>Episcopal jurisdiction even over the royal house of the Franks.</p> <p>Controversy concerning Hincmar, bishop of Laon.</p>

Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Corruptions.	Religious Observances.	
<p>741. ZACHARIAS.</p> <p>STEPHEN II. receives the grant of the exarchate and Pentapolis from Pepin.</p> <p><i>Alcuin</i> employed by Charlemagne to found schools in his empire.</p> <p><i>Theodorus</i> Studites.</p> <p>LEO III.</p>	<p>767. The doctrine that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as well as the Father, defended against the Greek church.</p> <p>Felix, bishop of Urgella. His followers called 'Adoptians.'</p>	<p>726. Worship of images forbidden by the emperor.</p> <p>Chrodegang's rules for the 'Canons.'</p> <p>Converts in Germany.</p> <p>More strict prohibition of the worship of images in the Greek church.</p> <p>Ritual of the Roman church finds admission in the empire of Charlemagne.</p>	700
<p><i>Agobard</i>, archbishop of Lyons.</p> <p>Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims.</p> <p><i>Rabanus Maurus</i>, archbishop of Mentz.</p> <p>GREGORY IV.</p> <p><i>Haymo</i>, bishop of Halberstadt.</p> <p><i>Paschasius Radbert</i>.</p> <p><i>Ratram</i>, or <i>Bertram</i>, of Corby.</p> <p><i>Jo. Scotus Erigena</i>.</p> <p>SERGIUS II.</p> <p><i>Hincmar</i>, archbishop of Rheims.</p> <p><i>Godeschalk</i>.</p> <p><i>Lupus</i>.</p> <p><i>Remigius</i>, archbishop of Lyons.</p> <p>Pope Joan.</p>	<p>(Paulicians, a branch of the Manichæans.)</p> <p>Different opinions concerning the number of the sacraments.</p> <p>Controversy concerning Transubstantiation.</p> <p>Controversy concerning the doctrines of 'predestination' and 'free grace.'</p> <p>Violent controversy between the Greek and Latin churches.</p>	<p>New prohibition of the worship of images in the Greek empire.</p> <p>Claudius, bishop of Turin, and Agobard, oppose the prevailing superstition.</p> <p>Cloisters in the North.</p> <p>842. The worship of images permanently re-instituted in the Greek empire.</p>	800
<p>858. NICHOLAS I.</p> <p><i>Photius</i>, patriarch of Constantinople.</p> <p>867. ADRIAN I.</p>			

	Political Events.	External History of the Church.	Internal Government.
800	<p>875. CHARLES II. the Bald, proclaimed emperor by the pope.</p> <p>881. CHARLES III. surnamed 'the Gross.'</p> <p>* LEO, the Philosopher.</p> <p>887. Arnulph, king of Germany.</p> <p>The Huns in possession of Pannonia.</p>	<p>Christians among the Russians.</p> <p>Bohemian princes become Christians.</p>	<p>Great assumption of power by the popes over the kings, for the most part successful.</p> <p>Various persons raised to the throne of Italy, and the imperial crown, by the popes.</p> <p>898. Synod at Rome.</p>
900	<p>Huns invade Germany.</p> <p>912. Conrad I. king of Germany.</p> <p>919. Henry the Fowler, king of Germany.</p> <p>Caliphs of Bagdad lose their power.</p> <p>936. Otho the Great, king of Germany;</p> <p>951. — victorious in Italy and over the Huns.</p> <p>962. OTHO, emperor.</p> <p>* NICEPHORUS.</p> <p>973. OTHO II.</p> <p>987. Hugh Capet, king of France.</p>	<p>911. Rollo is made duke of Normandy, and converted.</p> <p>Christianity preached in Norway;</p> <p>also in Russia.</p> <p>Christianity in Poland and Hungary.</p> <p>Introduced into Russia by Wlodimir; into Hungary by St. Stephen; into Poland by Boleslaus.</p>	<p>Measures to restore discipline in the church.</p> <p>The church richly endowed by Otho.</p> <p>998. Robert, king of France, compelled by the pope to separate from his wife, to whom he was related in the fourth degree.</p>
1000	<p>1001. HENRY II. Canute the Great.</p> <p>CONRAD II.</p> <p>1039. HENRY III.</p> <p>1056. HENRY IV., a minor.</p> <p>William the Conqueror, king of England.</p>	<p>Christianity introduced in Sweden and Transylvania, and in Denmark universally.</p>	<p>High authority of the emperor in the church.</p> <p>Papal synods against simony.</p> <p>The Norman dukes in the south of Italy hereditary legates of the pope.</p> <p>Ecclesiastical benefices bought and sold.</p>

Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Corruptions.	Religious Observances.	
<p>872. JOHN VIII. Learned men at Oxford.</p> <p>STEPHEN V. ; after him, confusion and disorder.</p>		<p>Mass in the Slavonian language in Moravia; soon gives way to the Latin ritual.</p>	800
<p>Theodora and Marozia have the chief influence in the election of popes.</p> <p><i>Rotherius.</i> <i>Eutychius</i>, patriarch of Alexandria.</p> <p>954. JOHN XII.</p> <p>963. LEO VIII. The Romans bind themselves by an oath to choose no pope without the concurrence of the emperor.</p> <p>Good influence of the emperor Otho on the popes.</p> <p><i>Gerbert</i>, archbishop; is made SYLVESTER III. 999.</p>	<p>Doctrine of Transubstantiation confirmed.</p>	<p>Worship of the saints more and more extravagant.</p> <p>Odo, abbot of Clugny.</p> <p>Odilo, abbot of Clugny.</p> <p>Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg, declared a saint by the pope.</p>	900
<p>BENEDICT VIII.</p> <p>JOHN XIX. BENEDICT IX. The emperor deposes three popes, and appoints CLEMENT II., DAMASUS II., LEO IX., who maintain their authority.</p> <p>Influence of Hildebrand, afterwards Pope Gregory VII. BENEDICT X.</p>	<p>Paterini, Publicani.</p> <p>Berenger opposes the doctrine of Transubstantiation; with him begins the scholastic theology.</p> <p>Entire separation of the Greek and Latin churches.</p>	<p>New prohibition of marriage to the priests.</p> <p>Controversies concerning the celibacy of the clergy.</p>	1000

	Political Events.	External History of the Church.	Internal Government.
1000	<p>HENRY IV. taken from under his mother's care by the archbishops Hanno and Adelbert. Dissatisfaction of the Saxons and other German states with Henry.</p> <p>The emperor Henry IV. forced to humble himself before the pope.</p> <p>1080. Lombardy for Henry. Rudolph of Swabia, supported as emperor in opposition to Henry. The pope supported by the Normans in Italy and Matilda of Tuscany.</p> <p>1093. Conrad, the son of Henry, against his father. Died 1101.</p>	<p>Christian and heathen kings in Sweden at once.</p> <p>1096. First crusade.</p> <p>1099. Jerusalem taken</p>	<p>Strict prohibition of 'investiture' by laymen.</p> <p>Papal ban in Poland. William the Conqueror demands the continuation of the right of investiture. Controversy concerning the marriage of Philip of France.</p>
1100	<p>1104. The second son of the emperor rebels against his father, and compels him to resign the crown.</p> <p>1106. HENRY V. The emperor takes possession of Matilda's lands.</p> <p>1125. LOTHAIRE II.</p> <p>1137. CONRAD III. Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony.</p>	<p>Paganism extirpated</p>	<p>The Roman (civil) law taught in schools.</p> <p>The emperor makes new demands on the pope, and retains the right of investiture. Continued violent dispute.</p> <p>1122. Diet at Worms. 1123. <i>Concil. Lateran. I.</i></p> <p>1139. <i>Concil. Lateran. II.</i>, to bring all things, if possible, before the papal tribunal.</p> <p><i>Gratiani decretum.</i></p>

Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Corruptions.	Religious observances.	
<p>NICHOLAS II. The choice of the pope by the cardinals passes into an established custom.</p> <p>ALEXANDER II. maintains himself against Honorius.</p> <p>1073. GREGORY VII. Papal power at the highest. Attack upon the emperor Henry IV. Henry wishes to depose the pope. Papal law against the emperor, who is forced to come in penance to Canusium.</p> <p>Clemens III. the emperor's pontiff.</p> <p>1087. VICTOR III.</p> <p>1088. URBAN II.</p> <p>The pope holds a synod at Clermont.</p> <p>PASCHAL II.</p>	<p>Theophylact's collections for the critical study of the Bible.</p> <p>The Paulicians oppressed in the Greek empire.</p> <p>Roscelin.</p> <p>The Greek church seeks to re-unite itself with the Latin, and to get help against the Turks.</p>	<p>Armed pilgrimages to the Holy Land.</p> <p>Strict injunction of celibacy. All those excommunicated who confess to married priests.</p> <p>The Roman liturgy introduced in Spain.</p> <p>The Carthusian and Cistercian orders founded.</p>	1000
<p>Matilda, daughter of the duke of Tuscany, gives all her possessions to the pope.</p> <p>The emperor takes the pope and cardinals prisoners.</p> <p>GELASIUS II. (Gregory VIII.)</p> <p>CALIXTUS II. solemnly excommunicates the emperor.</p> <p>1124. HONORIUS II. confirms the emperor as king of Rome.</p> <p>1130. INNOCENT II. generally acknowledged through the influence of St. Bernard. Interdict against France.</p> <p>1145. EUGENIUS III. <i>Peter</i> of Poitiers. <i>Peter</i> of Blois.</p>	<p>(Peter de Bruis.)</p> <p>Dogmas and controversies of Peter Abelard.</p> <p>Mention made of the seven sacraments.</p> <p>Dogmatic systems of Robert Pulleyn, Peter Lombard, and Alanus of Ryssel.</p> <p>(Arnold of Bresica.)</p> <p>Controversy concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.</p>	<p>St. Bernard, abbot of Clairval, in high repute, a mystic, and zealous advocate of the study of the Bible.</p> <p>Order of Knights of St. John, and Templars.</p> <p>Abbot Peter Venerabilis at Clugny.</p> <p>St. Bernard insists on confession to the priests.</p> <p>Decrees of the Greek emperor MANUEL Comnenus concerning monks.</p>	1100

	Political Events.	External History of the Church.	Internal Government.
1100	<p>1152. FREDERICK I. asserts his authority in Lombardy.</p> <p>1169. William II. king of Sicily, allied with Pope Alexander.</p> <p>1177. Peace of Venice.</p> <p>1180. Philip Augustus, king of France.</p> <p>1191. HENRY VI.</p> <p>1198. Disputed election of emperor, between Philip of Swabia, and Otho of Saxony.</p>	<p>1147. Second crusade. Conversions in the country between the Havel and the Elbe, and in Finland; also in the island of Rügen.</p> <p>Supposed correspondence of the pope with a great Christian king in the east of Asia.</p> <p>1189. Third crusade.</p> <p>1190. Fourth crusade.</p> <p>Crusades to Livonia.</p>	<p>1162. Council of Clarendon held by Henry II. of England.</p> <p>King of England reconciles himself with the pope by certain concessions.</p> <p>The emperor submits to the pope. 1179. <i>Concil. Later. III.</i>, at which new regulations concerning the choice of popes.</p> <p>New disputes between the pope and the emperor.</p> <p>Emperor forbids the appeal to the pope.</p>
1200	<p>Gengiskhan's empire.</p> <p>1204. Latin emperors at Constantinople (till 1261).</p> <p>OTHO IV.</p> <p>1215. FREDERICK II.</p> <p>1226. St. LEWIS, king of France.</p>	<p>Bishop Albrecht of Riga. Christian, bishop of Prussia.</p> <p>1217. Fifth crusade.</p> <p>1228. Sixth crusade.</p> <p>Ferdinand of Castile recovers the conquests of the Arabs.</p> <p>1249. Seventh crusade.</p>	<p>Dispute between John of England (Lackland) and the pope ends in the complete submission of the former.</p> <p>1215. <i>Concil. Lat. IV.</i> Its decrees to be annually read before provincial synods.</p> <p>Formal introduction of the Inquisition; at first in the south of France: soon given over to the Dominicans.</p>

Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Corruptions.	Religious Observances.	
<p><i>John</i> of Salisbury.</p> <p>Absalom, archbishop of Lund.</p> <p>1160. ALEXANDER III. Victor, rival pope.</p> <p>The emperor excommunicated.</p> <p>Thomas Becket murdered.</p>	<p>Catharists in Lombardy and the south of France.</p>		1100
<p>1185. URBAN III.</p> <p>1188. CLEMENS III.</p>	<p>Measures of the pope against the heretics in the south of France.</p>	<p>1190. Teutonic order instituted.</p>	
<p>1198. INNOCENT III. exercises high authority over emperor and kings.</p>	<p>Peter of Castelnau, inquisitor in the south of France.</p> <p>Prohibition of the Bible in the native tongue.</p>		
<p>The pope assumes the right of deciding upon the claims of Philip and Otho to the title of king of Rome.</p>	<p>Sect of the Catharists gains ground.</p>		1200
<p>The emperor Otho's submissive concessions to the pope.</p> <p>1216. HONORIUS III. The emperor and pope make mutual concessions.</p> <p>1227. GREGORY IX. breaks with the emperor; violent denunciations on either side.</p>	<p>Crusade against the Albigenses.</p> <p>The doctrine of Transubstantiation established as incontrovertible, and all who oppose it condemned as heretics.</p> <p>War against the Albigenses continued.</p> <p>Severe laws against heretics.</p>	<p>Dominicans and Franciscans.</p> <p>The establishment of new orders of monks forbidden.</p> <p>Beguins.</p> <p>Tertiaries, an order of Franciscans.</p> <p>Beghards.</p> <p>Lollards.</p>	
<p>1230. Pope and emperor reconciled.</p>	<p>The pope forbids laymen to dispute on religious matters.</p>	<p>The beggar-orders favoured; allowed to hear the confessional universally.</p>	
<p>1239. Emperor excommunicated again.</p>	<p>Second period of the scholastic theology; — Alexander Hales. Albertus Magnus.</p>		
<p>1243. INNOCENT IV. declares the emperor deposed at the synod of Lyons.</p>		<p>Lasting controversy between the 'spiritual' Franciscans and the less rigid of the order.</p>	

	Political Events.	External History of the Church.	Internal Government.
1200	<p>1265. Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily.</p> <p>1273. RUDOLPH I. of Hapsburg.</p> <p>1282. Sicilian Vespers.</p> <p>1283. Philip the Fair, king of France.</p> <p>1291. ADOLPHUS of Nassau.</p> <p>Ottoman empire.</p> <p>ALBRECHT of Austria.</p>	<p>Christians wholly driven from Palestine.</p>	<p>Arrangement of the conclave at the choice of pope.</p>
1300	<p>1307. HENRY VII. Swiss confederation.</p> <p>1314. LEWIS of Bavaria.</p> <p>Frederick of Austria his competitor for the imperial dignity.</p> <p>1328. Philip VI. Valois, king of France.</p> <p>1342. King Lewis the Great, of Hungary.</p> <p>1346. CHARLES IV.</p> <p>Tamerlane's conquests in Asia.</p>	<p>Rhodes taken by the knights of St. John.</p>	<p>The papal bull 'unam sanctam'—that all things were under papal jurisdiction.</p> <p>Philip of France appeals to a general council.</p> <p>Reformation of the church proposed at the council of Vienna.</p> <p>Papal 'reserves,' 'provisions,' and other contrivances to extort money.</p> <p>The 'spirituals' maintain that the pope is subject to a general council in matters of faith.</p> <p>The imperial electors combine against the pope.</p>

Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Corruptions.	Religious Observances.	
1254. ALEXANDER IV. active in Sicily and Germany.	Influence of Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura on the theology of the day.	Festival of the Holy Sacrament. Festival of the 'immaculate conception.'	1200
1264. CLEMENT IV.; negotiation with the Greek emperor.		Celibacy introduced universally amongst the clergy of Denmark, Sweden, and Hungary.'	
1271. GREGORY X. The emperor resigns all rights in the exarchate.		Shrine of Loretto brought by angels from Palestine.	
Orsini and Colonna.		Flagellantes. Papal jubilee, and remission of sins to all who made a pilgrimage to the church of St. Peter in Rome.	
1295. BONIFACE VIII. His haughty treatment of various sovereigns.			
			1300
The pope and Philip in violent dispute. Philip excommunicated. He causes the pope to be taken prisoner.	Scotists, followers of John Duns Scotus.		
1305. CLEMENT V.; 1309. — removes to Avignon. Controversy with the emperor.		Order of the Knights Templars extirpated.	
JOHN XXII. Violent dispute with the emperor Lewis.	Controversy concerning certain doctrines of the pope.		
1334. BENEDICT XII. The papal authority declines in Italy.			
1342. CLEMENT VI.			
1352. INNOCENT VI. The Greek emperor acknowledges subjection to him.	Third period of the scholastic theology. — Wastes itself still more in subtilties. Controversy concerning Realism and Nominalism.	Jubilee ordered every fifty years. Union of the strict Franciscans with the pope, and the 'Brethren of the Community.'	
1362. URBAN V. Controversy between the pope and emperor.	Inward Christianity preached in Bohemia.		

	Political Events.	External History of the Church.	Internal Government.
1300	<p>1378. WENCESLAUS.</p> <p>1388. Union of the three northern kingdoms under Denmark. Bajazet, emperor of the Turks.</p>	Lithuania Christian.	<p>Papal authority undermined by the 'Schism.'</p> <p>Measures taken to reconcile the Schism, and restore the old order of things. National Synod at Paris.</p>
1400	<p>1411. SIGISMUND.</p> <p>1420. War of the Hussites. Maid of Orleans. The Medici at Florence.</p> <p>1438. ALBRECHT II.</p> <p>1440. FREDERICK III.</p> <p>1444. King Ladislaus defeated by the Turks near Varna.</p> <p>1453. Constantinople taken by the Turks. War of the red and white roses in England.</p> <p>1462. Iwan Basiljevitch the Great, in Russia.</p> <p>1474. Spain united under Ferdinand and Isabella. Constant wars in Italy between France, the pope, Spain, and the emperor.</p>	<p>New preparations for a crusade.</p>	<p>1409. Council at Pisa. Resolved to Reform the church.</p> <p>1414. Council at Constance. The pope is forced to submit to the decrees of the council. Council at Basil.</p> <p>The German princes support the decrees of the council of Basil. 'Pragmatic Sanction' for France.</p> <p>1448. Concordat with the Germans at Vienna.</p> <p>Violent controversy of the pope with Bohemia, Naples, Florence, and Venice.</p>

Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Corruptions.	Religious Observances.
<p>Gregory XI. at Rome.</p> <p>1378. URBAN VI. Great western schism.</p> <p>Clement VII. at Avignon.</p> <p>non.</p> <p>The popes excommunicate each other.</p> <p>BONIFACE XI. at Rome.</p> <p>Benedict XIII. at Avignon.</p>	<p>Wickliffe's doctrines. Great repute of the University at Paris, particularly as regards doctrines. (Peter d'Ailly, Jo. Gerson.)</p> <p>Followers of Wickliffe.</p>	<p>1300</p> <p>Sale of indulgences.</p>
<p>INNOCENT VII. at Rome.</p> <p>GREGORY XI. at Rome.</p> <p>ALEXANDER V. summons Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Naples, to appear before his tribunal.</p> <p>JOHN XXIII. deposed.</p> <p>MARTIN V. avoids the reformation of the church by hindering the meeting of the council.</p> <p>1431. EUGENIUS IV. summons an opposition council at Ferrara, at which a reconciliation with the Greeks is the chief business.</p> <p>The council at Basil elect Felix V. in opposition to Eugenius.</p> <p>1447. Nicholas V. patron of learning.</p>	<p>Huss and Jerome, of Prague, burnt.</p> <p>Hussites (Utraquists, Taborites).</p> <p>1435. Utraquists reconciled with the church.</p> <p>Thomas à Kempis, John Wesselus, and John de Vesalia, recommend the study of the sacred Scriptures, and inward Christianity.</p> <p>Bohemian brethren.</p> <p>Influence of the revival of learning, and of the discovery of the art of printing, and of the learned men; Erasmus of Rotterdam, and others.</p>	<p>1400</p> <p>The rights of the beggar-orders supported by papal bulls.</p> <p>Minorites, or Fratricelli, of the order of St. Francis.</p> <p>Plenary indulgence sold in Germany.</p>
<p>1455. CALIXTUS III.</p> <p>1458. PIUS II. (Eneas Sylvester.)</p> <p>1461. PAUL I.</p> <p>1471. SEXTUS IV.</p>		

Political Events.	External History of the Church.	Internal Government.
1400 1483. Charles VIII., king of France. Switzerland free. 1492. Discovery of America. 1493. MAXIMILIAN I. 1498. Lewis XII., king of France.	Moors driven entirely from Spain, and forcibly converted to Christianity.	General Inquisition established in Spain.
1500 1508. Henry VIII., king of England. 1515. Francis I. of France. Charles I., king of Spain, Naples, and the Netherlands.	Christianity in America.	Pragmatic Sanction introduced again in France. Council of Pisa.

HISTORY OF THE

Political Events.	Popes and History of the Catholic Church.	History of the Lutheran Church.
1519. Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony.	1517. Cardinal Cajetan gives Luther a hearing at Augsburg. Papal bull asserting the power of the pope to grant indulgences. Miltitz, pope's legate.	1517. Luther's 95 propositions against indulgences, posted up at Wittenberg. 1518. Luther appeals <i>ad Papam melius informandum</i> , and so on, to a general council. Luther continues to write and advance in the freedom of his views.
1520. CHARLES V.	Papal bull against Luther.	Luther at Worms before the Diet. Edict of Worms.
1521. Diet at Worms.	New bull against Luther.	Luther at the Wartburg. Luther's translation of the New Testament.
1522. Diet at Nuremberg.	1522. ADRIAN VI. Cheregati, papal nuncio at Nuremberg. Jesuits founded by Ignatius Loyola.	Mass discontinued at Wittenberg. Luther returns to Wittenberg.
War of the peasants.	CLEMENS VII. Campegius, papal nuncio. The German princes insist on a council.	Doctrines of Luther spread with great rapidity. 1525. Open reformation in Prussia and the electorate of Saxony.

Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Corruptions.	Religious Observances.	
1484. INNOCENT VIII. 1492. ALEXANDER VI. and his sons John and Cæsar Borgia; their cunning and cruelty. Cardinal Ximenes, prime minister of Spain.		Great sale of indul- gences for the year of jubilee. St. Peter's begun.	1400
1503. JULIUS II., a warlike prelate. Papal council at the Lateran. 1513. LEO X.	Hoogstraet, ' <i>inquisi- tor hæreticæ pravitatis</i> ,' against Reuchlin.	New sale of indul- gences for St. Peter's church. Tetzel and Bernard Samson's measures.	1500

REFORMATION.

History of the Reformed Church.	Theologians of the Reformed Church.	Theologians of the Lutheran Church.	Catholic Theolo- gians and Church- men.
1519. Zuingle opposes the 'indulgence-seller,' Samson, at Zurich; preaches more and more boldly, and is in high repute with the civil au- thorities. Council at Zurich de- cree that the Bible shall be the rule of teaching, and not Thomas à Kempis. 1522. Disputation at Zurich. 1523. Second and third disputation at Zu- rich. 1524. The council at Zurich forbid all masses and worship of images. 1525. Convention of the remaining Catholic cantons.	Leo Judæ. Æcolampadius. Fr. Lambert. Carlstadt in Switzerland. Comeander in the canton of the Grisons.	Ph. Melanc- thon. A. Carlstadt. Disputation at Leipsic. Disputation at Homburg.	John Eck. Sylvester Pri- erias. Emser. John Faber. Gallius.

	Political Events.	Popes and History of the Catholic Church.	History of the Lutheran Church.
1500	1526. Peace between France and the emperor.		1526. Saxony and Hesse league themselves for mutual protection.
	1527. War between France and the emperor.	The pope forms the holy league with France against the emperor. The Capuchins confirmed.	Reformed faith in Sweden; suffered in Denmark. Public worship becomes more and more pure.
	1529. Peace of Cambray.	1529. The pope and the emperor reconciled.	1529. Diet at Spire. Protest of the German princes.
	1530. Diet at Augsburg.	The emperor insists on a general council.	Articles of Torgaw and Schwabach.
	1531. Ferdinand, king of Rome.	Campegius, nuncio of the pope at Augsburg.	Confession of Augsburg.
	1532. John Frederick, elector of Saxony.		1532. Confederacy of Smalcald.
	Henry VIII. of England separates from Catharine of Aragon, . . . Anabaptists at Munster.	The pope promises a council, and refuses to obey the pope. King declared the supreme head of the English Church.	Treaty of peace at Nuremberg. Confederacy of Smalcald confirmed. Protestant faith in Poland.
	1536. War between France and the emperor.	Paul III. King Henry VIII, excommunicated.	
	1538. Treaty of peace between them.	Holy league of the emperor and the German princes.	
	Danger from the Turks.	The general council deferred by the pope.	
	The German princes distrustful of the emperor.	Order of Jesuits confirmed.	1541. Diet at Ratisbon. 'Interim' proposed at Ratisbon.
	1542. War again between France and the emperor.	1542. The pope calls the council of Trent.	
	1544. Peace of Crespi.	Protestant creed condemned at the council of Trent.	Another diet at Ratisbon.
	1545. Truce with the Turks.	The pope and the emperor allied against the Protestants.	
	1546. Preparations of the emperor against the Protestants.		
	Duke Maurice invades Saxony.		
	The emperor subdues Upper Germany.		
	1547. John Frederick made prisoner.	The emperor insists upon the removal of the council from Bologna to Trent.	The army of the Protestants advance against the emperor, but without effect.

History of the Reformed Church.	Theologians of the Reformed Church.	Theologians of the Lutheran Church.	Catholic Theologians and Churchmen.	
1526. Bucer's attempts to reconcile the disputes concerning the sacrament of the supper.	Disputation at Ilanz.	Conference at Upsal, between Olaus and Peter Gallius.	Murner. Synod at Paris under Duprat, archbishop of Sens.	1500
1527. Dispute at Baden.				
1528. Dispute at Berne; public reformation there; also at Basil and St. Gall.	Bucer, Capito, Pelican.			
Alliance between Zurich and Berne.		1529. Colloq. at Marburg, between Luther and Zuingli.	Eliaë.	
Zuingli's Confession of Faith.		Colloq. at Copenhagen.		
Confederacy of Zurich, Basil, &c.		Taussön.		
		Lorenz Petri, archbishop of Upsal.	Thom. Cranmer.	
1531. Religious toleration and peace in Switzerland.	Farel and Viret, in France.		Papal nuncios, Vergerius and Vorstius.	
1535. Disputation and Reformation at Geneva.	John Calvin.			
The Presbyterian form of government adopted at Geneva.		1541. Religious Conferences at Worms and Ratisbon.		
1544. The disputes between the Swiss theologians and those of Wittenberg break out anew.				
Ineffectual attempts of Philip of Hesse to unite the Protestants.		1546. Colloq. at Ratisbon.		
	Petr. Martyr.	Luther dies.		

	Political Events.	Popes and History of the Catholic Church.	History of the Lutheran Church.
1500	<p>Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, throws himself on the mercy of the emperor.</p> <p>Maurice, elector of Saxony.</p> <p>1552. Maurice falls on the emperor by surprise.</p> <p>1553. Mary, queen of England.</p> <p>Augustus, elector of Saxony.</p> <p>1555. Diet of Augsburg.</p>	<p>1550. JULIUS III. calls a council of Trent.</p> <p>The council dispersed. England is once more under the yoke of the pope.</p>	<p>1548. Imperial interrim.</p> <p>Interim of Leipsic.</p> <p>Pacification of Passau.</p> <p>Religious peace; mutual toleration.</p>

HISTORY OF THE GREEK AND LATIN CHURCHES.

Political Events.	External History.	Internal History.	Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Controversies.	Ceremonies and Monastic Life.
<p>1556. PHILIP II., king of Spain.</p> <p>FERDINAND I.</p> <p>1558. Elizabeth of England.</p> <p>1562. Beginning of the wars of religion in France.</p> <p>1564. MAXIMILIAN II. tolerant.</p>	<p>Jesuit missionaries to China.</p> <p>The influence of the Jesuits against the Protestants in Hungary and Poland.</p>	<p>The pope and the emperor at variance.</p> <p>1559. PIUS IV.</p> <p>1562. Opens the council of Trent again, at which the papal power is confirmed.</p> <p>1566. PIUS V.</p> <p>1567. Bull in <i>cena Domini</i>, supporting the papal supremacy.</p>	<p><i>Canus.</i></p> <p>Espencæus.</p> <p>Cardinal Hosius.</p> <p>Ineffectual attempts of the French and Spanish bishops to support their rights against the pope.</p> <p><i>Baius.</i></p> <p>Maldonat.</p> <p>Arius Montanus.</p>	<p>Council of Trent enforces the authority of tradition, of the 'Vulgate,' and decides that the pope alone can determine the true meaning of the Scriptures.</p> <p>1566. Catechism of Trent. The pope condemns the doctrine of Baius.</p>	<p>Spread of the Jesuits. At Trent as the logians. Celibacy enjoined on the priests, the cup denied to laymen at the Lord's supper, and the language of the country forbidden in public worship.</p>
<p>1572. Insurrection in the Netherlands.</p> <p>1574. Henry III., king of France.</p> <p>1576. RUDOLPH II.</p>	<p>1572. Massacre of the Protestants at Paris on St. Bartholomew's day.</p>	<p>1572. GREGORY XIII.</p>			

History of the Reformed Church.	Theologians of the Reformed Church.	Theologians of the Lutheran Church.	
Regular reform in England, under Edward VI. 42 articles of faith.	Bucer in England.	Matth. Flacius.	1500
Consensus Tigurinus.		Osiander. Westphal.	
Calvini. Consens. Pastor. Genevens.	Alb. Hardenberg at Bremen.		
Opposition of the Protestants in England.			

HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES.

Prosperous and verse Events.	Ecclesiastical De- crees and Acts of Arbitrary Power.	Doctrines of the Lutheran Church.	Lutheran Theolo- gians.	Reformed Theolo- gians.	Doctrines of the Reformed Church.	Separate Religious Communities.
Cruel perse- cution of the Protestants in England.		Controver- sies concerning 'justification by faith;' 'good works.' Sy- NERGISMUS at Konigsberg.	Moerlin.	Castalio. <i>Beza</i> at the uni- versity of Geneva.	Reformation restored in En- gland. Episco- pal church in England. Pres- byterians or Puritans in Scotland, 1560.	The Anabap- tists, brought back from their extravagances by the efforts of Memno Simon, are distinguish- ed into Water- landers and Flemings; and these last again into Flemings and Friesland- ers.
Great pro- gress of reform in Poland.	1558. Meet- ing of the prin- ces at Frankfort to put an end to theological disputes.	In Thuringia 'Corpus doctri- næ Philippi- cum.'	Schnepf.	trine and government of that church spread.		
The Palatine leans to the doctrines of Calvin.	The 39 Arti- cles confirmed. 1562. Act of Uniformity.		Prenz.	Musæus.	Controversy concerning the doctrine 'de- absoluto decre- to.'	Antitrinita- rians.
Constant dis- cussion between the two Protes- tant churches.	Nonconform- ists.	Colloq. at Maulbrunn and Altenburg. James An- dræ attempts to introduce a form of con- cord.	1560. Melanc- thon's death.	<i>Hyperius</i> .	Catechism of Heidelberg.	
1572. Con- sensus Sando- riensis. Open refor- mation in the north of the Netherlands.		1570. Cryp- to-Calvinists in us. the electorate of Saxony. 1577. Form of Concord	Chytræ-		1571 The 39 Articles the creed of the English church. Confessio Belgica. The coun- tries in Germa- ny which re-	Independ- ents. Faustus So- cinus in Poland.

Political Events.	External History.	Internal History.	Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Controversies.	Ceremonies; Monastic Life.
<p>1500 1579. 'Union' of Utrecht.</p> <p>1589. Henry IV., king of France . . .</p>	<p>becomes Roman Catholic.</p>	<p>1585. SIXTUS V. The number of cardinal fixed.</p> <p>1590. GREGORY XIV.</p> <p>1592. Clements VIII.</p>	<p>1582. Gebhard, elector of Cologne.</p> <p>1589. The Russian church has its own patriarch.</p> <p><i>Baronius.</i> <i>Bellarmin.</i> Papal nuncios at Brussels, Vienna, &c.</p>	<p>In the Netherlands, Augustine's doctrine of 'free grace' zealously supported.</p>	<p>The Franciscans and Jesuits oppose the strict doctrine of 'free grace' the Dominicans support it.</p> <p>The Jesuits insinuate themselves everywhere, even the Protestant courts.</p>
Political Events.	External History.	Internal History.	Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Corruptions.	Religious Observances and Monastic Life.
<p>1600 1603. James I., king of England.</p> <p>1608. Protestant union.</p> <p>1609. Catholic league.</p> <p>1610. Lewis XIII. of France.</p> <p>1612. MATTHIAS.</p> <p>1619. Ferdinand II. Disturbances in Bohemia. Thirty years' war.</p> <p>1620. Defeat of the elector Palatine.</p>	<p>1615. Christianity extirpated in Japan.</p>	<p>The pope at variance with Venice.</p> <p>1605. PAUL V. Peace with Venice.</p> <p>The emperor of Germany leagued with the pope.</p> <p>1623. URBAN VIII. favours France.</p>	<p><i>Sarpi.</i></p> <p>Cyrrillus Lucaris.</p> <p><i>Richerius.</i></p> <p><i>Petavius.</i> <i>Sirmond.</i></p>	<p>Morality of the Jesuits (<i>peccatum philosophicum</i>).</p>	<p>1613. <i>Patrologia</i> in France.</p> <p>1621. Pietists.</p>

perous and erse Events.	Ecclesiastical De- crees and Acts of Arbitrary Power.	Doctrines of the Lutheran Church.	Lutheran Theolo- gians.	Reformed Theolo- gians.	Doctrines of the Reformed Church.	Separate Religious Communities.	
78. The estants lose right of e worship ustria.	Severity of the Protestant Ger- man princes towards those who differed from them in opinion; of the Calvinists to- wards the Lu- therans, and of the Lutherans towards the Calvinists.	1589. Cryp- to-Calvinists in Saxony.		1586. Colloq. at Mumpel- gard.	fuse the form of creed, approach the doctrines of the reformed church in their opinions. 1582. Pre- tensions of the clergy and the synods in the United Nether- lands.		1500
98. Edict antes.		Synod at Up- sal.	Hutter.	Whita- ker. Hospin- ian.			
perous and erse Events.	Ecclesiastical De- crees and Acts of Arbitrary Power.	Doctrines of the Lutheran Church.	Doctrines of the Reformed Church.	Lutheran Theolo- gians.	Reformed Theolo- gians.	Separate Religious Communities.	
protestant istianity in foreign En- and Dutch sessions. Threats a- nst the Hu- nots.	Edict of the elector of Bran- denburgh, giv- ing the Reformed church like privileges with the Lutheran.	Controversy concerning the origin of sin. Tendency to Socinianism at Altorf. Controversy concerning <i>κρύ- ψις</i> or <i>κένωσις</i> in Christ;	Arminian controversy.	Arndt.	Gomarus.	Independ- ents.	1600
621. Protest- ts expelled om Bohemia: me put to ath.		and concerning the 'internal word.'	1618. Coun- cil of Dort, at which the doc- trines of the 'absolute de- cree of God' and 'free grace' were estab- lished.	Hoe of Hoenegg. Geo. Calixtus.	Grotius. Laud, bishop of London. Blondel. Dallæus. Mare- sius.	Arminians. Episcopius. Jo. Crell. So- cinus. Mennonites unite.	

	Political Events.	External History.	Internal History.	Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Corruptions.	Religious Consequences and Political Life
1600	<p>1625. Charles I., king of England. Denmark leads the war in Germany. Wallenstein. The emperor victorious. 1630. Gust. Adolphus for the Protestants in Germany. 1635. Peace of Prague. 1637. FERDINAND III. 1639. Rising in Scotland. 1640. John, king of Portugal. 1643. Lewis XIV., king of France. 1648. Peace of Westphalia. 1653. Oliver Cromwell. 1658. LEOPOLD I. 1660. Charles II., king of England. 1680. Accession of territory to France. 1685. James II., king of England. 1689. William III., king of England.</p>	<p>Zealous attempts to unite the Oriental Christians. 1645. Colloq. <i>charitativum</i> at Thorn. 1653. Terrible persecution of the Waldenses. 1663. Seminar. Parisiens. pro missionibus.</p>	<p>Galileo brought before the inquisition. Dispute of the pope with Parma. 1644. INNOCENT X.; attempts to annul the treaty of Westphalia. 1655. ALEXANDER VII. 1662. Dispute with France. 1668. CLEMENT IX. and X. 1677. INNOCENT XI. Dispute with France. 1689. ALEXANDER VIII.; condemns the four articles of</p>	<p>Peter Mogilas. Launoi. Petr. de Mar- 1652. Nikon, patriarch of Moscow. The 'Metropolitans' in Portugal attempt to make themselves independent of the pope. Maimbourg. Mabillon. Dacherius. Bossuet. Fagi. Tillemont. Thomassin. Rich. Simon. Noailles, archbishop of Paris. Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray.</p>	<p>Dispute between the Calvinistic party and the Catholics at Constantinople. 1641. The work of Janse-nius, called 'Augustinus,' prohibited. 1643. The 'Confessio' of P. Mogilas approved by the four Oriental patriarchs. 1653. The five propositions of Jansenius condemned. The Jansenists oppressed. The Mystics oppressed.</p>	<p>Continue between the Jesuits and others in China Bernard de la Trappe Convent Port Royal</p>

Prosperous and Adverse Events.	Ecclesiastical De- crees and Acts of Arbitrary Power.	Doctrines of the Lutheran Church.	Doctrines of the Reformed Church.	Lutheran Theolo- gians.	Reformed Theolo- gians.	Separate Religious Communities.	
1629. Siege of Rochelle. Edict of res- toration in Ger- many.							1600
Irish massa- cre, 1641.	Puritans op- pressed in Eng- land.	Continual controversies ; the ' Syncre- tists,' whether Christ retained his human na- ture during the three days in- tervening be- tween his death and resurrec- tion ; and con- cerning tolera- tion of the Re- formed Church.	Controversy about the Car- tesian philoso- phy.	Glassius.	Duracus. Amyral- dus.	1638. Socini- ans driven from Racow.	
	The Puritans in possession of the chief power. 1645. Power of the synods in Holland re- stricted.		1648. The Re- formed church the third in importance in Germany.	Calovius.	Voet. Cocce- sius. Claude Walton.	Political pow- er of the Inde- pendents. Quakers and Baptists in Eng- land.	
Duke Ernest the Good, of Saxony. Activity of the English so- ciety for the diffusion of Christianity. Protestants oppressed in Hungary.	1660. Epis- copacy intro- duced again in England ; se- vere laws a- gainst the Non- conformists. Edict against the private reli- gious meetings of the Pietists.	Consensus repetitæ fidei ἡνωσις Luthe- ranæ. Spener's zeal for practical Christianity. Collegia pie- tatis. Numerous and violent dis- putes on the propositions of the Pietists, and subjects con- nected with them ; and	1675. Formu- la consensûs Helveticæ. Bekker a- gainst supersti- tion.	Jo. Mu- sæus. A. H. Franke. Carp- zove.	1661. Socin- ians expelled entirely from Poland. Gichtelians. Will. Penn, distinguished amongst the Quakers ; — in Pennsylvania entire religious freedom.		
1685. Edict of Nantes re- voked. Palatinate governed by a Roman catholic line of princes.	1689. Toleran- ce Act.		Writings in England against the Naturalists.		Heideg- ger. Jurieu. Sanicroft. Pajon. Vitringa.		

	Political Events.	External History.	Internal History.	Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Controversies.	Monastic Institutions.
1600	<p>Peter the Great.</p> <p>1697. Peace of Ryswick.</p>	<p>Christians in China.</p> <p>The elector of Saxony becomes Catholic.</p>	<p>the Synod held at Paris, for protecting the rights of the Gallican church.</p>			
1700	<p>1701. Frederick I., king of Prussia.</p> <p>War for the Spanish succession.</p> <p>Charles XII. of Sweden in Poland and Saxony.</p> <p>1705. JOSEPH I.</p> <p>1711.</p> <p>CHARLES VI.</p> <p>1713 Fred-erick William king of Prussia.</p> <p>1714. George I., king of England.</p> <p>Peace of Rastadt.</p> <p>1715. Lewis XV., king of France.</p> <p>1725. Catharine I., empress of Russia.</p> <p>1727. George II., king of England.</p> <p>1740. Maria Theresa. Frederick the Great, of Prussia.</p> <p>1741. CHARLES VII. War for the succession to the throne of Austria.</p>	<p>Persecution of the Camisards in Cevennes.</p> <p>1722. Persecution of the Christians in China.</p> <p>Religious freedom again in China.</p>	<p>CLEMENT XI. favours the French, but</p> <p>1709.—is forced to yield to the emperor, Spain, and the king of Sicily.</p> <p>Institutions of Peter the Great in Russia.</p> <p>Establishment of a holy synod in Russia.</p> <p>1721. INNOCENT XIII. at variance with Lucerne and Portugal.</p> <p>1730. Clement XII. at variance with Parma and Spain.</p> <p>1740. BENEDICT XIV.</p>	<p>Codde, apostol. vicar at Utrecht, loses his place as suspected of Jansenism; is protected by the States General.</p> <p>Separation of the Catholics in the Netherlands from the Roman church. They assert the right of appeal to a general council.</p> <p><i>Murator.</i> <i>Montfaucon.</i> <i>Hardouin.</i></p> <p>1717. Patriarch at Lisbon.</p> <p>Fleury, minister of France, and cardinal.</p> <p><i>Sabbathier.</i></p> <p>Beaumont, archbishop of Paris. . . .</p>	<p>Quesnel's N. Testament suspected of favouring Jansenism.</p> <p>1713. Bull <i>Unigenitus</i>, condemning Quesnel's New Testament.</p> <p>Continued controversy on this matter in France.</p> <p>he causes the certificates of confessional to be demanded from the dying.</p>	<p>Continued quarrels of the orders in China.</p>

Prosperous and Diverse Events.	Ecclesiastical De- crees and Acts of Arbitrary Power.	Doctrines of the Lutheran Church.	Doctrines of the Reformed Church.	Lutheran Theolo- gians.	Reformed Theolo- gians.	Separate Religious Communities.
	Presbyterian church in Scot- land.	struggle of real or fanatical pi- ety with a mere formal theolo- gy.		1695. U- niversity of Halle. Arnold.	Basnage.	1600
1705. Mis- sion to Tran- sylvania.				At- tempts to unite with the Reformed Church.	Le Clerc.	Separatists in Germany.
1709. Scotch Society for the diffusion of Christianity in the Highlands.	Edicts against the Pietists.	Continued controversy with the theolo- gians at Halle.	Controversy concerning Universalism and the Re- Particularism in Brandenburg and the Nether- lands.	V. E. Löschner. Pfaff. S. Cy- prius.	Turretin. Saurin.	Dispute amongst the Mennonites. The Unitar- ians in Tran- sylvania op- pressed.
1714. Colleg. e promov. e- rang. amongst the Laplanders.		The philoso- phy of Wolf at- tacked by the theologians.	Dispute con- cerning the Trinity. Controversies with the ene- mies of Chris- tianity in Eng- land.			1722. Origin of the Moravian brethren.
1725. The Protestants in the Palatinate oppressed, and the Dissidents in Poland. New perse- cution of the Huguenots in France. English mis- sion to the East Indies			Seceders in Scotland.	in Mosheim.	Wet- stein.	Methodists.
1731. Emi- gration of the inhabitants of Salzburg. Calenberg. Institut.						
1741. Rights of the Protest- ants in Silesia restored.	Clergy re- moved from their places, as suspected of Socinianism.	Beginning of true theological learning in the Lutheran church.		Baum- garten. Semler.	A Schul- tens.	

	Political Events.	External History.	Internal History.	Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Controversies.	Monastic Institutions.
1700	<p>1748. Peace of Aix la Chapelle.</p> <p>1756. Seven years' war.</p> <p>1760. George III., king of England.</p> <p>1762. Catharine II., empress of Russia.</p> <p>1765. JOSEPH II.</p> <p>1767. Confederation in Poland.</p> <p>1772. First partition of Poland.</p> <p>1774. Lewis XVI. of France. Independence of the United States of America.</p> <p>1786. Fred. William II. of Prussia.</p> <p>1789. French revolution.</p> <p>1790. LEOPOLD II.</p> <p>1792. FRANCIS II. Further partition of Poland.</p> <p>1797. Fred. William III. of Prussia.</p> <p>1799. Maximilian, elector of Bavaria. Napoleon Buonaparte, consul.</p>	<p>France without religion.</p>	<p>'Breve' to put an end to the controversies in France.</p> <p>1758. CLEMENT XIII. breaks with several courts.</p> <p>1769. CLEMENT XIV. yielding towards the courts of Europe.</p> <p>1775. Pius VI.</p> <p>1781. Reforms of the emperor Joseph in Austria; bounds set to the papal power.</p> <p>1788. Naples refuses the feudal contribution to the pope.</p> <p>1794. The decrees of the council of Pistoia condemned by the pope.</p> <p>1800. Pius VII.</p>	<p><i>Mansi.</i></p> <p><i>v. Hontheim. (Febron.)</i></p> <p>Papal nuncios in Germany.</p> <p><i>De Rossi. Charles Theodore of Rossberg.</i></p> <p>Gregory, bishop of Blois. <i>Royko.</i></p> <p><i>J. Jahn.</i></p>	<p>1781. Joseph forbids the processions, and other superstitious abuses.</p> <p>Reformation in Bavaria.</p>	<p>A storm breaks upon Jesuits in Paraguay; they expelled from several countries.</p> <p>1773. The pope abolishes the Jesuit order. Many convents abolished in Austria.</p> <p>1790. All monastic orders abolished in France.</p> <p>Monasticism much modified in Switzerland.</p>

Prosperous and Adverse Events.	Ecclesiastical De- crees and Acts of Arbitrary Power.	Doctrines of the Lutheran Church.	Doctrines of the Reformed Church.	Lutheran Theolo- gians.	Reformed Theolo- gians.	Separate Religious Communities.	1700
Emperor Jo- seph's 'Act of tolerance.'	1775. Synods &c. in Poland to ar- range the form of church go- vernment.	Free theolo- gical investiga- tion. Controversy concerning the canon, the sym- bolical books, &c.	Controversies concerning the necessity of subscribing to the 39 Articles.	Ernes- ti. Fr. Walch. A. Tel- ler. J. D. Mi- chaelis. Noess- elt. Doeder- lein. Gries- bach. Morus. Eich- horn. Storr. Krapp. Nieme- yer.	Breitin- ger. Lowth. Lavater. Zolliko- fer.	The emperor confirms the rights of the Unitarians in Transylvania.	
1787. Rights of the Hugue- nots in France restored.	1778. Prus- sian religious edict. Assemblies of the episco- pal church in North America.	New contro- versies con- cerning the re- lation of philo- sophy to reli- gion.					
Religious freedom in France.							
New mission- ary societies in England and Ireland.							

	Political Events.	External History.	Internal History.	Remarkable Persons.	Doctrines and Controversies.	Monastic Institutions.
800	<p>1801. ALEXANDER, emperor of Russia.</p> <p>1804. NAPOLEON BONA-PARTE.</p> <p>1805. Peace of St. Petersburg.</p> <p>1807. Peace of Tilsit.</p> <p>1809. War between Austria and France.</p> <p>1810. Peace of Vienna.</p> <p>1814. Peace of Paris. Congress at Vienna.</p> <p>1815. Battle of Waterloo.</p> <p>1816. Confederacy of the German powers.</p> <p>1820. George IV., king of England.</p> <p>Cortes in Spain. Rising of the Greeks.</p> <p>Ferdinand VII. restored.</p> <p>1824. Charles X., king of France.</p> <p>1830. William IV. king of England.</p> <p>Lewis-Philip, king of the French.</p> <p>1837. Victoria, queen of England.</p> <p>1840. Frederic William IV., king of Prussia.</p> <p>1848. Lewis Philip driven from France; which becomes a republic.</p>	<p>Religion re-stored in France.</p> <p>The <i>seminar. Paris. pro missione</i> re-established.</p> <p>Persecutions in China.</p> <p>1828. Test Act repealed in England.</p> <p>1829. Romish disabilities removed in England.</p>	<p>Papal 'concordat' with France.</p> <p>Church government in Russia.</p> <p>Napoleon crowned by the pope at Paris.</p> <p>The papal dominions divided between the kingdom of Italy and France, — the pope in France, and then again in Italy.</p> <p>The pope in Savona.</p> <p>Papal dominions restored to Pius VII.</p> <p>Concordat with Bavaria. Sicily. Prussia. Hanover.</p> <p>Papal diocese in Switzerland also.</p> <p>In Spain the old church government.</p> <p>1848. The pope flees from Rome.</p>	<p>Card. Caprara in Frand.</p> <p>Leonh. Hug.</p> <p>Card. Fesh.</p> <p>Philaret and Eugenii in Russia.</p> <p>Card. Gon-salvi.</p> <p>Broglio, bishop of Ghent.</p> <p>Dahlberg.</p> <p>1823. LEO XII.</p> <p>1829. Pius VIII.</p> <p>1831. GREGORY XVI.</p> <p>1846. Pius IX.</p>	<p>Liturgy improved in Roman Catholic Germany.</p> <p>Papal decree against the Bible Societies.</p> <p>Strict censorship of the press at Rome.</p>	<p>Jesuits still in Russia.</p> <p>More convents thrown open.</p> <p>Inquisition abolished Spain and Italy.</p> <p>Bible societies at St. Petersburg.</p> <p>Order of suits revived cloisters re-established.</p> <p>Miracles prince Hohelohe.</p> <p>Pope on a year of jubilee.</p>

Prosperous and diverse Events.	Ecclesiastical De- crees and Acts of Arbitrary Power.	Doctrines of the Lutheran Church.	Doctrines of the Reformed Church.	Lutheran Theolo- gians.	Reformed Theolo- gians.	Separate Religious Communities.	
New restric- ons on the rotestants in ungary.	Protestant consistories in France.		1804. Great Bible Society in London. Bible Socie- ties universal.	Planck. Paulus. Staeud- lin.	Muen- scher. Arnoldi.	New Metho- dists. 1802. Society called Christo- Sacrum at Delft, in Hol- land. Union of the Presbyterian Independents and Baptists in England for the government of the churches.	1800
Diffusion of Christianity in ast India and e South Sea land.		Tendency to enthusiasm in religion and mysticism. The extremes of Rationalism and Supernaturalism. Lutheran and Reformed church united; also in the celebration of the jubilee for the Reformation.		J. E. C. Schmidt.	Marsh.		
The Roman atholic church ants in Bava- ria secured. 1823. Gene- ral synod in Bavaria. 1824. Reli- gious edict in Baden.	1817. Mutual synods. 1818. Rights of the Protes- tants in Bava- ria secured. 1823. Gene- ral synod in Bavaria. 1824. Reli- gious edict in Baden.			De Wette. Gese- nius. Bretsch- neider. Teschir- ner.	Schleier- macher. Schult- hess.	1833. Theo- logical move- ment at Oxford. 1843. The Free church of Scotland. 1844. The German Catho- lic church.	

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